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Unseen Hands: Coffin Production at Akhmim, Dynasties 21-30

by

Kea M. Johnston

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## Abstract

During the Third Intermediate and Late Periods, wealthy Egyptians were sent to their afterlives in dazzlingly decorated and inscribed coffins nested like Russian dolls. Current understanding of these vessels for rebirth comes almost exclusively from analyses of Theban coffins, which focuses on dating the coffins primarily through changes in decorative layout. Local traditions outside of Thebes have been almost completely neglected and were assumed to be merely derivative of the Theban tradition. Thus, the work of non-Theban artists and scribes has typically been dismissed as "naive" or "provincial"--even though, in reality, very little is known about non-Theban coffin workshops, or about the training of the artists and scribes who worked in them.

A large number of coffins datable to post-New Kingdom pharaonic Egypt are thought to come from the city of Akhmim, which lies two hundred kilometers north of Thebes. These Akhmim coffins present an excellent opportunity to characterize and evaluate a regional tradition. Sadly, the cemeteries of Akhmim were thoroughly plundered in the late 19th century, and the pillaged pieces were sold on the contemporary art market. Hence, until now, the Akhmim coffins have only been datable by means of stylistic comparisons to the Theban pieces.

This dissertation builds a new typology for coffins from Akhmim, centered around the idea of workshops. It re-evaluates the Akhmim corpus, exploring the key questions of whether the artists were theologically trained and to what degree the scribes were literate. Part One provides the background framework required to understand the next two parts. It reviews the current literature and focuses attention on gaps in our understanding that this dissertation is designed to fill.

Part Two is a catalogue forming the core of this work that consists of an in-depth analysis of the artistic and scribal hands on twenty-one coffin sets that can be tied to Akhmim by the owner's titles or by museum records of their acquisition--preferably by both. Each individual catalogue entry overviews the provenience and iconographic program of the pieces in a given set, and also provides a paleography of characters occurring on specific elements of the coffin set. An in-depth analysis of the artistic and scribal hands is then undertaken with the aim of answering the questions of how many scribes and artists worked on the individual items in the set, whether the items were decorated by the same people, and whether the scribes were also the artists.

The coffins in the Part Two catalogue are arranged in four broad sections based on general characteristics of the decoration as well as rough dating derived from Theban typologies combined with Brech's typology of Akhmim coffins. At the end of each of these sections, the artistic and scribal hands on the coffins are compared with each other in order to hypothesize which pieces were made by the same artisans. The iconography and layout of the coffins in the section are compared with each other and with pieces in previous sections to propose one or more design patterns--defined as the common layout, selection and positioning of texts and vignettes, which typify products of the same workshop. Artists are then assigned to particular workshops, and the interrelationship between different workshops is discussed. Finally, knowledge of the characteristics of the hands of individual artists and the design patterns governing their products is applied to a large corpus of coffins with unsure or unknown

provenience. If possible, these pieces are assigned to one of the workshops as previously defined.

The conclusion, Part Three, reviews and summarizes the results that emerged from the detailed analysis in Part Two and explores further implications of these findings. In particular, the analysis of Part Two established that a local coffin industry flourished at Akhmim in the 21st Dynasty as well as the period between the late Third Intermediate Period and the Persian Period. During these times, workshops at Akhmim were small, multi-generational enterprises in which each coffin set was decorated by one or two people. Though in some cases there was division of labor between an artist and a scribe, on several coffin sets all the text and figural drawing were executed by the same person. The coffin decorators were likely affiliated with the Temple of Min at Akhmim.

A comparison of similar vignettes on coffins of the same workshop reveals that artists were copying models and working from memory. The artists were probably not copying models of full scenes, however, since no two vignettes in the corpus are identical. The variations and substitutions of elements within the vignettes indicate that the artists knew and understood the mythology surrounding rebirth. Similarly, the texts on the coffins were created using a combination of memorization and copying. Captions and formulae were memorized, while specialized funerary texts were most likely copied. Whether the scribes understood what they were writing must be evaluated on a case-by-case basis. Two of the scribes can be shown to have been literate, one was certainly illiterate, and the rest seem to fall on a spectrum of partial literacy.

This study opens the door to studying regional coffin traditions at other sites and proposes a flexible methodology for doing so. It also builds a foundation for further study of the Akhmim corpus and for exploring how the Akhmim artists might have been connected to artists from elsewhere. Ideally, it challenges the idea that art in the Egyptian provinces was merely derivative of, and inferior to, art originating in Thebes.

# Unseen Hands

Coffin Production at Akhmim, Dynasties 21-30

Kea M. Johnston

For Dr. Theresa Moore, who always sees the humanity in those long dead.

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# Introduction

## Coffins as Expressions of Local Belief

When painted tombs ceased to be built in the early First Millennium BCE due to political, economic, and religious changes, the coffin<sup>1</sup> became the most essential part of an elite Ancient Egyptian burial. The coffin was the piece of funerary equipment that was physically closest to the deceased themselves—it represented them to their relatives and at their funeral. It acted as an interface between the living and the dead and between the dead and the gods at a time when tomb chapels were no longer being built. Coffins were also seen as machines for resurrection, integrating the body into a mythological reality where the deceased took part in the cyclical rebirth of the sun, and the resurrection of Osiris, god of the dead. The walls of the coffin surrounded the dead with words of protection and the recitations of the funerary rituals. Thus, the study of coffins is key to understanding Egyptian funerary religion.

Until recently, coffins from the period after the New Kingdom have not received the scholarly attention that they warrant. Covered with vivid pictorial programs and repetitive, difficult texts often characterized as "corrupted", these coffins have often been avoided by text-focused Egyptologists and sought-after on the art market. As a result, there are hundreds of Egyptian coffins from the first millennium BCE in museums and private collections across the globe, but many of them don't have good provenience.

Because of the importance of the site and because excavators and scholars have focused on it, most coffins with known find contexts come from the Theban Cemeteries. It is around these that the pioneering studies on coffin typology have been built. These typologies can give the false impression that Theban funerary traditions are the standard against which pieces from elsewhere can be directly measured.

In recent years, it has become more and more clear that not only did distinct regional coffin styles exist, these regional styles also developed along different trajectories than those at Thebes. Because of this, understanding coffin development at a site outside of Thebes requires that we look beyond the Theban Model established by typological studies of overall form to the details of the coffin's decoration—to the texts, to the style of the vignettes—and ultimately to the scribes and artists who made the coffins.

This work attempts to understand the development of coffin styles at the site of Akhmim through the lens of the workshop, defined here as "a group of craftsmen producing works in a common style".<sup>2</sup> Through careful examination of the texts and vignettes, the hands of individual artists and scribes can be recognized within these workshops, and the coffins can be grouped by common artist and scribe. Building a typology based on small changes in vignettes and text rather than large changes in overall layout has several benefits. Firstly, it

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<sup>1</sup> This work uses the term 'coffin' to describe a box, human, or mummy-shaped container for a human body made of either wood or cartonnage. The words sarcophagus and sarcophagi are used to describe box, human, or mummy-shaped stone containers. Though they can be very similar in appearance and function, coffins, not sarcophagi are the focus of this work.

<sup>2</sup> Simon Connor, 'Sculpture Workshops: Who, Where, and for Whom?', in *The Arts of Making in Ancient Egypt: Voices, Images, and Objects of Material Producers 2000-1550 BC*, ed. by Gianluca Miniaci and others (Leiden: Sidestone Press, 2018).

allows us to recognize regional styles that may be, at a distance, like those from Thebes because they reflect relatively subtle local variants on commonly held beliefs. Secondly, it allows us to isolate further examples of the work of a particular artist or workshop from the large pool of coffins for which there is no find context and no material with which to date the coffin or its owner. Finally, it allows for a closer look at the practices of the artists themselves, about whom we know very little, and about whom we have no information at all from the site of Akhmim.

### Organization of this Work

To accomplish these goals, this work has been divided into four parts. The first part, entitled **Background**, is intended to act as a framework for the understanding of the next three, providing a review of the current literature upon which this work stands, and drawing attention to the holes in this research which this work intends to fill. The first chapter in this part, **Coffin Development in the First Millennium BCE: The Theban Model**, explores the current scholarly literature on coffin development between the fall of the New Kingdom and the Ptolemaic period, based predominantly on the large number of coffins excavated in the Theban cemeteries. However, the Theban model falls short in several respects when it is used to analyze coffins from other major regional centers like Akhmim. To probe how the Akhmim coffin tradition may relate to the Theban one, **Chapter 2: Akhmim**, examines what we know about the ancient history and modern excavations at Akhmim. Because of the systematic pillage of the site in the 1880s, most of what we know of the site must be inferred from the objects themselves. To draw informed conclusions about the division of labor and the identities of the people who decorated coffins from Akhmim, it's important to take a closer look at the current state of knowledge regarding **Coffin Production and Workshops**. This is the subject of the final chapter in this section.

**Part II: The Catalogue** is the core of this book and consists of an in-depth analysis of the artistic and scribal hands on twenty-one coffin sets<sup>3</sup> which can be tied to Akhmim by the owner's titles or by museum records of their acquisition, but preferably by both.<sup>4</sup> Each individual entry provides an overview of the provenience and iconographic program of the pieces in the set, as well as a paleography of characters occurring on elements of the set. An in-depth analysis of the artistic and scribal hands is then undertaken with the aim of answering the question of how many scribes and artists worked on the individual items in the set, whether the items were decorated by the same people, and whether the scribes were the artists.

The coffins in the catalogue are arranged in four broad sections based on general characteristics of the decoration and rough dating:<sup>5</sup> "**Yellow coffins of the 21st and 22nd dynasty**", "**Third Intermediate Period Cartonnage Sets**", "**Late Coffins with Primarily Pictorial Decoration**", and "**Late Coffins with Primarily Textual Decoration**". At the end of each section,

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<sup>3</sup> A coffin set may consist of an inner coffin alone or an inner coffin within up to four nested outer coffins.

<sup>4</sup> Titles alone can be a strong indicator of origin but should ideally not be used by themselves. That this piece of evidence can be unreliable is shown by the discovery of two reused(?) Akhmim coffins near the Temple of Thutmose III at Deir el-Bahari. Elzbieta Dabrowska Smektala, 'Coffins Found in the Area of the Temple of Thutmose III at Deir El-Bahari', *Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale*, 66 (1966), 171–81.

<sup>5</sup> These categories are based on the overall layout of their decoration and on a rough dating drawn loosely from Ruth Brech's typology "Spätägyptische Särge aus Achmim" and parallels in the Theban corpus.

the artistic and scribal hands on the coffins are compared with each other in order to ascertain which pieces were made by the same artisans. The iconography and layout of the coffins in the section are compared with each other and with pieces in previous sections in order to propose one or more Design Patterns.<sup>6</sup> These design patterns are the common styles which signify products of the same workshop. Artists are assigned to workshops, and the interrelationship between different workshops is discussed. Finally, knowledge of the characteristics of the hands of individual artists and the design patterns governing their products is applied to a large corpus of coffins with unsure or unknown provenience. If possible, these pieces are assigned to one of the workshops defined in the section.

The Third Part of the work is the **Conclusion**, which uses the workshops discussed in the catalogues to provide a big-picture overview of the development of coffin styles at Akhmim during the time between the fall of the New Kingdom and the Ptolemaic period. This chapter then probes the idea of a "provincial" workshop, discussing what the coffins tell us about who the coffin artists at Akhmim were, how they selected and copied their designs and texts, and the degree to which their work was derivative of that from the more famous Theban workshops.

The appendixes contain information discussed in the three main sections of the book starting with **Appendix I**, which is a list of fragmentary late coffins found in the el-Hawawish cemetery at Akhmim during the Australian Expedition led by Naguib Kanawati. These are the only published post New Kingdom coffins from the site with a find context. **Appendix II** is a combined paleography of all coffins discussed in the catalogue, along with unprovenanced pieces introduced in the conclusion to each section of the catalogue. It acts as an aide for understanding the analyses and comparisons made in the catalogue. **Appendix III** provides partial translations for the texts on a selection of unpublished pieces discussed in the Catalogue. It also provides reference for the discussion of scribal literacy in the conclusion of this work.

## Methodology

Coffins were included in the main catalogue if they could be tied to Akhmim through the owner's titles or through museum records associating the coffin with the original excavations at the site under Maspero, or with an excavator who was known to have purchased the coffin at

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<sup>6</sup>The term Design Pattern is defined here as a flexible set of rules governing the placement, layout, and selection of vignettes and text on the coffin, which produce similar looking pieces, but allow for a certain amount of internal variation. I use the term "Design Pattern" rather than "Type" because I feel that "type", defined by the Merriam Webster Dictionary as a "class, kind, or group set apart by common characteristics" did not adequately convey that the final decoration of the coffin is a product of a series of decisions made by the customer and artisans in order to solve the problem of the rebirth of the deceased. The solutions to this problem might be governed by common rules, but no two coffins are identical. "Design Pattern" captures this nuance. As used in physical and software architecture, a design pattern is a generic solution to a problem which arises over and over again. Design patterns are generic, so every individual implementation can be unique. However, in order to implement the design pattern, an individual implementation might have to share some elements with other implementations. Erich Gamma and others, *Design Patterns: Elements of Reusable Object-Oriented Software*, Addison-Wesley Professional Computing Series (Reading, Mass: Addison-Wesley, 1995), pp. 1–4; *A Pattern Language: Towns, Buildings, Construction* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1977), p. x; *The Merriam-Webster Dictionary*, Merriam-Webster's Everyday Language Reference Set (Springfield, Mass: Merriam-Webster, 2004), p. 774.

the site. To be included, the titles of a coffin owner (or her male relatives) should associate them with the cult of Min, lord of Akhmim (*mnw nb ipw*) or the cult of Isis at Akhmim. Coffins were considered unprovenanced if they did not meet these criteria, and if they had only been previously associated with the site using stylistic comparison.

To compare the scribal and artistic hands used in coffin decoration, this work draws inspiration from the Morellian Method as described by Berenson, where repetitive peripheral details in a painting are compared on the theory that an artist will draw them automatically, without consciously thinking of imitating a model or master.<sup>7</sup> This approach has been used to effect on ancient material, most famously on Greek vases.<sup>8</sup> It is occasionally used in the analysis of Egyptian painting albeit usually with little transparency as to how two pieces were determined to have been by the same hand.

Because of this, and because the characterization of artistic hands is ultimately a matter of clear argumentation and establishing trust between the reader and the scholar, it is especially important that the methodology used in this work be clearly outlined here.

#### Image Acquisition

The data upon which this work relies on libraries of glyphs and iconographic motifs sampled from high resolution digital photographs.<sup>9</sup> These were either taken by the author, used with permission from online photograph databases,<sup>10</sup> or acquired from the institution which owns the coffin.

Sometimes, the current condition of the coffin, or the nature of the existing photographs made it necessary to process the photographs before they were used for sampling.<sup>11</sup> Algorithms used to process the photographs were reversible and applied to the entire area in question. The resulting images were compared with the original photograph before being sampled to verify that the processing methods did not alter the image in a way which might affect the final comparison of the sample with other samples.

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<sup>7</sup> Bernhard Berenson, 'Rudiments of Connoisseurship', in *Study and Criticism of Italian Art* (George Bell and Sons, 1902), pp. 111–48 (pp. 119–33). For an overview of the history of this method and its criticism, see Carlo Ginsburg, 'Clues: Morelli, Freud, and Sherlock Holmes', in *The Sign of Three: Dupin, Holmes, Peirce*, ed. by Umberto Eco and Thomas Albert Sebeok, *Advances in Semiotics* (Bloomington: Indiana university press, 1983).

<sup>8</sup> For an overview of the history of the use of the Morellian Method on Greek vases, especially the work of Sir John Beasley, see D. C. Kurz, 'Beasley and the Connoisseurship of Greek Vases', in *Greek Vases in the J. Paul Getty Museum*, *Occasional Papers on Antiquities*, 3 (Malibu, CA: The J. Paul Getty Museum, 1985), 2/1985, 237–49.

<sup>9</sup> Photographs were preferred to drawings because photography preserves information on the color of the piece, the thickness of the paint, the texture of the surface, and the thickness and quality of the lines. With drawings these are necessarily standardized to fixed sizes and colors.

<sup>10</sup> Flickr and the Archaeological Photograph Exchange were particularly useful.

<sup>11</sup> Specifically, the D-Stretch plugin for ImageJ was helpful for reading glyphs that were hard to make out due to water damage, dirt, or fading. ImageJ's Perspective Warp feature was judiciously applied on a few occasions where an inscription or piece of iconography was only visible at an angle in a photograph. Photoshop's Photomerge feature was used to piece together multiple smaller pictures so that a text or scene could be studied in its full context.

## Custom Software

Acquiring, storing, and labeling samples from the photographs required the development of a custom pipeline: glyphs, words, and figures were marked and labeled in their origin photos using Makesense.AI,<sup>12</sup> This involved drawing a shape around the glyph or piece of iconography in question and assigning a label to it. Glyphs were labeled with their codes as listed in Gardiner's Signlist.<sup>13</sup> Iconographic elements were given a simple descriptive label. The coordinates of the selected areas along with the associated labels were then exported. These exported files were then processed with a custom script<sup>14</sup>, which "snipped" out the designated areas of the original photograph and, if the sample was marked as a paleographical sample, converted the Gardiner Signlist code to a Unicode character use for the label. A third script loaded the output from the "PaleographyTools" script and inserted each sample in a Postgres database.

The interface for this database is a website built on the Django CRM framework. In it, each sample is a member of a library of the appropriate type (Paleography, Orthography, or Image Library). These libraries are then associated with a coffin in the database. The UI written for the Django website allowed samples from the same and different coffins to be displayed side by side according to searchable parameters.

## Sampling Strategy

It quickly became apparent that sampling every element on a coffin would not be feasible because of both the intense amount of labor and because it would not be informative to the reader--some glyphs appear many times on the surface of the coffin and these occurrences are nearly identical. Slightly different strategies were adopted when capturing iconography, paleography, and orthography, but they all had as goals a representation of both variation and breadth of the data.

A glyph was included in paleography of a coffin if the glyph in question was not yet represented in the paleography for that coffin, or if the current example seemed substantially different than the version of the glyph already in the paleography. Painted hieroglyphs appear on coffins in multiple scripts: block-hieroglyphs, which are drawn as outlines and filled with a solid color, cursive hieroglyphs, which contain a hybrid selection of hieratic characters and gracefully drawn interior detail, and fully drawn and detailed monumental glyphs.<sup>15</sup> If the same character was present in multiple scripts on a coffin, examples of each script were included.

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<sup>12</sup> Makesense.AI is nominally a webapp used to "train" AI in image recognition, but its base functionality allows a human user to load photographs, draw shapes around objects in those photographs, and to assign labels to those shapes. These sets of coordinates and labels can be exported in the JSON format, which is easily read by custom software. Piotr Skalski, *Make Sense*, version 1.8.0-alpha <<https://github.com/SkalskiP/make-sense>> [accessed 13 September 2021].

<sup>13</sup> Alan H. Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar: Being an Introduction to the Study of Hieroglyphs*, 3d ed., rev (Oxford: Griffith Institute, Ashmolean Museum, 1957), pp. 442–547.

<sup>14</sup> Kea Johnston, *PaleographyTools*, 2021 <<https://github.com/nanythemummy/PaleographyTools>> [accessed 13 September 2021].

<sup>15</sup> For a discussion of monumental glyphs versus hybrid and cursive or semi-cursive scripts, see Rita Lucarelli, 'Cursive Hieroglyphs in the Book of the Dead', in *The Oxford Handbook of Egyptian Epigraphy and Palaeography*, ed. by Vanessa Davies and Dimitri Laboury, The Oxford Handbook (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2020), pp. 579–87.



However, variations in color between glyphs in the same script were not treated as distinct paleographical variants.<sup>16</sup> Finally, samples which were clearly painted and in good condition were preferred except when a sample from an area of the coffin in poor condition was unique and had no more clear analogues elsewhere.

With iconography, entire vignettes were sampled, and these were labeled with the suffix "scene". Analogous scenes on different coffins were given the same label such as "Osiris in Tree Scene" so that the composition of the same vignette could be compared across multiple coffins. The individual figures in each scene were also sampled. The sampling of figures was much less selective than that of glyphs, and the goal was to sample examples of analogous figures from multiple vignettes as much surface area as possible in order to detect division of labor between artists over the surface of the coffin. However, since vignettes and figural drawings tended to be larger and fewer than individual hieroglyphs, it was often possible to, for example, sample every occurrence of the goddess Isis or the Abydos fetish on a given coffin. Again, the clearer examples were preferred to damaged ones.

#### Strategy for Analyzing Hands

A problem posed by this method of sampling individual unique characters is that the context is lost. One of the goals of this project was to determine how many artists and/or scribes worked on a particular coffin. There is a natural variation in the hands of artists and scribes--one figure or character cannot be expected to be an exact copy of the last. Whether a scribe or artist is tired, in a hurry, in pain, or even bored can impact quality and style of writing.

Discerning whether two different scribes worked on a piece is thus a matter not only of noting variations in particular signs and figures, but also of noting patterns in how the variation occurs. Studies on hieratic papyri have shown that if variants in single signs occur in discrete areas and are coincident with variations in other signs, multiple scribes may have worked on a piece.<sup>17</sup>

Coffins, unlike papyri, are three dimensional. They were the focus of rituals in which the viewers' eyes would be drawn to certain parts of the coffin over others. We might expect less care taken in rendering the vignettes and texts in the areas that were not the focus of attention during the funerary rituals,<sup>18</sup> introducing consistent and localized variation in handwriting which would not necessarily be an indicator of multiple scribes. The link in the database between the paleography and the larger source images made it possible to take location into consideration when deciding whether a particular variant constituted evidence of a new hand.

In general, two of the same glyph were considered to be of the same hand if they had very similar shapes and were formed by lines drawn in a similar way.<sup>19</sup> Some glyphs have very

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<sup>16</sup> This is because the goal of the paleography is to aid in distinguishing between scribal hands and we do not know if monumental glyphs were colored by the same person who drafted them, and there is not a way to tell whether this was the case.

<sup>17</sup> Jac. J. Janssen, 'Idiosyncrasies in Late Ramesside Hieratic Writing', *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, 86.1 (2000), 51–56 <<https://doi.org/10.1177/030751330008600110>>.

<sup>18</sup> Kara Cooney, *Coffin Commerce: How a Funerary Materiality Formed Ancient Egypt*, Elements in Ancient Egypt in Context (Cambridge, United Kingdom New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2021), pp. 32–35.

<sup>19</sup> My initial intention was to use the ductus, or the order in which lines were drawn, as a tool with which to discern different hands. This was not possible for multiple reasons. Firstly, the depth of the paint was usually not clear in

simple shapes and are drawn nearly identically on coffins which cannot have been by the same scribe. Thus, more weight was accorded to more complicated glyphs requiring more pen strokes. Bird, animal, and human-shaped glyphs were generally the most useful for comparison because of this. Comparisons between hieroglyphic scripts with and without internal detail focused on the exterior outline of the glyph and the strokes used to draw it. Comparison between monumental scripts and cursive scripts on the same coffin had to be executed with great care. However, the outer lines of the glyph could sometimes be used for comparison here as well.

Artistic analysis of the coffins consisted of comparing drawings of figures first across the area of a single coffin in order to discern how many artists had worked on the coffin, and then between coffins to determine if the same artist had created multiple pieces in the corpus. Figures of humans, animals and deities were used, though other iconography which could be shown multiple times, such as the Abydos fetish, was also useful. Comparison between figures focused on the faces. This is because they usually have the same neutral expression regardless of the action that the figure is currently performing. Scribes drawing figures on these coffins did not use grids and the way the body of the figures was drawn changed depending on the pose the figure assumed. However, two problems arise from this. Firstly, the way the face was drawn changed depending on the accessory elements: a face with a beard and an atef crown uses different strokes than a face wearing a tripartite wig. Because of this, I preferred female faces for comparison. The goddesses on coffins after the New Kingdom almost always wear sheath dresses, collars, tripartite wigs, and no earrings. Goddesses across the coffin are drawn similarly regardless of their identity, making them ideal for comparison.

Animal-headed deities and animal figures also occurred frequently over the surface of the coffins and these were especially useful for comparison because the shapes of the animal faces were also static--animal headed gods are generally associated with a static set of regalia. The shapes of animal faces could also be compared with animal figures in monumental glyphs on the same coffin, allowing identification between scribes and artists.

Finally, care was taken when comparing figures of different sizes, because this could also alter how a figure was drawn. Small faces tended to use fewer strokes than larger ones. Small and large faces and bodies have a different shape, as if the artist learned how to draw large and small figures in a different manner, rather than attempting to simply scale large figures down and small figures up. It was not always possible to tell whether a small and large figure on the same coffin were drawn by the same person. In this case, the distribution of the small figures was used to posit whether a division of labor was likely. For example, a large figure and a small figure occurring in the same vignette but drawn differently were probably by the same person--it would be difficult to imagine an artist abandoning his work so that another artist could draw a small figure right next to his large one.

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even the best photographs. Secondly, even if it were possible to examine the pieces in person, variable composition of the binding medium of the paint and the sizing of the plaster surface on which the drawing was executed make it difficult to tell which line of paint is on top of another because they blend into each other and soak into the surface. Finally, the condition of many of these pieces was such that they had been water-damaged, abraded, soiled, conserved or restored through unspecified means. All these factors which would have rendered any results from ductus analysis problematic.

Despite the attitudes of the Morellian method's early advocates, there is no algorithm for determining the artistic hands, but it can be done systematically. The scholar must observe and compare, formulate a theory, and convince the reader that their theory is correct. Because of this, this work attempts to present its arguments with as much detail and background data as possible in order to allow the reader to test attributions for themselves and follow the logic behind the argumentation.

## Part I

### Introduction

The foundational literature upon which our understanding of coffin development is based has centered on coffin development at Thebes. These pieces have been categorized by appearance towards the aim of dating them,<sup>20</sup> but the linear picture of coffin development which results is deceptively simple. Because of the assumption that the tastes of the Theban elite can (and should) be applied to all coffins in Egypt, regional and social variation in coffin design have been understudied, at least until recently.

Many of the coffins in museums do not fit the general model constructed for Theban coffins. Scholarly attempts to understand why has led to studies reframing coffin style as a

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<sup>20</sup> David A. Aston, *Burial Assemblages of Dynasty 21-25*, Österreichische Akademie Der Wissenschaften Denkschriften Der Gesamtkademie, LVI (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2009); John H. Taylor, 'Patterns of Coloring on Ancient Egyptian Coffins from the New Kingdom to the Twenty-Sixth Dynasty: An Overview', in *Color and Painting in Ancient Egypt*, ed. by W. V. Davies (London: The British Museum Press, 2001); John H. Taylor, 'Theban Coffins from the Twenty-Second to the Twenty-Sixth Dynasty: Dating and Synthesis of Development', in *The Theban Necropolis: Past, Present, and Future*, ed. by Nigel Strudwick and John H. Taylor (London: British Museum Press, 2003), pp. 95–121; Andrzej Niwiński, *21st Dynasty Coffins from Thebes: Chronological and Typological Studies*, Theben, 5 (Mainz am Rhein: Philipp von Zabern, 1988); Andrzej Niwiński, 'Sarg NR-SpZt', *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*, V.3 (1983), 434–68; Gábor Schreiber, 'Early and Middle Ptolemaic Funerary Art at Thebes (ca 306-88 BC)', in *Proceedings of the Colloquium on Theban Archaeology at the Supreme Council of Antiquities, November 5, 2009*, ed. by Colloquium on Theban Archaeology at the Supreme Council of Antiquities, Zahi A. Hawass, and Majlis al-A'lá lil-Āthār Egypt (presented at the Colloquium on Theban Archaeology at the Supreme Council of Antiquities, Cairo: Conseil Suprême des Antiquités de l'Égypte, 2011); Johnathan P. Elias, 'Coffin Inscription in Egypt after the New Kingdom: A Study of Text Production and Use in Elite Mortuary Preparation' (University of Chicago, 1993).

function of political change,<sup>21</sup> economic pressures on coffin consumers,<sup>22</sup> changes in religious belief,<sup>23</sup> and, most importantly for this work, regional variation.<sup>24</sup>

These approaches hint at a complicated system of religious, social, and political factors which shaped the appearance of coffins in the First Millennium BCE. It may be best to see coffin decoration (and funerary art in general) as the product of a multidimensional process where certain elements of style were eventually adopted by the whole Nile Valley over time because of changes in beliefs surrounding the dead and their rebirth. We can expect there to be regional divisions and social divisions within this framework. In addition, minor variations in coffin decoration may have been subject to individual tastes, beliefs, education, and economic means, not only of the buyer, but of the artisans who created coffins.

This work focuses on regional coffin development at Akhmim, but it is important to understand the development of the Theban model because the ideas it expresses were shared elsewhere in Egypt. Because Thebes was a center of religious and political power, its artists provided some of the iconographical material which local artists at Akhmim used and from which they drew inspiration. Because there is little datable material from Akhmim, the Theban model also gives us rough ideas of when coffins of certain styles might have been made.

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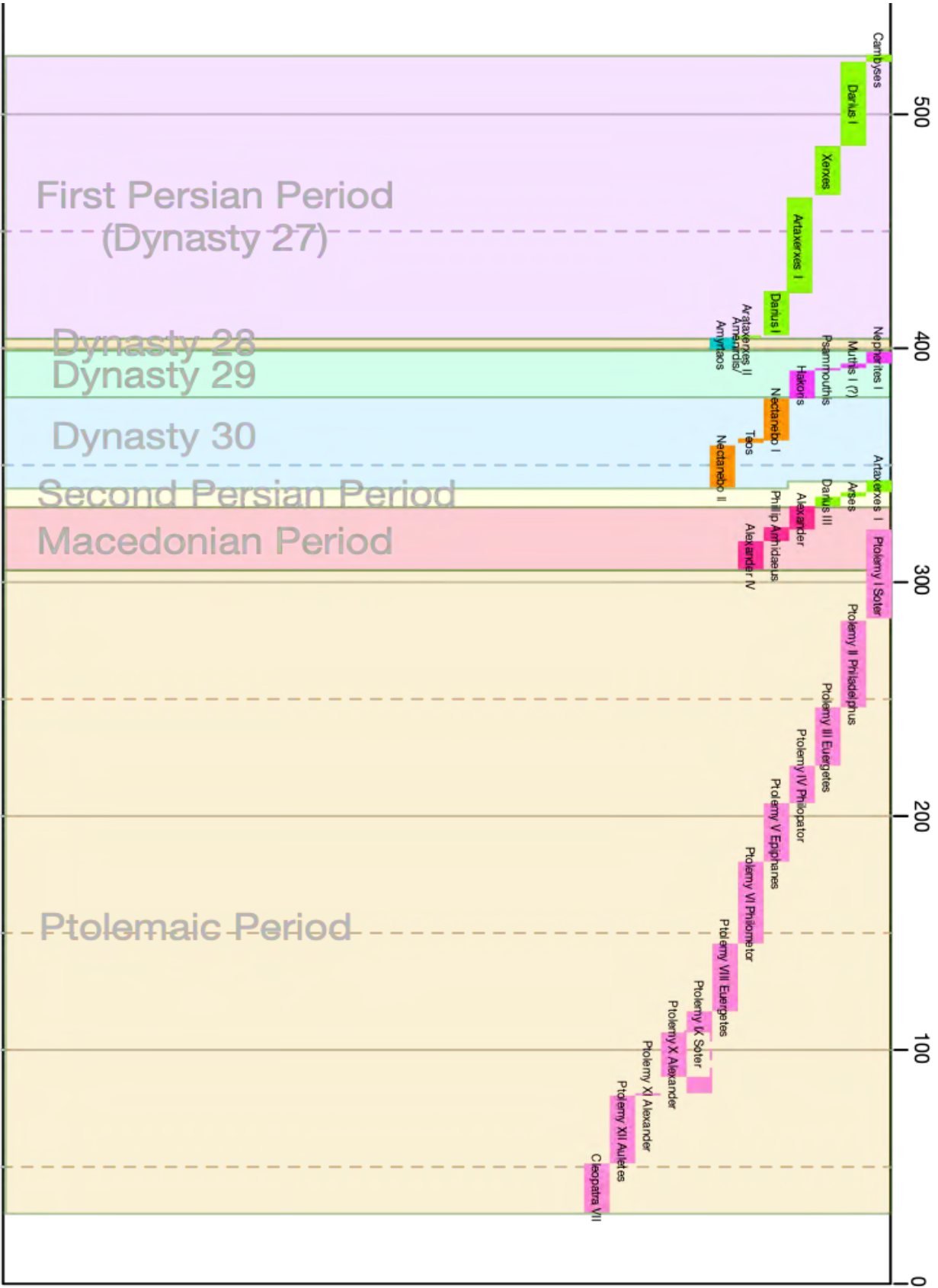
<sup>21</sup> For the reintroduction of Book of the Dead Spells on coffins as an indirect result of Nubian interest in old texts in the 25th dynasty see: Johnathan P. Elias, 'Coffin Inscription in Egypt After the New Kingdom: A Study of Text Production and Use' (University of Chicago, 1993), pp. 398–394. For the disappearance of the Stola type coffins as a reaction by Shoshenk I against the usurpation of royal prerogatives in their iconography, see René van Walsem, *The Coffin of Djedmonthuiufankh in the National Museum of Antiquities at Leiden*, Egyptologische Uitgaven (Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, 1997), I–II, p. 362.

<sup>22</sup> Kathlyn M. Cooney, *The Cost of Death*, Egyptologische Uitgaven (Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, 2007); Kathlyn M Cooney, 'Private Sector Tomb Robbery and Funerary Arts Reuse According to West Theban Documentation', in *Deir El-Medina Studies*, ed. by Jaana Toivari-Viitala, Turo Vartiainen, and Saara Uvanto, Finnish Egyptological Society Occasional Publications, 2 (Helsinki: Finnish Egyptological Society, 2009), pp. 16–28; Kathlyn M Cooney, 'Ancient Egyptian Funerary Arts as Social Documents: Social Place, Reuse, and Working Towards a New Typology of 21st Dynasty Coffins', in *Body, Cosmos and Eternity: New Research Trends in the Iconography and Symbolism of Ancient Egyptian Coffins ; [in February 2013, the Symposium Body, Cosmos and Eternity: The Symbolism of Coffins in Ancient Egypt Convened at the Historical Building of the University of Porto ...]*, ed. by Rogério Sousa and Symposium Body, *Body, Cosmos and Eternity: the Symbolism of Coffins in Ancient Egypt*, Archaeopress Egyptology, 3 (presented at the Symposium Body, Cosmos and Eternity: the Symbolism of Coffins in Ancient Egypt, Oxford: Archaeopress, 2014), pp. 45–67; Kathlyn M. Cooney, 'Changing Burial Practices at the End of the New Kingdom: Defensive Adaptations in Tomb Commissions, Coffin Commissions, Coffin Decoration, and Mummification', *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt*, 47 (2011), 3–44; John H. Taylor, 'Evidence for Social Patterning on Theban Coffins of Dynasty 25', in *Ancient Egyptian Coffins: Craft Traditions and Functionality*, ed. by John H. Taylor and Marie Vandenbeusch, British Museum Publications on Egypt and Sudan, 4 (Leuven: Peeters, 2018), pp. 349–89.

<sup>23</sup> Anders Bettum, 'Faces Within Faces: The Symbolic Function of Nested Yellow Coffins in Ancient Egypt' (unpublished PhD Dissertation, University of Oslo, 2012).

<sup>24</sup> John H. Taylor, 'Coffins as Evidence for a "North-South Divide" in the 22nd-25th Dynasties', in *The Libyan Period in Egypt*, ed. by G. P. F. Broekman, R. J. Demarée, and O. E. Kaper, Ugyptologische Uitgaven, XXIII (Leuven: Peeters, 2009), pp. 375–415.





## The Theban Model

For the timespan between the fall of the New Kingdom and the First Persian Invasion, we know much more about chronology and burial practices at Thebes than we do about any other site. As a result, there are many more coffins from Thebes that can be anchored more or less firmly in time than there are from anywhere else. This is in part a consequence of the importance of Thebes as a political and religious center during this time, in part a result of poor excavation records in the provinces, and in part because the climate at Thebes lends itself well to the preservation of wooden artifacts.

Objects are more easily dated when they are found in concurrence with a royal name or date, and the most easily datable coffins are those of high priests and royalty. While we do have Post New-Kingdom Royal funerary equipment from Tanis,<sup>25</sup> Herakleopolis Magna,<sup>26</sup> and other regional centers,<sup>27</sup> these burial goods are limited to metal, stone, and faience objects. Some wooden funerary equipment belonging to the elite at the aforementioned sites has survived, but in general, wooden and cartonnage coffins have been destroyed by the damp climate.

In contrast at Thebes, we have found the wooden coffins and cartonnages of the Third Intermediate Period high priests of Amun as well as those of their extended families. We have also found the tombs of the God's wives of Amun, those of their servants, and the monumental tombs of powerful officials of the 25th and 26th dynasties. These individuals are mentioned in multiple inscriptions, some of which have regnal dates or reference externally datable events.

Even lesser elites buried at Thebes are often associated with datable information because of the abundant surviving inscriptional material from the site. The priests at Karnak were wrapped in linens which were sometimes labeled with the name of the High Priest under which they were made. Burials from the 21st and 22nd dynasty were often provided with leather "mummy-braces" stamped with the name of the ruling king in Tanis and the name of the High Priest of Amun in Thebes. These datable linens and leather braces provide a *terminus post quem* for the burial and for its coffins. In the later Third Intermediate Period, dating is further facilitated by the practice of inscribing long genealogies on coffins. These allow for approximate dating of a piece by counting generations between the deceased and an ancestor for whom datable information is known and multiplying it by an estimated generation length, usually 20-25 years.<sup>28</sup> Even though long genealogies are provided on coffins from elsewhere, there is a higher probability of a Theban coffin naming a datable ancestor because so many Theban monuments have been scientifically excavated and documented. At almost any given

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<sup>25</sup> See the summary of the finds in Aston, *Burial Assemblages of Dynasty 21-25*, pp. 39–61.

<sup>26</sup> See the publications of the Spanish expedition at Ichnasya el-Medina, especially M. Carmen Pérez Die, 'The Third Intermediate Period Necropolis at Herakleopolis Magna', in *The Libyan Period in Egypt*, ed. by G. P. F. Broekman, R. J. Demarée, and O. E. Kaper, *Egyptologische Uitgaven*, XXIII (Leuven: Peeters, 2009).

<sup>27</sup> For example, the burial of a queen Karoma at Moqdam, which Kitchen sees as evidence for the seat of Manetho's dynasty 23 being in this city. Henri Gauthier, 'A Travers La Basse-Égypte', *Annales Du Service Des Antiquités de l'Égypte*, 21 (1921), 21–27; Aston, *Burial Assemblages of Dynasty 21-25*, pp. 64–65; Kenneth Kitchen, *The Third Intermediate Period in Egypt (1100-650 B. B.)* (Warminster, UK: Aris & Phillips LTD, 1973), p. 130.

<sup>28</sup> For a lengthy critique of generation counting as a means to dating, see Elias, 'Coffin Inscription in Egypt After the New Kingdom: A Study of Text Production and Use', pp. 29-44.



time after the New Kingdom and prior to the First Persian period, we are simply more intimately familiar with the Theban priesthood and administration than we are with the elites from anywhere else.

After the Third Intermediate Period, the number of coffins firmly associated with sites outside of Thebes increases, but these are only rarely associated with datable information. Thebes remains the main source for datable coffins through the Saite Period. After the Saite Period, coffins from Thebes become increasingly rare. Only a few coffins from any location after the Saite Period can be associated with datable information. However, the scientific excavation of several Theban Tombs reused in the Ptolemaic period has allowed for a general reconstruction of coffin development during this period as well.

Information gleaned from associated datable inscriptions, generation counting, and excavations have been used to build the major typologies of Theban coffins, which will be called the Theban Model here. For the Twenty-First Dynasty, the major coffin typology is Niwinski's Twenty-First Dynasty Coffins from Thebes<sup>29</sup> Niwinski's work relies on datable inscriptions associated with owners of individual coffins, and he notes overall formal developments in the coffin design which occur when datable coffins are placed in sequence.<sup>30</sup> A useful additional source on the late 21<sup>st</sup> and early 22<sup>nd</sup> dynasty Stola-type coffins is Walsem's study of the coffin ensemble of Djedmonthuiwefankh.<sup>31</sup>

Development of coffin types during the Twenty-second through Twenty-sixth dynasties are the subject of John Taylor's unpublished thesis on coffin development in the Third Intermediate Period and Saite Period, which is summarized in Aston's Third Intermediate Period Burial Ensembles<sup>32</sup>, as well as in the article: "Theban Coffins from the Twenty-Second to the Twenty-Sixth Dynasty: Dating and Synthesis of Development".<sup>33</sup> Taylor anchors coffins to dates from inscriptions as well as information derived from generation counting. He attempts to characterize internal dating criteria by observing changes in the detail of the drawing style when datable coffins are placed in order.<sup>34</sup> Specifically, Taylor focuses on changes in the depiction of funerary cones, costume, and the canon of proportions. He observes other changes

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<sup>29</sup> For the importance of bandages and braces in this study, see Niwiński, *21st Dynasty Coffins from Thebes: Chronological and Typological Studies*, pp. 52-55.

<sup>30</sup> This work is reviewed in: David A. Aston, 'Reviewed Work: 21st Dynasty Coffins from Thebes: Chronological and Typological Studies by Andrzej Niwinski', *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt*, 28 (1991), 233-35; Albert de Caluwe, 'Review: Andrzej Niwinski, 21st Dynasty Coffins from Thebes: Chronological and Typological Studies', *Chronique d'Égypte*, 68.135-136 (1993), 121-27.

<sup>31</sup> van Walsem, I-II.

<sup>32</sup> Aston, *Burial Assemblages of Dynasty 21-25*, pp. 269-89.

<sup>33</sup> Taylor, 'Theban Coffins from the Twenty-Second to the Twenty-Sixth Dynasty: Dating and Synthesis of Development'.

<sup>34</sup> These include but are not limited to the style of the dress of the deceased as depicted on the coffin, the form of the funerary cone on the head of the deceased in coffin vignettes, and the grid of proportions used to draw figures, which notably changes in the Nubian period and again in the Saite period. The spelling of the name of Osiris is the main orthographical feature used to date coffins of the Third Intermediate Period to the Saite period by both Taylor and Brech. After the end of the Third Intermediate Period, Osiris is increasingly written with Gardiner's R8 sign (the "pennant spelling"). This last is detailed in Anthony Leahy, 'The Name of Osiris Spelled [...]', *Studien Zur Altägyptischen Kultur*, 7 (1979), 141-53.

in iconography which occur concurrently. The result is not so much a well-defined series, but clusters of iconographical features that occur together, some of which can be roughly dated.<sup>35</sup>

Further information on the coffins of the later Third Intermediate Period, Nubian Period, and Saite Period is provided by Johnathan Elias' unpublished PhD dissertation, Coffin Inscription in Egypt after the New Kingdom.<sup>36</sup> Elias gathers a large corpus of coffins mostly from Thebes and discusses the change in choice, content, and placement of texts on the coffin surfaces. Elias also devises a typology which is based on the layout of the surface of the coffin. He calls these "Presentation Modes."

The Theban Model is the framework upon which typologies of coffins from other places must rely out of necessity, but there is bias in this model: it is based on a sample that is almost completely Theban, and almost completely from the highest echelons of Theban society. The development of coffin decoration is ultimately driven by the spiritual and aesthetic needs of the people who buy them, as compiled with the beliefs and abilities of the people who make them. Thus, the development of coffins in the Theban model should be viewed as an expression of political and religious forces acting on the Theban elite. In short, our understanding of coffin development in general might be viewed as an understanding of the development of a regional style at Thebes.

## The 21<sup>st</sup> Dynasty

### General Development

Twenty-First dynasty yellow coffins are anthropoid in shape. They have a flat-bottomed basin that is much deeper than the lid, which is very shallow. They appear in nested sets in which the innermost element is a wooden "mummy board" placed over the wrapped body. This replaced the openwork mummy-covers and masks which were popular in the Ramesside period.<sup>37</sup> The mummy-board and the body were placed in one or two nesting outer coffins which were very similar in appearance. Decoration is painted in blue, light green, dark green and red with details added in white and black. The ground is usually white or light yellow, and the coffins are covered with a varnish which yellows over time.

A general rule with respect to the development of these coffins is that the density of decoration grows over time, with earlier pieces exhibiting more negative space in the decoration than the later ones, which exhibit what Niwinski calls "*horror vacui*".<sup>38</sup> Additional changes take place in the layout of the lid. Over time, the collar expands downwards towards the belly and over the shoulders. Arms, painted or carved on the earlier coffins, are reduced first to elbows which peek out from beneath the collar at the sides of the body<sup>39</sup>, and then to

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<sup>35</sup> Taylor, 'Theban Coffins from the Twenty-Second to the Twenty-Sixth Dynasty: Dating and Synthesis of Development', p. 105.

<sup>36</sup> Elias, 'Coffin Inscription in Egypt After the New Kingdom: A Study of Text Production and Use'.

<sup>37</sup> Niwiński, *21st Dynasty Coffins from Thebes: Chronological and Typological Studies*, p. 7.

<sup>38</sup> Niwiński, *21st Dynasty Coffins from Thebes: Chronological and Typological Studies*, p. 66.

<sup>39</sup> Lid Type III-a, b, which appear in the second half of the reign of High Priest Menkheperre and continue into dynasty 22. Niwiński, *21st Dynasty Coffins from Thebes: Chronological and Typological Studies*, pp. 76–77.

mere notches in the sides of the lid.( Figure 2) <sup>40</sup> There is much variety in the decoration of the outer walls of the basin, and overall trends can only be discussed in broad terms. Coffins with horizontal layouts on the sides (Fewer vertical columns dividing the surface), and semi-horizontal layouts (vignettes delimited by vertical columns are further divided with horizontal lines) tend to cluster in the second half of the dynasty. <sup>41</sup> As for the interior of the basin, it is also highly variable. The earliest coffins have no decoration in the basin at all, cherry-red basins are grouped but not limited to the middle of the dynasty, and yellow-grounded basins cluster at the end of the dynasty with the Stola coffins.

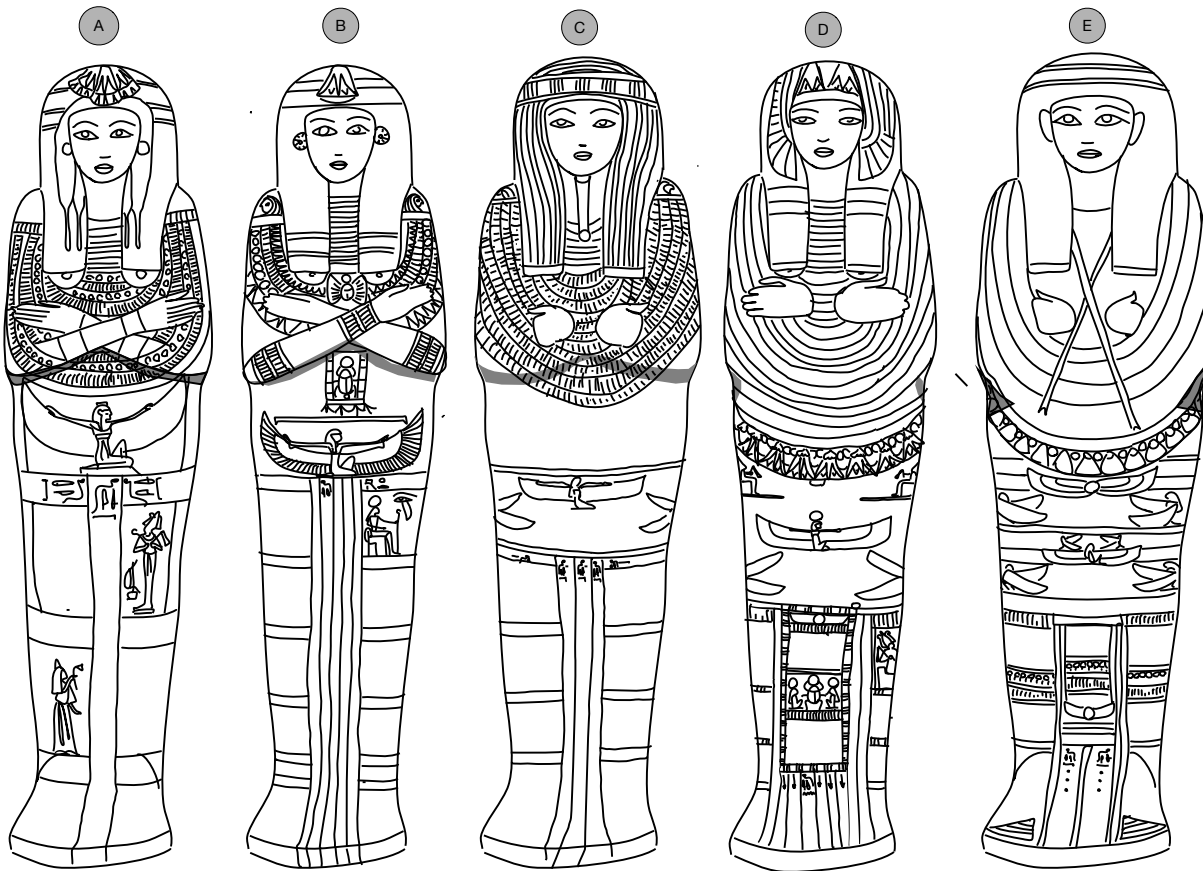


Figure 2: Lid Layouts of 21<sup>st</sup> Dynasty Coffins. A: Woman's coffin of Niwinski's type II-a, Ramesside Period. B: Woman's Coffin of Niwinski's type II, 21<sup>st</sup> dynasty, showing increase in *Horror Vacui*. Subgroups of type II are based on the read direction of the text in lateral bands, which changed under the reign of High Priest Menkheperre. C: Male Coffin of Niwinski's type III-a, used from the reign of High Priest Menkheperre to the end of Dynasty 21. D: Female coffin of Niwinski's type III-b, used from the reign of High Priest Menkheperre to the beginning of Dynasty 22. E: Woman's stola-type coffin, Niwinski's type V. Niwinski dates it from the reign of High Priest Pinudjem II to the time of Osorkon I.

<sup>40</sup> Lid Type IIIc, Type V, appearing in the reign of High Priest Pinudjem II and continuing into Dynasty 22. Niwiński, *21st Dynasty Coffins from Thebes: Chronological and Typological Studies*, p. 78,80-81.

<sup>41</sup> Niwiński, *21st Dynasty Coffins from Thebes: Chronological and Typological Studies*, pp. 85–87.

These so-called “Stola”<sup>42</sup> coffins are a special group which represent the cumulation of 21<sup>st</sup> dynasty coffin development.<sup>43</sup> The distinctive feature which gives these coffins their name is a red band, which comes down on both sides of the neck and crosses over the chest. This is the stola: a representation of the red leather strap or “mummy braces” sometimes placed around the neck of the body.

#### Function and Symbolism

Changes in coffin style were driven by changing religious and political beliefs as well as artistic innovation. However, the form of the coffin as a representation of a wrapped human extended back to the late Middle Kingdom. Human-shaped<sup>44</sup> coffins were thought to represent the ideal image of a divinized body, for whom the correct mummification and wrapping rituals had been performed (the *s<sup>c</sup>ḥ*).

The ultimate goal of all of the funerary rituals was to usher the deceased through the process of justification in the underworld. After the deceased had passed the judgement, they became an effective spirit, or *ḥ*: a divine being able to travel with the sun in his barque, able to be a follower of Osiris in the underworld, and able to intercede with the gods on behalf of the living. This divine being took the form of the deceased in pure, fine, white dress.<sup>45</sup> The mechanism through which the coffin helped a person to become reborn was through the ritual identification with the deceased as Osiris and Re, whose nightly conjunction rejuvenated both and restarted the solar cycle.<sup>46</sup> The yellow coffins of the Ramesside period, which evolved from Amarna period antecedents,<sup>47</sup> encompass all these concepts. They depict the deceased as a wrapped *s<sup>c</sup>ḥ* divinity, with aspects of a justified *ḥ*.<sup>48</sup> Their surfaces are decorated with solar and Osirian symbolism, bringing the deceased into the ritual proximity of both gods.

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<sup>42</sup> In this context, the term "stola" refers to the crossed red bands depicted at the neck of the coffin or over the chest. In actuality, these were depictions of the in the red leather ornament, often called a "mummy brace" that was placed around the neck of the wrapped body .

<sup>43</sup> These are Niwiński's type V. Niwiński, *21st Dynasty Coffins from Thebes: Chronological and Typological Studies*, p. 81. Their dating is discussed in van Walsem, I–II, pp. 356–57.

<sup>44</sup> Here, the word human-shaped is used to avoid confusion between the terms anthropoid and mummiform. I will follow Aston in using the term Anthropoid to describe the coffins which have some features modeled on the lid, but a deep, flat-bottomed basin with tapering sides. This is in contrast to the term Mummiform, used to describe the later bivalve coffins in which the basin and lid both model bodily contours. Aston, *Burial Assemblages of Dynasty 21-25*, p. 371.

<sup>45</sup> For a discussion of the *ḥ* in general, see: John H. Taylor, *Death and the Afterlife in Ancient Egypt* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001), pp. 31–32. For the posthumous abilities of the justified dead see: Mark Smith, *Following Osiris: Perspectives on the Osirian Afterlife from Four Millennia* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2017), pp. 345–55.

<sup>46</sup> For a discussion of the deceased as one of the merged forms of Re/Osiris, see Andrzej Niwiński, 'The Solar-Osirian Unity as a Principle of the Theology of the "State of Amun" in Thebes in the 21st Dynasty', *Jaarbericht van Het Vooraziatisch-Egyptisch Genootschap Ex Oriente Lux*, 30 (1989), 89–106. I do not necessarily agree however with his conclusion that Re and Osiris are always merged, or that the Theban elite in the 21<sup>st</sup> dynasty were monotheists. For a detailed refutation of this theory see Smith, *Following Osiris*, pp. 306–30.

<sup>47</sup> Niwiński, 'Sarg NR-SpZt'.

<sup>48</sup> Cooney sees the pleats which are visible at the corners of the collar on many yellow coffins as an indication that the deceased is supposed to be wearing a fine festival dress beneath the decoration on the lid. She sees this detail as a holdover from the early Ramesside “daily life” coffins which represented the deceased in festival dress, and which represented the deceased as an *ḥ*—a deceased person who has passed the judgement and takes on divine

Here, it is useful to take the time to discuss the development and symbolism of the iconography on 21<sup>st</sup> dynasty coffins, because themes which emerge in the 21<sup>st</sup> dynasty recur on later coffins at Thebes. The yellow coffins of the 21<sup>st</sup> dynasty at Thebes represent a continuation of this Ramesside tradition in fundamental ways to the extent that at least at the beginning of Dynasty 21<sup>49</sup>, coffins are barely distinguishable from the few known Dynasty 20 pieces.<sup>50</sup> The overarching symbolism and function of the coffin remained the same. Figural decoration features Ramesside costumes and uses the Ramesside canon of proportions.<sup>51</sup> The treatment of gender remained the same as well, with clear delineation between male and female coffins in the placement of the hands, the sculpting of the hips and breasts, and the depiction of the hair.<sup>52</sup> The coffins retain the yellow coloring which first became popular after the Amarna Period. This coloring recalls both the sun and the flesh of the gods. The crisscrossing bands which divide the registers of vignettes and contain formulaic inscription can be interpreted as representing stylized bandages, evoking both the mummiform deity, Osiris, and the deceased as *sCh*.

While the basic design of the yellow coffin remained the same, the tumultuous end of the New Kingdom brought sweeping changes to burial practices and beliefs in Thebes which drove major changes in the role of the coffin for the deceased. These were manifest in the development of coffin decoration over the course of the 21<sup>st</sup> dynasty. One of the most striking changes, evident even at the beginning of the dynasty, is the introduction of scenes from Ramesside tomb chapels into the decoration of the outer walls of the coffin basin. At the end of Dynasty 20, local authorities could no longer guarantee the safety of workers on the Theban West Bank, or the sanctity of the tombs. Tomb decoration slowed to a halt. The burial practices of the Theban elite shifted away from ostentatious decorated tombs and towards burial in

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powers. Kathlyn M. Cooney, 'Gender Transformation in Death: A Case Study of Coffins from Ramesside Period Egypt', *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, 73.4 (2010), 224–37 (p. 230).

<sup>49</sup> Niwinski characterizes early coffins as those predating the pontificate of Menkheperre. It is important to note that Niwinski's data has a bias towards the later part of the dynasty. In fact, there are only a handful of coffins before the pontificate of Menkheperre which can be dated with non-stylistic methods.

<sup>50</sup> For the twentieth dynasty, only two coffins can be dated with some certainty: the coffin of Nesamun in Leeds (Rameses XI), and Userkharenakht, Bettum, 'Faces Within Faces: The Symbolic Function of Nested Yellow Coffins in Ancient Egypt', pp. 175–77.

<sup>51</sup> The Ramesside canon remains in use until the Nubian periods. Taylor, 'Theban Coffins from the Twenty-Second to the Twenty-Sixth Dynasty: Dating and Synthesis of Development', p. 99.

<sup>52</sup> The explanation for this need to differentiate gender has been drawn from the idea that the deceased needs to become Osiris to resurrect. According to Roth, men are seen as creators in the Egyptian worldview, and women as protectors and nurturers. Thus fertility (and the revivifying fertility of Osiris) is inherently masculine. Ann Macy Roth, 'Father Earth, Mother Sky: Ancient Egyptian Beliefs about Conception and Fertility', in *Reading the Body: Representations and Remains in the Archaeological Record*, ed. by Alison E. Rautman (University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000), pp. 187–201 <<https://doi.org/10.9783/9781512806830>>. The natural extension of this is the theory that women must become masculine in order to be reborn. Cooney sees a mix of gendered elements on Ramesside coffins as an effort to assert a male identity for the female dead for the purposes of rebirth and reclaim a female identity for her as an *ꜣh* after justification. Kathlyn M. Cooney, 'Gender Transformation in Death: A Case Study of Coffins from Ramesside Period Egypt'. However, this need for the deceased to transform into Osiris as opposed to ritually identify with him has been convincingly refuted by Mark Smith, negating the need for gender transformation in death. Smith, *Following Osiris*, pp. 211–16. If Smith is correct, the purpose of strong gender markers on female coffins at this time, and the shift in belief that prompted their disappearance in Dynasty 22 is unknown.

more easily guarded, undecorated communal sepulchers, often within the walls of temple precincts.<sup>53</sup> The private tomb chapel had formerly acted as an interface between the living and the dead, and also functioned as an interface between the deceased and the gods. The move towards secret, communal tombs meant that the living had to find another place to carry out their cultic duty to their ancestors. The parts of the tomb chapel which expressed the relationship between the deceased and the gods were assumed by the coffin.

Coffin basins had always assumed some architectural symbolism—they were the sacred space in which the deceased dwelled and transformed into an eternal being<sup>54</sup>—but now, they were also the tomb-chapel and courtyard in which the rituals for the deceased were performed. The outer walls of the coffin basin were decorated with the vignettes from these spaces, but not the texts, probably due to the limited space. These new coffin-basin motifs included for Book of the Dead Spells, scenes of funeral ritual, and scenes from the Ramesside royal books.

Characteristic of 21<sup>st</sup> dynasty Theban coffin decoration is the innovative combination of representative elements of older scenes to create symbolically rich new vignettes.<sup>55</sup> In addition, some entirely new scenes were added to the repertoire. These included the scene of the separation of Nut and Geb, and the representation of Osiris enthroned with his entourage on the back of a giant serpent draped over a staircase.<sup>56</sup> These mythological scenes painted on the outer walls of the coffin basin and separated by columns of short inscriptions depicted the cosmic cycle in which the deceased wished to participate.<sup>57</sup>

Where the new scenes were placed seemed to be driven by religious considerations. Initially, the new mythological scenes only occurred on the inner coffins of the ensembles; the traditional Ramesside design remained on the outer coffins. This more conservative layout represented the evolution of ideas that began in the mid 18th dynasty and developed further in the 20<sup>th</sup>. In this layout, the deceased is surrounded by the Four Sons of Horus who proceed towards the head of the deceased in what is a single continuous composition. Isis and Nephthys stand at the top of the head and the bottom of the feet. The text bands contain speeches by the adjacent deities, as well as excerpts from Book of the Dead 151 and 161.<sup>58</sup> This scene was probably supposed to evoke the hourly vigil over the deceased Osiris, in whose place lay the

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<sup>53</sup> Kathlyn M. Cooney, 'Changing Burial Practices at the End of the New Kingdom: Defensive Adaptations in Tomb Commissions, Coffin Commissions, Coffin Decoration, and Mummification', pp. 1–6.

<sup>54</sup> Anders Bettum, 'Nesting (Part Two): Merging of Layers in New Kingdom Coffin Decoration', in *Ancient Egyptian Coffins: Craft Traditions and Functionality*, ed. by John H. Taylor and Marie Vandenberg, British Museum Publications on Egypt and Sudan, 4 (Leuven: Peeters, 2018), pp. 275–91.

<sup>55</sup> See, for example, the treatment of the vignettes containing Book of the Dead spells in Andrzej Niwiński, 'The So-Called Chapters BD 141-142 and 148 on the Coffins of the 21st Dynasty from Thebes', in *Ausgestattet Mit Den Schriften Des Thot: Festschrift Für Irmtraut Munro Zu Ihrem 65. Geburtstag*, ed. by Backes Burkhard, Marcus Müller-Roth, and Simone Stöhr, Studien Zur Altägyptischen Totenbuch, 14 (Weisbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2009).

<sup>56</sup> Andrzej Niwiński, *Studies on the Illustrated Funerary Papyri of the 11th and 12th Centuries B. C.*, OBO, 98 (Freiburg: Universitätsverlag Freiburg Schweiz, 1989), pp. 38–42.

<sup>57</sup> Niwiński, *Studies on the Illustrated Funerary Papyri of the 11th and 12th Centuries B. C.*, pp. 38–42.

<sup>58</sup> This is Bettum's type A-2, , referencing Niwiński's basin-exterior layout A. Bettum, 'Faces Within Faces: The Symbolic Function of Nested Yellow Coffins in Ancient Egypt', pp. 186–87, 209, 222–23.

deceased at the center of the tableau. Isis and Nephthys mourned yet revived the dead Osiris, while the sons of Horus and others stood guard at his sides and protected him.<sup>59</sup>

While coffins of the 21<sup>st</sup> dynasty expressed a rich field of theological ideas from various (often textual) sources, these ideas were alluded to through the interplay of imagery, not through text. The texts on the coffins are in most cases limited to captions and truncated ritual speeches from the mouths of gods. They would have been completed through the principle of *pars-pro-toto* and served to protect the deceased. However, the orientation of the texts gives us a clue as to how the coffin was used in funerary ritual, since the text was written such that it was best read either when the coffin was standing on its "foot" or laying on its "back."

The middle of the dynasty saw a subtle change in the layout of the coffin texts which likely reflects both a change in the funerary ritual and a change in the symbolism of the lid and basin of the coffin with respect to its occupant. On both 21<sup>st</sup> dynasty and Ramesside coffins, the vignettes on the coffin basin are horizontal. They are intended to be viewed from the side with the coffin laying on its "back". The vignettes on the inside floor of the basin and on the lid are vertical and intended to be viewed while the coffin is standing on its "feet". On the lid of the coffin, the vignettes and central column were meant to be read from the front while the coffin was standing, but the texts in the lateral bands to the sides of the column were rotated 90 degrees and best read when the coffin was laying on its "back." This formed a physical continuity between the texts on the lid and the texts on the basin.<sup>60</sup>

This continuity between the texts on the lid and the basin was broken near the end of the pontificate of Menkheperre. The text in the lateral bands on the lid and the text on the perimeter of the lid rotates 90 degrees. The texts on the lid were now intended to be read from the front while the coffin was standing.<sup>61</sup> This had the effect of severing the visual connection between the lid and basin; the border between the two was now clearly marked by the frieze of feathers and cobras that decorated the top of the basin wall. This change may have been tied to a change in the orientation of the coffin during the funerary rituals, though the exact nature of this change requires more study.<sup>62</sup> Symbolically, the need to connect the lid and basin with contiguous text may have ceased to exist.

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<sup>59</sup> That they are acting in such a capacity on the coffin is apparent from their position around the coffin walls, encircling the deceased, and from their role in later Glorification texts. Mark Smith, *Traversing Eternity: Texts for the Afterlife from Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), pp. 173–74. This idea is a recurrent theme in coffin decoration.

<sup>60</sup> Type II-b is the first type to exhibit this change, and it is transitional. Only the peripheral horizontal bands have rotated 90 degrees to read horizontally, while the perimeter inscription retains its horizontal orientation. Niwiński, *21st Dynasty Coffins from Thebes: Chronological and Typological Studies*, p. 73.

<sup>61</sup> Bettum, 'Faces Within Faces: The Symbolic Function of Nested Yellow Coffins in Ancient Egypt', pp. 217–18.

<sup>62</sup> Cooney speaks of a shift in funerary values in Dynasty 20 and after where more emphasis was placed on the funeral rituals as the mechanism for resurrection. The change in text orientation may related to this. However, Liptay notes the impossibility of knowing just how changes in coffin style reflect changes in burial ritual. Kathlyn M. Cooney, 'Changing Burial Practices at the End of the New Kingdom: Defensive Adaptations in Tomb Commissions, Coffin Commissions, Coffin Decoration, and Mummification'; Éva Liptay, 'The Ancient Egyptian Coffin as Sacred Space: Changes of the Sacred Space during the Third Intermediate Period', in *First Vatican Coffin Conference, 19-22 June 2013: Proceedings*, ed. by Alessia Amenta and Hélène Guichard (presented at the Vatican Coffin Conference, Città del Vaticano: Edizioni Musei Vaticani, 2017), pp. 259–70 (p. 259).

Indeed, other changes begin to occur in coffin decoration after the reign of Menkheperre that indicate that a shift was occurring in how the coffin was thought to act for the deceased. In the 21<sup>st</sup> dynasty, the coffin was conceived as a microcosm of the universe: the deceased stands in the Duat with his or her head in the sky while the coffin is standing and lies in the Duat looking up at the sky when the coffin is lying flat.<sup>63</sup> Winged figures fly on the decoration of the lid, while the sides of the basin show scenes of death, and of the underworld.

The lid and the basin were connected by the idea of the coffin as cosmos and the course of the sun over its lid and through its basin. The head and foot areas sometimes have symbolism associated with the horizons, where the sun enters the underworld at night and is reborn in the morning respectively. On the floor of the of the basin, the deceased is embraced by the sky goddess Nut through whose body he will be reborn on the eastern horizon.

At the end of the dynasty, a new coffin style emerged, co-existing with, and intermingling with the older, cosmic design (Figure 2, e). The image of Nut in the bottom of the coffin was increasingly replaced by a representation of a large figure of a mummiform, deified 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty King. The interior sides and head area of the coffin began to take registered decoration that would have formerly been at home on Ramesside tomb-chapels and ceilings.<sup>64</sup> On stola coffins, the decoration of the coffin as a whole shifted away from representing the integration of the deceased into the Solar-Osirian cycle via cosmic symbolism, and towards identifying the deceased as Osiris and Re by depicting the deceased with royal aspects.<sup>65</sup>

The basin already represented architecture with its column-like vertical dividers and its cobra-frieze along the top edge, but with the Stola coffins, it took on aspects of a temple in which the deceased was the officiant. The layout of the lid increasingly resembles a temple gateway: the tripart decoration of the leg area gives the impression of a doorway with highly decorated jambs.<sup>66</sup> The scenes on the outer sides of the coffin basin take place inside the temple. Here, the owner participates in kingly activities: he or she offers to the gods, runs in the Sed-festival, and assumes kingly regalia.<sup>67</sup>

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<sup>63</sup> Andrzej Niwiński, 'Mummy in the Coffin as the Central Element of Iconographic Reflection of the Theology of the 21st Dynasty in Thebes', *Göttinger Miszellen*, 109 (1989), 53–66.

<sup>64</sup> van Walsem, I–II, pp. 358–59.

<sup>65</sup> Whether this is related to Osiris' role as the Dead king and Amun-Re's role as King of the Gods, especially in the Theban theology of this period is an interesting question which has to my knowledge not been investigated. Walsem deals in depth with the earthly political aspects of the Amun priesthood's supposed usurpation of kingly regalia in Stola coffin iconography. (van Walsem, I–II, p. 362.) However, during the First Intermediate Period and Middle Kingdom, use of Kingly regalia in association with burials generally served to associate the deceased with Osiris, not to challenge the prerogatives of Pharaoh. I suspect that this is the goal here, too. The function of the coffin's iconography at that time was to associate the dead with both Osiris and Re. Osiris, as always, is the King of the dead, but during this period, Amun-Re, at least in Thebes, is king of the gods. The royal regalia, then, may represent a regional variant in coffin beliefs specific to Thebes.

<sup>66</sup> van Walsem, I–II, p. 358.

<sup>67</sup> van Walsem, I–II, p. 358; Liptay, 'The Ancient Egyptian Coffin as Sacred Space: Changes of the Sacred Space during the Third Intermediate Period'.



## The Libyan Period: Dynasty 22 Through the Beginning of Dynasty 25

### Overview

Both Stola coffins and the coffins with cosmic symbolism continued to be produced at

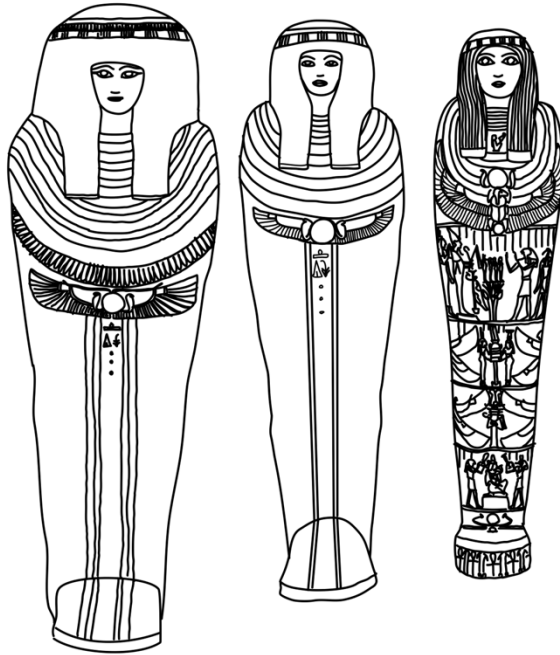


Figure 3: A generic Libyan Period set with two wooden anthropoid outer coffins and a mummiform one piece cartonnage.

Thebes into the first few reigns of the 22nd dynasty. However, their production ceased abruptly, and they were replaced by a new type of ensemble with different symbolism.

The new sets featured one or two anthropoid wooden coffins which contained a new element introduced to Thebes from the north:<sup>68</sup> the one-piece mummiform cartonnage (Figure 3).<sup>69</sup>

In general, if a set has a cartonnage, the cartonnage is the most brightly colored element of the set. Cartonnages are mummiform, but in contrast with the later wooden mummiform pieces, body contours are only subtly indicated at the shoulders and calves.

#### Development

The decoration on cartonnages represents a strong break in nearly every respect from that which was used on Yellow Coffins. The cartonnage is painted brightly on a white, red, or blue-grey ground, and the color palette expands from the limited red, green, blue color

scheme of the yellow coffins. Wig-styles are limited to a tripartite wig, sometimes with a floral fillet. A floral collar is always present, but in contrast to Twenty-First dynasty pieces where the collar could extend from the shoulders to the belly, on Twenty-Second and Twenty-Third Dynasty coffins, is limited to the breast and shoulders. Hands are usually not shown, and indications of the arms and elbows are even more rare. Below the collar is often at least one horizontal register of decoration. This register often contains the weighing of the heart or presentation of the justified dead before Osiris: the vignette for Spell 125 of the Book of the Dead. The area below this is sometimes divided into horizontal registers, and the vignettes within these are usually governed by axial symmetry. Decoration is reflected either

<sup>68</sup> Taylor argues for the Northern origin of the cartonnage and the new iconography which accompanied it based on the design of the 22<sup>nd</sup> dynasty coffin of Hedjkheperre Shoshenk at Tanis, and the style of the intrusive coffins in the tomb of Iurudedef at Memphis. Taylor, 'Theban Coffins from the Twenty-Second to the Twenty-Sixth Dynasty: Dating and Synthesis of Development', p. 104.

<sup>69</sup> These are generally simply called *cartonnages* in the literature, though occasionally they are *mummienhülle*, or mummy-cases. These full-body cases are to be differentiated from cartonnage overlays are placed on the bandages or envelope only part of the mummy. These later were popular both in the late New Kingdom and later in the Ptolemaic period.

around a central column or a focal vignette, for example, winged goddesses flanking a *djed*-pillar or Abydos fetish.<sup>70</sup>

The decoration, like that on the coffins of the later Twenty-First dynasty, is oriented as if the coffin were to be viewed standing upright. The foot area is modeled roughly and initially had no pedestal. It was capped with a board which was laced onto the cartonnage. Another notable feature of cartonnages (and really, all coffins) of this period as compared to coffins from Dynasty Twenty-One is the lack of gender markers. So pronounced on the coffins of the Ramesside Period and Dynasty 21, these disappear with the advent of the cartonnage.<sup>71</sup>

In addition to the cartonnage, the elite burials of the 22<sup>nd</sup>-25<sup>th</sup> dynasties included a nest of one or two outer coffins, but there is actually a high degree of variation in both the number of coffins in a given burial and the appearance of any given element in the set. Wooden coffins were often plain but could be colorfully decorated. Various color schemes also co-exist, including the re-introduction of the yellow on black color scheme that had been used in Dynasty 18. Multiple styles of both cartonnages and outer wooden coffins were used in contemporary burials, and the reason for the choice of one style over another remains elusive.

This large amount of variation makes it difficult to observe large overall formal changes in the corpus over time, as was possible for the yellow coffins of dynasty Twenty-One. However, the artists of this period do seem to have been working within a guiding framework provided by the differing functions of the cartonnage and the other elements of the set.

#### Function and Symbolism

The primary function of the cartonnage was protection.<sup>72</sup> Cartonnages enveloped the deceased in a protective shell which was hard to penetrate without breaking.<sup>73</sup> Thus, cartonnages presented a technical solution to the problem of coffin reuse that had plagued Thebes during Dynasty 21. The economic insecurity and institutional collapse that had accompanied the end of the New Kingdom led to the transfer of tomb functionality onto the coffin, but resource shortages had also led to communal use of coffins, whose owners were evicted so the coffin could serve the needs of the more recently deceased. After all, in the Late

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<sup>70</sup> Taylor, 'Theban Coffins from the Twenty-Second to the Twenty-Sixth Dynasty: Dating and Synthesis of Development', p. 106.

<sup>71</sup> Ears and hands are no longer rendered, and striped wigs are found on both male and female coffins, as are red faces, which seem to take on a solar connotation rather than a masculine one. Several coffins have pink faces, and these usually but not always (see British Museum EA 30720) have female owners. Some Theban coffins still feature the vulture headdress, which is feminine, but these should be carefully distinguished from many of the winged headdresses of coffins from this period, which emphasize the solar aspects of the head-end of the coffin and are not gendered. Osirian beards, which are apparently optional given the number of male coffins without them, and trumpet-shaped pink flowers on the wigs of some female coffins are the only gender markers which remain.

<sup>72</sup> Van Walsem feels that the adoption of cartonnages was forced upon Thebes as part of a program of reforms by Shoshenk I in which the new Tanite king re-asserted royal privileges which had been usurped by the Theban clergy. Though we do know that Shoshenk installed his son as high priest and resubordinated this office to that of the King, the only evidence for reforms limiting decoration of funerary equipment is in the stylistic changes of the coffins themselves. I see little reason to favor a purely political explanation for the adoption of the cartonnage. van Walsem, I-II, p. 362.

<sup>73</sup> Taylor, 'Theban Coffins from the Twenty-Second to the Twenty-Sixth Dynasty: Dating and Synthesis of Development', p. 104.

New Kingdom, tombs were shared by successive generations. It is only natural that coffins, which took on the function of the tomb chapel, would be as well.

This idea of the coffin-tomb as essentially communal was, however, in tension with the traditional idea of the coffin as a vehicle through which the deceased could be reborn in perpetuity.<sup>74</sup> The integration of the deceased themselves into the sealed, enveloping cartonnage, resolved this conflict in favor of the coffin-set as a means for the rebirth for one specific person.

In this new scheme, the Egyptians viewed the cartonnage as an egg. It enclosed and protected the deceased, and it was the shell inside which the deceased gestated and was reborn. In fact, the term they used to describe the cartonnage, *swḥ.t*, was derived from the



Figure 4: Libyan Period Cartonnages by Taylor's Frontal Body Design Types. A: Taylor's Type I, early 22<sup>nd</sup> Dynasty. B: Taylor's Type 2A, Dynasty 22 (9<sup>th</sup> Century), C: Taylor's Type 2B, Theban/Herakleopolitan 23<sup>rd</sup> Dynasty, (Late 9<sup>th</sup> century, 8<sup>th</sup> Century), D: Taylor's Type I, "tripartite" layout, Theban Herakleopolitan 23<sup>rd</sup> Dynasty, early Dynasty 25 (end of 8<sup>th</sup> Century BCE).

<sup>74</sup> Some scholars solve this problem by proposing a "mausoleum culture" for the Ancient Egyptians in which the function of funerary goods was primarily oriented towards display of wealth at the funeral. From this perspective, the objects functioned for the deceased during the funeral rituals, but their continuing function afterwards was not as important. Kathlyn M. Cooney, 'Changing Burial Practices at the End of the New Kingdom: Defensive Adaptations in Tomb Commissions, Coffin Commissions, Coffin Decoration, and Mummification', p. 31; Peter Lacovara and John Baines, 'Burial and the Dead in Ancient Egyptian Society: Respect, Formalism, Neglect', *Journal of Social Archaeology*, 2.1 (2002).

word for egg.<sup>75</sup> Its protective function is highlighted by the winged deities whose embrace occupies an increasing amount of surface real-estate on the cartonnage over the course of the 22<sup>nd</sup> and Theban/Herakelopolitan 23<sup>rd</sup> dynasties (Figure 4). The figure of Nut, sky goddess who gave birth to the sun each morning, emerges as a decorative motif on the insides of outer coffins at this time. Her arms sometimes extend onto the basin's inner walls, pulling the cartonnage or wrapped body into her own.

The mechanism for the resurrection of the body inside the egg was still focused on the nightly union of Osiris and Re and the subsequent rebirth of the sun at dawn. This was expressed in the registered-style cartonnages (Figure 4, a) which appeared at the very beginning of Dynasty 22. These feature a series of vignettes associating the occupant of the cartonnage with Osiris and Re which are laid out in horizontal registers that are tall in relation to their width. The tall registers themselves quickly wane in popularity as the defining decorative element of the cartonnage, but most of the iconographic elements in the decoration, such as the winged ram-headed bird and goddesses flanking the Abydos fetish, are elegantly incorporated into the "Sunrise Motif" which emerges at the same time and evolves over the course of the Libyan period (Figure 4, b,c).

Directly below the collar of these "Sunrise" coffins, a ram-headed falcon with upwardly curving wings appears. This is the rising sun as seen in the Ramesside book of Caverns<sup>76</sup> with shen-rings in its claws and pendant uraei dropping down behind its body. Directly below it, on the abdomen, is a falcon with wings extended downward. The line between these two birds, rendered or not, forms the axis of symmetry for the first register.

The "sunrise" type cartonnages can be divided into an earlier and later group based on the treatment of the central axis below the Ram-Headed bird, often labeled as Horus Behdety. In the earlier variant, the lower part of the coffin is bisected vertically with a central band of text, usually containing an offering formula with the filiation of the deceased. This is accompanied by horizontal bands like the stylized lateral "bandages on the yellow coffins. Like those on the yellow coffins, they are sometimes inscribed with short formulae.<sup>77</sup>

The later phase of the "sunrise" layout underscores the Osirian symbolism of the coffin because the central text column is replaced by the Abydos Fetish. The long support of the fetish is now inscribed with the offering formulae which would have been placed in the central column. This in turn effected the rest of the decoration on the coffin. In the earlier phase, goddesses enveloped and protected the body in the cartonnage with their wings, which could crisscross over and under the stylized mummy bandages which formed the central and lateral

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<sup>75</sup> This is the same term used in the Ramesside period and the Twenty-First dynasty for the mummy board which is less egg-like than the cartonnage, but the part of the set closest to the actual mummy. Kathlyn M. Cooney, *The Cost of Death*, pp. 22–25. On this term's application to the cartonnage, see Elias, 'Coffin Inscription in Egypt after the New Kingdom: A Study of Text Production and Use in Elite Mortuary Preparation', pp. 327–32.

<sup>76</sup> Taylor identifies this ram-bird with the depiction of the rising sun in the Book of Caverns. Elias, however, refers to it as the Ba of Osiris. Given the synchrony of Re and Osiris in the later hours of the night, and the idea that the Ba of Osiris could travel into the sky with the sun, it could be both or either. Taylor, 'Theban Coffins from the Twenty-Second to the Twenty-Sixth Dynasty: Dating and Synthesis of Development', p. 106; Elias, 'Coffin Inscription in Egypt After the New Kingdom: A Study of Text Production and Use'.

<sup>77</sup> Elias, 'Coffin Inscription in Egypt after the New Kingdom: A Study of Text Production and Use in Elite Mortuary Preparation', pp. 324–25.

inscriptions. As the central column is replaced by the fetish, though, goddesses and their wings shrink and are pushed further to the extremities.

Eventually, the lower register of winged figures become smaller, mirrored representations of Horus Behdety instead of the Mourning Kites. This last phase of the Sunrise Motif persists into the first part of Dynasty 25<sup>78</sup> and is accompanied by the re-emergence of a registered style of cartonnage. Unlike the registered cartonnages at the beginning of the dynasty, these new cartonnages feature registers which are slightly more narrow and have a relatively wide central element around which other figures are reflected. The result is that each register gives the visual impression of being divided into three parts (Figure 4 d).<sup>79</sup>

The function of the sunrise and Abydos fetish iconography is to assimilate the deceased inside the cartonnage with forms of Re and Osiris at specific time points during the Solar Osirian cycle.<sup>80</sup> As was usual, this iconographic program could be complemented with other funerary motifs and texts, but these were increasingly eliminated, de-emphasized, or shifted to other parts of the ensemble.

This idea of the cartonnage as a sort of egg or womb which enveloped the deceased prompted the re-orientation of the entire coffin nest around the cartonnage. In the Ramesside period and 21<sup>st</sup> dynasty, the coffin either assumed the function of a space (ie. a temple, tomb,

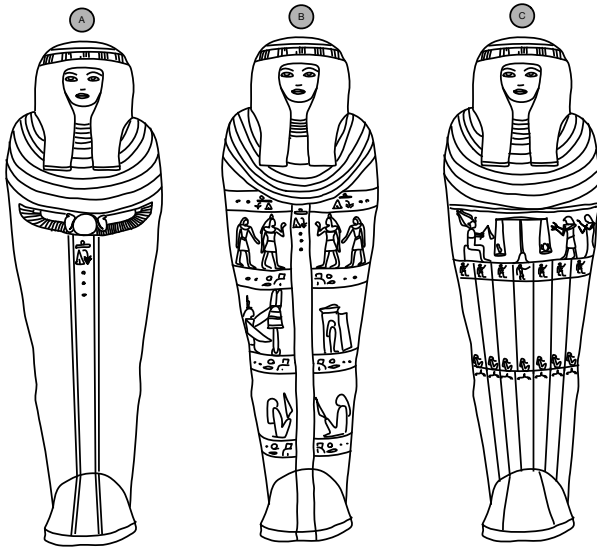


Figure 5: Intermediary and Outer Wooden Coffin Lids according to Taylor's typology of lid designs: A: Taylor's Lid Design 1, used from reign of Osorkon I through the 26<sup>th</sup> dynasty. B: Taylor's Lid Design 2, used throughout 22<sup>nd</sup> and 23<sup>rd</sup> dynasties. C: Taylor's Design 3, with Book of the Dead 125, used at the end of the Theban/Herakleopolitan 23<sup>rd</sup> Dynasty and the Early 25<sup>th</sup> Dynasty.

or cosmos) or a manifestation of the deceased inside the space (ie. the *sꜥḥ* or *ꜥḥ*) depending on how the coffin was oriented towards the viewer. Since both functions were assumed by each individual coffin in the nest, the multiple elements in the nest represented reduplication of the same concepts. Each item in the nest was a manifestation of the deceased analogous to the mummiform figures of the forms of Re in the Litany of Re.<sup>81</sup>

In the Libyan period, this changed. The decoration of the outer coffins started to vary based on whether a cartonnage was present or not, because the outer coffins functionally complemented each other and the cartonnage. The difference in function between the members of a set was apparently reflected in their treatment in the funerary ritual. However, due to the fact that only a handful of coffin ensembles from this

<sup>78</sup> Taylor, 'Theban Coffins from the Twenty-Second to the Twenty-Sixth Dynasty: Dating and Synthesis of Development', p. 106.

<sup>79</sup> Taylor, 'Theban Coffins from the Twenty-Second to the Twenty-Sixth Dynasty: Dating and Synthesis of Development', pp. 105–6.

<sup>80</sup> Elias, 'Coffin Inscription in Egypt After the New Kingdom: A Study of Text Production and Use', pp. 339–40.

<sup>81</sup> Bettum, 'Nesting (Part Two): Merging of Layers in New Kingdom Coffin Decoration'.

time have a documented find context, even at Thebes, there is little we can say about their ritual treatment.<sup>82</sup>

If a cartonnage was not present in the ensemble, or the ensemble was especially rich, the innermost wooden coffin could assume some of the polychrome and figural decoration of the cartonnage, which often laid out in a fashion reminiscent of the coffins of the late Ramesside period, albeit with different vignette contents and without the hands (Figure 5,b).<sup>83</sup> In many cases where the set had a cartonnage, the outer coffins were often quite plain (Figure 5, a): the polychrome decoration is limited to the face, wig, and floral collar. A winged figure, either a disk or a falcon, hovers below the collar. The remaining surface of the lid is bisected by a column of inscription, usually containing an offering formula. A correspondingly simple basin-type featuring a line of text on an otherwise undecorated background is often paired with this lid (Taylor's Basin Type 2).

Outer and intermediary coffins were often tinted yellow or red giving them strong solar symbolism. Indeed, Elias has noted that their inscriptions consist of offering formulae addressing Re, Re-Harakhte, or Atum on the outermost coffin and Osiris or Ptah-Sokar-Osiris on the inner wooden coffin.<sup>84</sup> Here, the outer coffins act to complement the Osirian and solar symbolism of the cartonnage. The deceased is associated with each god through the individual elements of the nest, and, as they hatch from the egg, they move outward through Osiris to Re and sunrise.

In the Libyan Period coffin ensembles acted both as proxies for the deceased and a model of the cosmos in which the deceased, inside the cartonnage, was at the center. Most of the iconography on the coffin is geared towards establishing this sacred cosmos. The winged deities on the front of the cartonnage and outer coffins mark it as the sky, while the vignettes on the back of the cartonnage and coffin basin-sides, often have a chthonic theme: *djed* pillars, and knife-wielding guardian demons.

The board which sealed the open foot of the cartonnage, was initially blank. Later, a running bull appeared. By the time of the Herakleopolitan/Theban 23<sup>rd</sup> dynasty, this bull had gained a figure of a wrapped body upon its back. This had the effect of symbolically situating the mummy itself in the cosmos since the head end of the cartonnage usually featured a scarab, symbol of the eastern Horizon, and the bull was either running into the tomb or out of it—in any case starting in points west.<sup>85</sup>

Since the coffin no longer had to function as a tomb or temple, nearly all references to architecture disappear from coffin and cartonnage decoration in Dynasty 22: the feather-cobra-frieze disappears from the perimeter of the basin, and the vignettes on the basin run in a continuous strip, without being interrupted by text-filled “columns.” The decoration on the lid loses all resemblance to a temple gateway, and the square vignette compartments on the lid lose their columns and corniced roofs. This re-emphasis on the cosmic symbolism of the coffin

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<sup>82</sup> Elias, ‘Coffin Inscription in Egypt after the New Kingdom: A Study of Text Production and Use in Elite Mortuary Preparation’, pp. 337–38.

<sup>83</sup> Taylor's Lid Type 2. Taylor, ‘Theban Coffins from the Twenty-Second to the Twenty-Sixth Dynasty: Dating and Synthesis of Development’, p. 108.

<sup>84</sup> Elias, ‘Coffin Inscription in Egypt After the New Kingdom: A Study of Text Production and Use’, p. 327.

<sup>85</sup> Taylor, ‘Theban Coffins from the Twenty-Second to the Twenty-Sixth Dynasty: Dating and Synthesis of Development’, p. 107.

ensemble meant the gradual obsolescence of most of the scenes adapted from tomb-chapel decoration. Scenes of the cow emerging from the cliff, or the sycamore goddess providing water to the ba of the deceased occasionally occur,<sup>86</sup> but are relatively rare.

#### Use of Text

Text played an even smaller role in the decoration of Libyan period coffins than it did in Dynasty 21. Most pieces heavily favor pictorial decoration and use text in large format as part of the vignettes or in the form of captions.<sup>87</sup>

The exception this is the increasing use of use of Spells 125 and 144-147 at the end of the Libyan period. Spell 125 occurred on the side walls of some coffins of the 21<sup>st</sup> dynasty in vignette form, but also, more rarely with the negative confession. The short pronouncements of the Negative Confession could be easily tabulated and enjoyed a short period of use on cartonnages at the beginning of Dynasty 22.<sup>88</sup> They also appear consistently in the form of a vignette on the registered type cartonnages of this period.

Additionally, guardian demons sometimes occurred in registers on the backs of cartonnages. and aside from signaling the directionality of the back of the cartonnage, these may be a reference to the judges of the dead or gate guardians from Spells 144-147. References to these spells waned with the advent of the Sunrise Motif but reappeared on outer coffins of the late Theban/Herakleopolitan 23<sup>rd</sup> dynasty and the early 25<sup>th</sup> dynasty.

This period saw the introduction of an outer coffin lid type featuring the Negative Confession (Figure 5, c). These outer coffin lids were sometimes paired with basins depicting the guardian demons of spell 144-147, who can actually play a double role in this context as the forty-two judges of the dead.<sup>89</sup> This pairing of lid and basin represents a re-imagining of the coffin as a sacred (architectural) space. The decorative friezes along the top perimeters of these basins indicates that the coffin is to be thought of once again as a structure: This is the hall of judgement, in which the deceased is physically present both as a being likened to Osiris who needs the protection of the guardian demons, and as a justified deceased themselves, who has

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<sup>86</sup> Taylor, 'Theban Coffins from the Twenty-Second to the Twenty-Sixth Dynasty: Dating and Synthesis of Development', p. 106.

<sup>87</sup> John H. Taylor, 'Development of Cartonnage Cases', in *Mummies and Magic*, ed. by Peter Lacovara, Sue D'Auria, and Catherine Roehrig (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1988), pp. 166–67 (p. 167).

<sup>88</sup> Elias notes that Spell 42 also appears rarely. It is another spell that can be broken up into short pronouncements. The reason for the use of these spells on cartonnage might have been that they could be broken up as required to fit the space available. Elias, 'Coffin Inscription in Egypt after the New Kingdom: A Study of Text Production and Use in Elite Mortuary Preparation', p. 325. However, given common truncation of texts on coffins, which were apparently still affective due to the principle of *pars pro toto*, this reason is not convincing. In order to understand the meaning of these spells on cartonnages, we should perhaps look to the meaning of these spells in the context where the coffin is the cosmos.

<sup>89</sup> An example of one of these pieces is the coffin of Padiamun in Liverpool. For full publication of the text and vignettes, see: Luca Miatello, 'Text and Iconography of Padiamun's Coffin in the Liverpool Museum', *Birmingham Egyptology Journal*, 4 (2016) <<http://birminghamegyptology.co.uk/journal/>>; For the genealogy of the owner and the similar coffin of the owner's father as well as commentary on the Gate Demons as Judges, see: Alain Dautant and others, 'Creativity and Tradition in the Coffin of Padiamun (Liverpool 1953.72): A Case Study of Twenty-Fifth Dynasty Mortuary Practice', in *Burial and Mortuary Practices in Graeco-Roman Egypt: Proceedings of the International Conference Held at the Museum of Fine Arts, Budapest 17-19 July 2014*, ed. by Katalin A. Kóthay (Budapest: Museum of Fine Arts, Budapest, 2017).

successfully entered the gates of Spells 144-147 and who will undoubtedly pass the judgment of Spell 125 as written on the lid.

Any attempt to develop a linear series of coffins during the Libyan Period is made complicated by the variety of outer coffins and cartonnages which apparently occur simultaneously and persist over a long period of time. The one series that seems apparent involves cartonnages featuring the sunrise motif, which evolves over time and supplants the early registered design. Another registered design emerges at the end of the Dynasty. There is little datable information associated with the outer coffins, and the only observable pattern in their style is that they seem to receive more decorative content when the cartonnage is not present. The development of the coffin ensemble in the Libyan period seems to have been driven by introduction of the cartonnage, which led to a shift away from thinking of the coffin as a reproduction of a sacred but earthly space, and towards the understanding of the coffin ensemble as a universe with the deceased in their cartonnage “egg” at the center. Even when the outer coffin regained some of its architectural symbolism at the end of the period, it was no longer conceptually tied to the concept of the Ramesside tomb chapel. It was a purely otherworldly sacred space: the hall of Judgement in the Duat. It seems natural that this re-alignment of the function of the coffin would have been accompanied by changes in funerary ritual as well. What these changes actually were is a subject that requires more study.

## The 25<sup>th</sup> and 26<sup>th</sup> Dynasties

### Overview

The 25<sup>th</sup> and 26<sup>th</sup> dynasty coffins are marked by the introduction of a new element: the outer box-coffin, which is often called a *qrs*w coffin.<sup>90</sup> This was accompanied by the gradual disappearance of the cartonnage, and its replacement with a mummiform wooden coffin with a pedestal (Figure 6). This new, innermost element is called a bivalve coffin because of its resemblance to a clamshell. Text played an increasingly large role in the decoration of both the bivalve coffin and the new box-shaped outer *qrs*w coffins. Increasingly, specific Book of the Dead spells and vignettes became associated with certain areas of the coffin.

At the same time, the solar aspects which had been so prominent in

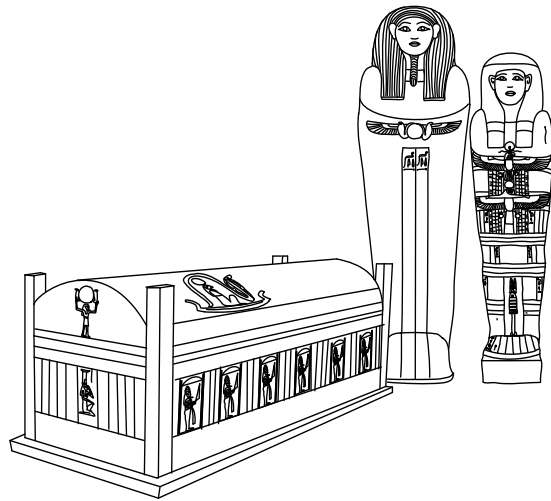


Figure 6: Ideal ensemble of Dynasty 25 and 26 with *qrs*w coffin (without figural attachments on lid and post), outer wooden coffin and inner bivalve-type coffin with pedestal.

<sup>90</sup> There are several types of box coffins which can be roughly dated to this period. The most common are the four-posted *qrs*w coffins. However, a shrine-shaped coffin with a slanted lid also occurs. These later seem rarer and there are only a few that have been published—maybe because the extant examples so far aren't Theban. For the



the decoration of the 21<sup>st</sup> dynasty and Libyan period ensembles begin to play less dominant role in the decoration of the inner coffin, moving instead onto the lid and outer walls of the *qrs*w coffin.<sup>91</sup> The mechanism of rebirth shifted and the parts of the bivalve coffin not covered in text became dedicated to recreating three dimensional tableaux of the Hourly Vigil or *Stundewache*, in which the deceased played the role of Osiris at the center of the scene. Accordingly, the new *qrs*w coffins were thought to resemble the Tomb of Osiris, and also sometimes featured *Stundewache* imagery.

#### Development and Symbolism of *Qrs*w Coffins

At the end of the Third Intermediate period, a new coffin type, the *Qrs*w coffin appeared.<sup>92</sup> These wooden, rectangular coffins had a tall post at each corner and a vaulted lid with the lunette of the vault at the head and foot ends. Occasionally, these coffins were equipped with wooden figures of deities: figures of mummified “*akhem*” falcons at the head and foot of the vault<sup>93</sup>, or a recumbent Anubis figure at the head<sup>94</sup>. Occasionally, falcon figures were attached to the posts.

*Qrs*w coffins became the preferred outer coffin in sets of multiple coffins. They augmented the rich symbolism of the set established in the Third Intermediate Period. The *Qrs*w coffin’s decoration was meant to provide a “universe in a box” surrounding the deceased. The peak of the vault features a central inscription, but at its sides are motifs of the sky. Here, the solar-boat is towed by an entourage of gods receiving praise from the deceased. In some examples, goddesses representing the hours of the night and day proceed on each side of the vault with stars and solar disks above their heads.

As was the case with the backs of the cartonnages and the basins of some Libyan period outer coffins, the basin of the *Qrs*w coffin is often decorated with scenes of the realms below the sky. These can be earthly funeral scenes or underworld symbolism<sup>95</sup> such as rows of mummiform deities holding knives or staves. The identity of these figures is ambiguous. When paired with Isis and Nephthys at the foot and head, they can be the protective watchers of the body of Osiris during the Hourly Vigil. When the head and foot are occupied by symbols of the horizons, it is tempting to interpret the long sides of the coffin as a representation of the Duat, making the figures more likely to be judges of the deceased or the gate-guarding demons of Spells 144-145. This ambiguity is probably intentional, and the figures are probably meant to be

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purposes of this work, the four-posted coffin is a *qrs*w coffin, the slanted-roof coffin is a Shrine coffin, and the two together are Box-coffins.

<sup>91</sup> Liptay, ‘The Ancient Egyptian Coffin as Sacred Space: Changes of the Sacred Space during the Third Intermediate Period’, pp. 265–66.

<sup>92</sup> Taylor, ‘Theban Coffins from the Twenty-Second to the Twenty-Sixth Dynasty: Dating and Synthesis of Development’, p. 117.

<sup>93</sup> Günther Lapp and Andrzej Niwiński, ‘Coffins, Sarcophagi, and Cartonnages’, in *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt* (Oxford University Press, 2001) <<http://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/acref/9780195102345.001.0001/acref-9780195102345-e-0144>> [accessed 14 January 2020].

<sup>94</sup> Taylor, ‘Theban Coffins from the Twenty-Second to the Twenty-Sixth Dynasty: Dating and Synthesis of Development’, p. 113.

<sup>95</sup> The pieces with the funeral scenes are apparently earlier. Taylor, ‘Theban Coffins from the Twenty-Second to the Twenty-Sixth Dynasty: Dating and Synthesis of Development’, p. 112.

interpreted in multiple ways. Their core function is to guard the deceased assimilated to Osiris from those who would harm him.

#### Development of Bivalve Coffins

Shortly after the appearance of the *Qrsw* coffins, the inner cartonnage began to be replaced by a new type of wooden coffin. These wooden coffins have carefully modelled bodily contours at the buttocks, calves, and knees. They have a trapezoidal pedestal, and a back-pillar, which protrudes slightly from the back of the mummy. In short, they look like Ptah-Sokar-Osiris statues which were also becoming popular elements of funerary furniture at this time. These coffins replaced the cartonnage at the heart of nested sets of coffins, and eventually completely replaced the cartonnage in the funerary repertoire.<sup>96</sup> Initially, bivalve coffins actually resembled sturdy, finely sculpted one-piece cartonnages in their decoration, and some later cartonnages were built in multiple pieces with a pedestal, a form which became standard in wood.

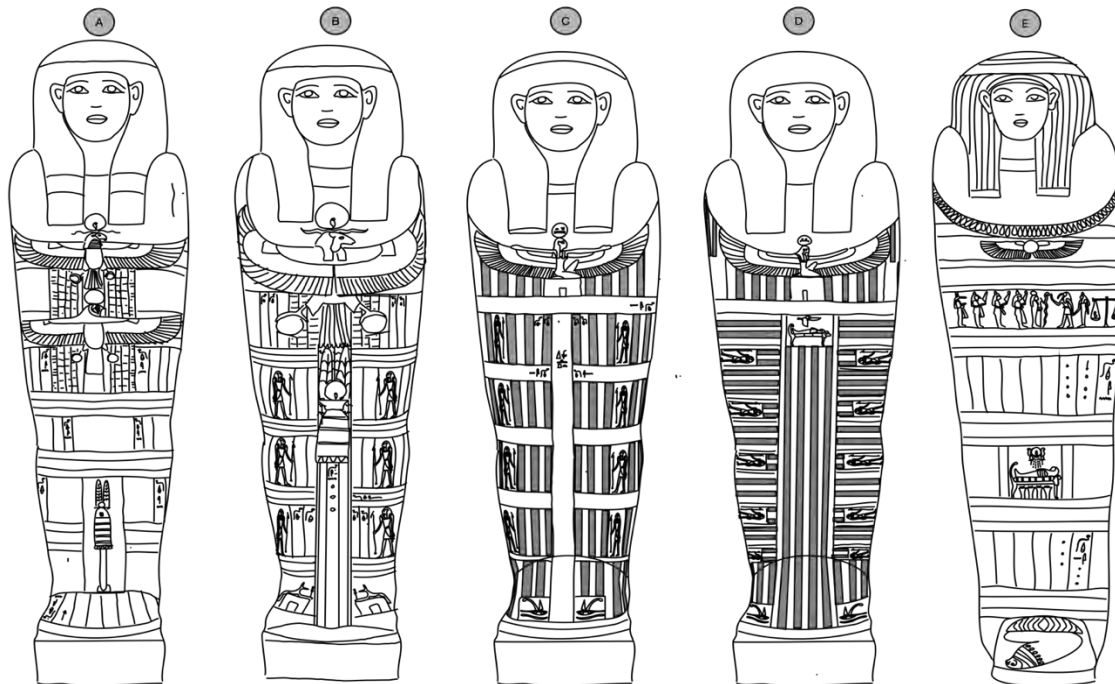


Figure 7: Bivalve Wooden Coffin Types of Dynasty 25 and 26. A: Taylor's Design I. Dating to Dynasty 23-25. B: Taylor's Design II, With figures and text bands. 25<sup>th</sup> dynasty. C: Taylor's Design II, Elias' Presentation Mode III, D: Taylor's Design III, Elias' Presentation Mode IV. Taylor's design III can be dated to the 6<sup>th</sup> and 7<sup>th</sup> centuries BCE. (ie. The 25<sup>th</sup> and 26<sup>th</sup> Dynasties). E: Taylor's Design 4, associated with burials of lower social status.

The decoration on the inner bivalve coffins is highly variable, although a few patterns can be recognized. Firstly, Taylor's "Sunrise" motif continues onto some early bivalve coffins (Figure 7 a,b). Taylor describes this incarnation of the design as "Orthogonal" in comparison with the earlier "Sunrise" cartonnages, and this is apt. The wings of the two birds are nearly straight, and they fit comfortably into the vertically symmetrical set of horizontal and vertical registers which divide the decorative surface of the lid. The bands between these registers are

<sup>96</sup> John H. Taylor, 'The Coffin of Padiashaikhet', in *Egyptian Art in the Nicholson Museum, Sydney*, ed. by K. Sowada and Boyo Ockinga (Sydney, NSW: Meditarch Publishing, 2006), pp. 263–93.

thick, and the scale of the figures within them shrinks. A further difference between these pieces and the Libyan Period pieces is that the canon of proportion and clothing style of the deceased changes. The proportions of the people and animals in the vignettes are scaled to the Kushite canon of proportions, which deliberately referenced Old Kingdom models. The figures wear clothing modeled on antecedents in Old Kingdom tombs.<sup>97</sup>

The appearance of the new canon of proportions is linked to another trait that characterizes the coffins of the Nubian and later Saite Periods: the re-appearance of text. This is often drawn from the Book of the Dead. From this point forward, text is a major part of the decoration of coffins. On the most elite ensembles, it largely replaced pictorial decoration. This re-focusing of the coffin decoration away from pictorial Solar-Osirian symbolism towards texts is tied to the revival of older funerary texts and motifs occurring at this time. The Nubian 25<sup>th</sup> Dynasty and the Saite 26<sup>th</sup> are characterized by the revival, redaction, and reinterpretation of older texts, which found new and innovative uses in tombs and funerary equipment.<sup>98</sup>

Text starts to increase on the bivalve question even while the Sunrise motif is still in fashion (Figure 7, b). Below the collar of these coffins stretches the ram-headed bird of the sunrise motif. Below this, the lid is divided into registers with thick vertical and horizontal decorative bands. The resulting spaces are tall and narrow, featuring figures of gods alternating with short texts. Because of the way the space for text is allocated, there is again a preference for spells which can be tabulated such as Spell 125's negative confession. A new addition is Spell 42 which contains a long list of pronouncements identifying various gods with parts of the body, and ritually identifying the body with the gods, and can also be easily tabulated.<sup>99</sup>

The most well studied of the bivalve coffins of this period are those whose decoration is dominated by registers containing only text (Figure 7, c, d).<sup>100</sup> On these coffins, the ram-bird and the "Sunrise" motif are completely absent, and the space below the collar is instead occupied by a winged goddess, usually Nut. Below the goddess is often a strip of small figures which illustrate the judgement and vindication of the deceased. Here, the dead coffin owner stands before Osiris and a long procession of deities. These coffins often have a pectoral vignette evoking Book of the Dead spell 89, with the Ba of the deceased landing on the breast of a mummy on a bier. The lower part of the coffin is bisected by a column which often contains this spell and the filiation of the deceased (Figure 7,d). To the right and left of the central column, the area is divided into narrow vertical registers filled with bands of text and the alternating with figures of deities. The orientation of the texts and figures to the central band varies and can either be parallel or perpendicular to the central text.<sup>101</sup>

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<sup>97</sup> Taylor, 'Theban Coffins from the Twenty-Second to the Twenty-Sixth Dynasty: Dating and Synthesis of Development', p. 114.

<sup>98</sup> Elias, 'Coffin Inscription in Egypt after the New Kingdom: A Study of Text Production and Use in Elite Mortuary Preparation', pp. 386–94.

<sup>99</sup> Elias, 'Coffin Inscription in Egypt after the New Kingdom: A Study of Text Production and Use in Elite Mortuary Preparation', pp. 324–25, 417–22.

<sup>100</sup> Taylor, 'Theban Coffins from the Twenty-Second to the Twenty-Sixth Dynasty: Dating and Synthesis of Development', pp. 114–15.

<sup>101</sup> Elias, 'Coffin Inscription in Egypt after the New Kingdom: A Study of Text Production and Use in Elite Mortuary Preparation', pp. 508–10.

The focus of the decoration on these coffins is the text. Ideally, the text bands wrap the mummy in protective pronouncements and assimilate the components of the body to the deities uttering these pronouncements. However, on many of these coffins, the contents of the text bands consist of repeating offering spells. It seems then, that the presence of text was more important than the actual content. On most coffins of this design, the texts are presented in columns with alternating background colors, on some earlier pieces, the text is also varnished, giving it a sheen that draws the eye.<sup>102</sup> The insides of some 25<sup>th</sup> dynasty coffins are decorated with registers of vignettes and text, but text gradually becomes the dominant decoration on the inner surfaces of the bivalve coffin as well. Later 25<sup>th</sup> dynasty and 26<sup>th</sup> dynasty coffins feature only horizontal strips of text as interior decoration. The motif of the standing goddess in the bottom of the coffin persists on various coffins throughout the 25<sup>th</sup> and 26<sup>th</sup> dynasties, with some 26<sup>th</sup> dynasty coffins featuring the goddess surrounded by text on both the inside of the lid and the bottom of the basin.<sup>103</sup>

#### Function and Symbolism of Bivalve Coffins

As was the case in the Third Intermediate Period, Theban bivalve coffins, attempt to represent the order of the cosmos in their decorative layout. This iconography dominates the head, foot, and back of the coffin and physically situates the mummy in the coffin in relationship to the sun and Osiris, the Sky and the Duat, the sunrise and sunset. Thus, the back of the coffin often features a *Djed*-pillar, the head features a scarab representing the rising sun in the East, and the bottom of the foot depicts a bull running into or away from a tomb in the West, carrying the mummy on its back. As in the Third Intermediate Period, the function of this design was primarily to assimilate the deceased to Osiris at the moment of Osiris' union with Re.

This solar cycle symbolism persists in some iconographic motifs, but during 7th century BCE, the emphasis in coffin decoration shifts towards the association of the deceased with Osiris in the Hourly Vigil. This symbolism is a three-dimensional imagining of the coffin as the central figure of the vignette for Book of the Dead spell 151. Isis and Nephthys begin to replace the scarab and running bull on the foot and head ends of the coffin. When the figures of the gods on the sides of the coffin rotate perpendicular to the central column, the deceased in the coffin is literally encircled with protective deities with their respective textual incantations while the mourning goddesses weep at the head and the foot.

On a subset of text-heavy coffins, the gods to the sides of the central column are rotated perpendicular to it. Some of these coffins feature eleven gods on each side, and this has led Elias to posit that the decoration on these coffins has an additional dimension. Not only does the deceased as Osiris lie amidst twenty-two protective deities, but the deities also each symbolize an hour of the day or night. They represent an hour of the sun's journey through the Duat and then through the sky. Elias calls these coffins "Eleven-Eleven" coffins.<sup>104</sup>

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<sup>102</sup> Taylor, 'Theban Coffins from the Twenty-Second to the Twenty-Sixth Dynasty: Dating and Synthesis of Development', p. 118.

<sup>103</sup> For Taylor's interior types 1-4, see Taylor, 'Theban Coffins from the Twenty-Second to the Twenty-Sixth Dynasty: Dating and Synthesis of Development', p. 115.

<sup>104</sup> Jonathan Elias and Carter Lupton, 'Gods at All Hours: Saite Period Coffins of the "Eleven-Eleven" Type', in *Body, Cosmos and Eternity: New Research Trends in the Iconography and Symbolism of Ancient Egyptian Coffins*, ed. by

The use of the coffin surface to represent this vigil seems to gradually replace Solar-Osirian unity as the guiding principle of the inner coffin's decoration. This may be tied to the Nubian/Saite revival of older religious ideas and texts, and it returns this narrative of Theban coffin development to the point where it started, since the "Hourly Vigil/Spell 151" was the governing principle of coffin basin decoration in the late Ramesside period and the beginning of Dynasty 21.<sup>105</sup>

The Nectanebid Period and the Early Ptolemaic Period

In the Saite period, we start to know much more about *how* the dead were buried in the Theban Necropolis because the way in which the necropolis was managed changes. At some point in the early Saite period, a Manager of the Necropoleis was appointed, and the land in the burial grounds was sold off to embalmers and families of choacytes whose business records have been preserved.

Choacytes, or water-pourers (*wšḥ mw*), were contracted by family members of the deceased to oversee the embalming of the body, manage the funeral, intern the body, and perform regular offerings for the dead. They paid taxes to the Manager of the Necropoleis on the tombs for which they owned the rights, and on individual bodies they buried. Construction of new tombs was out of reach for all but the highest elite, and even these became even rarer in the Persian period and afterwards. Most people were interned in a repurposed (and remodeled) older tomb.<sup>106</sup> Even the tombs of kings could be owned by a Choacyte and used for the burial of his or her clients. We also have more evidence for embalming because a fairly large number of embalming caches have been found which can be dated to the Persian period and later via pottery.<sup>107</sup>

Ironically, we do not have very much evidence for the burials themselves after the Saite period. This may be attributable to the lower status of Thebes after the Saite period, The political focus was in the north, and the religious influence of Thebes was on the wane. There were probably fewer elite to be buried and fewer resources with which to bury them. However, part of the perceived lack information on burials of the Persian, Late, and Ptolemaic period is an illusion created by the fact that post Saite strata were often victims of zeal for knowledge about

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Rogério Sousa and Symposium Body, *Cosmos and Eternity: the Symbolism of Coffins in Ancient Egypt*, *Archaeopress Egyptology*, 3 (presented at the Symposium Body, *Cosmos and Eternity: the Symbolism of Coffins in Ancient Egypt*, Oxford: Archaeopress, 2014), pp. 125–33.

<sup>105</sup> This is the vigil over the body of Osiris on the night before the funeral. It is a part of Osirian temple ritual, and described in Book of the Dead spell 151. It is usually called the *Stundewache* in the literature, but Bettum calls the coffin motif relating to it the "Nightly Hours" motif. Bettum, 'Faces Within Faces: The Symbolic Function of Nested Yellow Coffins in Ancient Egypt', p. 211.

<sup>106</sup> Details and examples of this kind of tomb retrofitting can be seen in Theban Tomb 400 and the surrounding tombs. See: Gábor Schreiber, Zsolt Vasarós, and Adrienn Almásy, 'Ptolemaic and Roman Burials from Theban Tomb 400', in *Mitteilungen Des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo* (De Gruyter, 2013), LXIX, pp. 187–203.

<sup>107</sup> David A. Aston, 'The Theban West Bank from the Twenty-Fifth Dynasties to the Ptolemaic Period', in *Theban Necropolis: Past, Present, and Future*, ed. by Nigel Strudwick and John H. Taylor (London: British Museum Press, 2003), pp. 138–66 (pp. 151–60).

earlier time periods: such luminaries as Winlock, Carter, Lansing, and Petrie never published the Late Dynastic and Ptolemaic finds from their excavations in the Theban Necropoleis.<sup>108</sup>

There are, in fact, enough coffins with a post-Saite Theban origin to discuss their development. However, we are once again reliant on typological studies, in this case, a study on coffins by Gabor Schreiber, which is compiled from a fairly small number of coffins in museums and bolstered by comparison with fragmentary finds from the few modern excavations which have published, notably the Hungarian excavation of TT 32 at el-Khokha.<sup>109</sup>

Schreiber's focus is the Ptolemaic period, which he divides into three phases. He sees the first of these, which ends in the reign of Ptolemy IV as a continuously developing style which emerged in Memphite area in the Persian period and was subsequently adopted by Theban elite. This new Theban ensemble (Figure 8) combined the Theban Saite style focusing on the Hourly Vigil with two styles that developed in the North during the Persian Period. The first, "Inscriptional", style involves a natural wood body with several central inscriptional columns and little to no figural decoration. The central columns contain a funerary text which is usually Book of the Dead spell 72. The second, "Pictorial" style of coffin which came to Thebes from the north featured a surface which was covered with polychrome figural decoration :a grid of cells, each containing a protective god with adjacent short offering formulae. This was often on a white ground, but a new color scheme also emerged with this style. In this scheme, the figural drawings and inscriptions were traced in white and yellow on a black ground with other colors occasionally utilized for details.<sup>110</sup>

The new Theban ensemble combined these types with local traditional that had existed in the 25th and 26th dynasties. In an elite set, the outer coffin retained the Saite hourly vigil decoration, though now the design was often drawn in yellow or white on a black background with polychrome details.<sup>111</sup> The inner bivalve coffin exhibited the northern "Inscriptional style." The shape of the bodies of the wooden outer coffins changed as well, they maintain the pedestals of the earlier Saite and Nubian period pieces, but some of them have a distinctive shape in the Nectanebid and Ptolemaic period which differentiates them from earlier pieces. When viewed from the side, the lid is much deeper than the basin, which is reduced to a sort of a tray to contain the body. The head and chest area of the lid are much deeper than the ankle area, which gives them a bulbous appearance. Because of this, they are sometimes called "Belly" (or rather "*Bauchig*") coffins in the literature.<sup>112</sup>

Finally, the Late Period saw the re-introduction of cartonnage inner coffins at Thebes, and these pieces were decorated with a design derived from the northern pictorial-style coffins.<sup>113</sup>

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<sup>108</sup> Schreiber, 'Early and Middle Ptolemaic Funerary Art at Thebes (ca 306-88 BC)', pp. 105–33.

<sup>109</sup> Schreiber, 'Early and Middle Ptolemaic Funerary Art at Thebes (ca 306-88 BC)', p. 117.

<sup>110</sup> Both of these styles persist in the North through the reign of Ptolemy IV. Schreiber, 'Early and Middle Ptolemaic Funerary Art at Thebes (ca 306-88 BC)', p. 116.

<sup>111</sup> Schreiber, 'Early and Middle Ptolemaic Funerary Art at Thebes (ca 306-88 BC)', p. 119.

<sup>112</sup> Niwiński, 'Sarg NR-SpZt'.

<sup>113</sup> Taylor's Design III, discussed above under The 25<sup>th</sup> and 26<sup>th</sup> Dynasties Schreiber, 'Early and Middle Ptolemaic Funerary Art at Thebes (ca 306-88 BC)', p. 116.

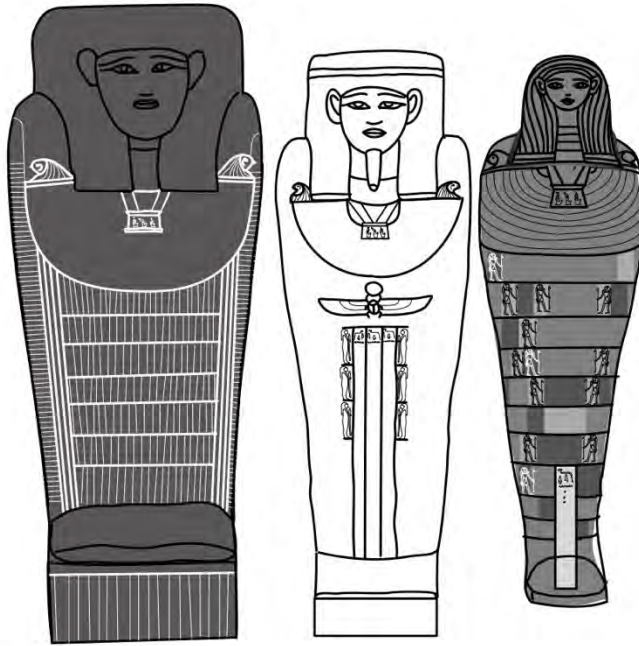


Figure 8: Coffins of Schreiber's Ptolemaic Phase I. The cartonnage represents a continuation of a "pictorial style" with protective gods developed in the northern part of the country in the Persian period. The outer two coffins have an "inscriptional style."

dark reds, blues, and greens.<sup>115</sup>

More precise dating for ensembles used within the roughly three-hundred-year span between the Persian period and the reign of Ptolemy IV is unfortunately reliant on accompanying funerary goods which have their own typologies. These objects came in and out of use and evolved stylistically within the long lifespan of Schreiber's Early Ptolemaic coffins.<sup>116</sup> Given the lack of intact burials and the lack of publication of those that have been excavated, this reliance on the stylistic dating of similarly decontextualized objects for the dating of coffins

Full body cartonnages were reintroduced into the burial ensemble at Thebes in either the Persian or Late period.<sup>114</sup> These cartonnages could be one or two pieces. In the case of the latter, one piece covered the head and shoulders, and the other covered the chest and foot of the mummy in the fashion of a mummy-board: it did not envelop the body.

These one and two-piece cartonnages were decorated in a similar fashion. The surface was divided into a small, dense grid of cells containing images of protective gods. Sometimes, vignettes from Book of the Dead spells, from the hours of the Amduat and other royal afterlife books are also depicted. The decoration was often rendered in light-colored paint or with gold leaf on a dark colored background. The background colors of these cells could alternate between

<sup>114</sup> There are no firmly datable Persian Period Theban coffins. Schreiber, 'Early and Middle Ptolemaic Funerary Art at Thebes (ca 306-88 BC)', p. 119.

<sup>115</sup> Schreiber, 'Early and Middle Ptolemaic Funerary Art at Thebes (ca 306-88 BC)', p. 116.

<sup>116</sup> These objects include (but are not limited to) the following, with their respective typologies: **Stelae**: Peter Munro, *Die Spätägyptischen Totenstelen*, Ägyptologische Forschungen, 25, II vols (Glückstadt: J. J. Augustin, 1973), I,II; **Shabti Boxes** David A. Aston, 'The Shabti Box: A Typological Study', *OMRO*, 74 (1994); **Shabtis**: Hans D. Schneider, *Shabtis: An Introduction to the History of Ancient Egyptian Funerary Statuettes with a Catalogue of the Collection of Shabtis in the National Museum of Antiquities at Leiden*, Collections of the National Museum of Antiquities at Leiden (Leiden: Rijksmuseum van Oudheiden te Leiden, 1977), xi; **Book of the Dead Papyri** Malcolm Jr. Mosher, 'Transmission of Funerary Literature: Saite Through Ptolemaic Periods', in *Book of the Dead: Becoming a God in Ancient Egypt*, ed. by Foy Scalf, Oriental Institute Museum Publications, 39 (Chicago: Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 2017), pp. 85–97; Malcolm Jr. Mosher, 'Theban and Memphite Book of the Dead Traditions in the Late Period', *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt*, 29 (1992), 143–72; **Bead Nets**: Flora Silvano, 'Le Reticelle Funerarie Nell'Antico Egitto: Proposte di Interpretazione', *Egitto e Vicino Oriente*, 3 (1980), 83–97; **Ptah-Sokar-Osiris Statues**: Maartin J. Raven.

can be problematic. Further issues arise because burials are often dispersed across multiple collections; re-association of disparate elements of an ensemble often relies on names, titles, and genealogies, many of which are very common. More precise dating of coffins within this timespan is not usually possible.

#### Limitations of the Theban Model

While the Theban Model has been very useful for dating some coffins, the types developed by Niwinski, and Taylor are so broad that a single type can contain coffins that look very different from each other. Furthermore, there is such variation even within the Theban corpus that some coffins don't even fit these broadly defined types. Niwinski's typology relies on surprisingly few firm dates to anchor his types. Each type in his typology encompasses a large and visibly diverse group of coffins because types are based on general features such as arm position, general layout, collar size and text read direction. However, Niwinski doesn't delve into why these should be important and why they might have changed over time. Thus, when confronted by a coffin such as Berlin (8505), of Knumnasapehsu, which fits Niwinski's description of "Lid-Type II" but looks markedly different from other "Lid-Type II" coffins, one wonders whether the Typology should even apply to this object.

Taylor's typology does a good job of describing the general development of the large number of cartonnages which feature "Sunrise" layouts, but has only general guidance for other groups, such as cartonnages with large horizontal registers and the large assortment of decorated outer and intermediary coffins, such as the yellow-on-black group of wooden anthropoid coffins. The result is that the Taylor's cartonnage type I has been used to date coffins that were made far from Thebes, which only superficially resemble their Theban counterparts. One gets the suspicion that such a broad property as a layout with horizontal registers is of questionable value for dating.<sup>117</sup> Essentially, the main problem with the Theban model is that it only accounts for coffins belonging to the high elite of one city, Thebes. It describes these coffins with a focus on dating them and does not pay sufficient attention to why or how the decorative choices that the model describes were made.

The "types" described in the Theban model represent the end results of a process of coffin creation which was driven by the needs of both the craftsmen and the buyer. Among these factors were economic forces acting on the craftsmen, affecting the materials they could acquire. The social status of the buyer may have played a role in determining what type and style of funerary equipment they aspired to own. Their financial means certainly influenced

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<sup>117</sup> Brech's dating of the coffin of the coffin of Ankh-Tesh (Toledo, 1906.4) is a case in point. The coffin is from Akhmim and is assigned to Taylor's cartonnage Type I and dated to Dynasty 22 even though the only thing it has in common with Theban examples is the horizontal register layout. The registers are squat, and the decoration is dense. The piece resembles pieces of Taylor's Northern Type more than it resembles any of the Type I Theban pieces. It's not clear in this case that horizontal registers are a meaningful dating criterion in this case, nor is it particularly useful for dating since Type I lasts throughout the Third Intermediate Period. To be fair, however, Taylor, 'Coffins as Evidence for a "North-South Divide" in the 22nd-25th Dynasties'. was published after Brech's work on Akhmim coffins) Ruth Brech, *Spätägyptische Särge Aus Achmim*, Aegyptiaca Hamburgensia, 3 (Gladbeck: PeWe Verlag, 2008), p. 50.



how much of that ideal that could be attained.<sup>118</sup> The beliefs of the buyer and the artists also determined which texts, symbols and layouts were used. The education, beliefs, and resources of both parties were probably molded by local religious traditions and economic conditions. Finally, personal preference not only on the part of the buyer, but also on the part of the artist may have played a role in determining the decoration of a coffin.<sup>119</sup>

Not taking these factors into account has led to false assumptions and fallacious arguments in the literature on coffins. Cooney, for example, does not account for regional variability in style or economic circumstance when she argues that the widespread reuse of coffins in the Twenty-First dynasty began as a reaction to the economic hardship known from Late Ramesside documents from Deir el-Medina. Unfortunately, there are very few late Ramesside coffins with which to prove this point—Cooney identifies only seven coffins from the 20<sup>th</sup> dynasty. Six are dated through stylistic comparison rather than textual evidence,<sup>120</sup> and four of these may not be Theban.<sup>121</sup> The two Cooney cites as visible examples of reuse, Sesekhnofru<sup>122</sup> and Muthotep<sup>123</sup>, are in this last group. Hence, these two coffins that have obviously been reused may not be 20th dynasty pieces at all, but rather Twenty-First dynasty pieces exhibiting non-Theban regional styles. They are thus not good evidence with which to tie

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<sup>118</sup> Kathlyn M. Cooney, *The Cost of Death*, pp. 265–69; Taylor, ‘Evidence for Social Patterning on Theban Coffins of Dynasty 25’.

<sup>119</sup>For thoughts on variation in Book of the Dead papyri as reflecting scribal creativity, see Rita Lucarelli, *The Book of the Dead of Gatseshen*, Egyptologische Uitgaven, XXI (Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, 2006), pp. 2–3. There is no reason to think the same should not also apply to coffins.

<sup>120</sup> The coffin of Nisuamun in Leeds has a mummy brace with the name of Rameses XI on it. It is the only absolutely datable coffin from the beginning of the Twenty-First dynasty. Cooney follows van Walsem in dating the coffin of Anet in the Vatican (Vatican XII.2.1,2) to the 20<sup>th</sup> dynasty based on association of its owner with a lady of this name mentioned in O. Berlin 12343, and some similarity between the rendering of foliage on the offering stands in the vignettes to those in certain 20<sup>th</sup> dynasty Theban Tombs. Anet’s coffin has two close parallels whose owners are officials at the Min temple in Akhmim: The coffins of Knumnasapehsu (Berlin 8505) and the coffin of Ipyukhuy (Multiple fragments registered as San Jose RC 612,613,614,615,616,617, and 599). To both myself and Anders Bettum, it is more likely that the objects belong to two different Anets, one of whom is from Akhmim. A convincing argument against van Walsem’s dating and location for the coffin is given in Andrzej Niwiński, ‘The 21st Dynasty Coffins of a Non-Theban Origin, a “Family” for the Vatican Coffin of Anet’, in *First Vatican Coffin Conference, 19-22 June 2013: Proceedings*, ed. by Alessia Amenta and Hélène Guichard (presented at the Vatican Coffin Conference, Città del Vaticano: Edizioni Musei Vaticani, 2017), pp. 335–48. See also, Kathlyn M. Cooney, ‘Changing Burial Practices at the End of the New Kingdom: Defensive Adaptations in Tomb Commissions, Coffin Commissions, Coffin Decoration, and Mummification’, pp. 27–28; Bettum, ‘Faces Within Faces: The Symbolic Function of Nested Yellow Coffins in Ancient Egypt’, pp. 190–91; René van Walsem, ‘Deir El-Medina as the Place of Origin of the Coffin of Anet in the Vatican (Inv.: XIII.2.2)’, in *Deir El-Medina in the Third Millenium AD: A Tribute to Jac. J. Janssen*, ed. by R. J. Demarée and A. Egberts, Egyptologische Uitgaven, XIV (Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, 2000).

<sup>121</sup> These are the coffin of Knumnasapehsu (Berlin 8505), and its parallels: the coffin of Anet (Vatican XIII.2.1,2) mentioned in note 120, and the coffin of Sesekhnofru (Copenhagen ÆIN 0062). The coffin of Muthotep (BM EA 29579) is also visibly different from Twenty-First dynasty Theban pieces, and it is unclear whether this is because it is a 20<sup>th</sup> dynasty Theban piece as Cooney claims, or an example of regional variation as per Bettum. Kathlyn M. Cooney, ‘Changing Burial Practices at the End of the New Kingdom: Defensive Adaptations in Tomb Commissions, Coffin Commissions, Coffin Decoration, and Mummification’, pp. 27–30; Bettum, ‘Faces Within Faces: The Symbolic Function of Nested Yellow Coffins in Ancient Egypt’, p. 191.

<sup>122</sup> Copenhagen ÆIN 0062

<sup>123</sup> BM EA 29579

economic hardships in Thebes to the reuse of Theban coffins. Cooney acknowledges that neither the dates nor the find spots for the above coffins are sure, but asserts that this does not matter because they must be from Upper Egypt anyway. She thus makes the assumption that economic circumstances known only from Theban documents had an equal impact (and had a similar effect on burial practices) in other Upper Egyptian cities.<sup>124</sup> In fact, there is much that is still unknown about the degree to which a city like Akhmim can be said to have been dependent on Thebes in the Third Intermediate period. Even during the Ramesside period, it is hard to imagine how the pilfering of tombs in the Valley of the Kings, the corruption of the local officials at Thebes and of the priesthood the Temple of Amun, or the workers' strike at Deir el-Medina might have affected people in another Upper Egyptian city in the absence of evidence specific to that city.

One thing Cooney considers in depth that Niwinski does not is the effect of economic pressure on coffin consumers and workshops. As if acknowledging the problem that many coffins that don't fit comfortably into any of his typological categories, Niwinski creates a separate category for pieces that don't fit. This is Lid Type V, which he describes as having "Archaizing Tendencies." Cooney realizes that much of this so-called "archaism" is the result of the Twenty-First dynasty practice of refurbishing and reusing old coffins--the pieces look old because they are.<sup>125</sup> Coffin reuse seems to have been a reaction to economic shortages which resulted in a change in the values and the norms surrounding funerary belief. For the Theban elite, it became increasingly acceptable as early as the Ramesside period to reuse tombs. With the disappearance of tombs in favor of communal burials, it became acceptable in the Twenty-First dynasty to reuse coffins as well.<sup>126</sup> This extra category in Niwinski's typology arose from a failure to consider that the "Archaizing Tendency" may have resulted from the economic forces working on Theban elite and the craftsmen who made and refurbished their coffins.

Failing to consider the effects of social station of the owner on the appearance of a coffin can also lead to problematic conclusions. A lack of accounting for regional and social variability can be seen in Niwinski's dating of the coffins from the Tomb of Iurudef to the Greco-Roman period. The tomb of Iurudef is a 19<sup>th</sup> dynasty shaft-tomb at Saqqara which was reused as a communal tomb for some of the area's lesser elite as early as the 20<sup>th</sup> dynasty. These people were buried in coffins with a variety of decorative schemes characterized featuring characteristics that usually receive the labels "crude", or "provincial." These include pseudoglyphs and highly stylized figural vignettes. The rendering of the collars, wigs, headbands and hands had a general affinity with elite Ramesside and early Twenty-First dynasty pieces

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<sup>124</sup> Kathlyn M. Cooney, 'Changing Burial Practices at the End of the New Kingdom: Defensive Adaptations in Tomb Commissions, Coffin Commissions, Coffin Decoration, and Mummification'.

<sup>125</sup> This is not to say that there is no such thing as archaism in the decoration of Twenty-First dynasty coffins. There are a few coffins with yellow decoration on a white background, for example, the coffin of Hennatawy (MMA 25.3.182a, b), which are likely not reused. These might be considered archaizing in that they are reminiscent of Ramesside pieces in the choice of iconography and of 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty pieces in the choice of background color. It would be useful to re-evaluate these pieces as a typological category setting aside the pieces that have obvious signs of reuse.

<sup>126</sup> Maarten J. Raven, *The Tomb of Iurudef: A Memphite Official in the Reign of Ramesses II*, Excavation Memoir, 57 (Leiden: National Museum of Antiquities [u.a.], 1991), pp. 18–22.

from Thebes,<sup>127</sup> and Taylor dated the coffins between the Ramesside period and Dynasty 22. Niwinski pushed back on this. The pieces don't conform to his typology, and he argues that they are from the Greco-Roman period.

The most intricately painted coffin from the tomb of Iurudef, #27, has some similarity in terms of register layout and choice of motifs to Twenty-First dynasty yellow coffins. It has a long collar and hands emerging from it. As is the case on Theban 21st dynasty coffins, the elbows are only indicated by notches in the lid. However, coffin #27 uses a color scheme where red, not yellow is the dominant color, the inscription is garbled, there are no lateral bands of text, and the hands are clenched even though the inhabitant of the coffin is female.<sup>128</sup> The collar and arms fit Niwinski's "Lid Type III-a,b", but the color scheme and lack of *horror-vacui* are not similar to anything in Niwinski's typology. Not only does Niwinski fail to consider that these features may have been the result of regional variation in coffin appearance between Saqqara and Thebes,<sup>129</sup> but he fails to consider the effect that a lower-class customer and artist might have on coffin decoration. For this he is rightly criticized by Martin and Taylor for his reliance on comparanda drawn only from the Theban High elite. These comparisons lead to his assumption that garbled inscriptions and stylized (even crude) vignettes were a sign of production not by a lower and less literate class, but by a later one.<sup>130</sup>

The typologies of Taylor and Elias are less problematic, perhaps because they are more flexible. Taylor discusses overall layout but focuses on smaller elements of decoration that give clues to dating and which can be seen on a variety of funerary and non-funerary items: proportions of human figures, costume changes, and the changes in morphology of the scented cone worn on the head of the deceased. Elias observes the frequency of occurrence of funerary texts on coffins as well as the subtle differences between the texts on various coffins.

However, both Elias and Taylor operate on the assumption that a typology built from a sample consisting primarily<sup>131</sup> of the coffins of the Theban elite will apply to coffins that belong to the lower classes and to coffins that come from elsewhere in Upper Egypt. The result is that there are many coffins to which only the most general of Taylor's or Elias' dating criteria can be applied.<sup>132</sup>

Work by Taylor and Sheikoleslami shows that some variation within the Theban corpus might be based on hierarchy within the elite classes. Furthermore, more recent work by Taylor

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<sup>127</sup> Maarten J. Raven, p. Pl 17.

<sup>128</sup> Maarten Raven J and others, 'The Date of the Secondary Burials in the Tomb of Iurudef at Saqqara', *OMRO*, 78 (1998).

<sup>129</sup> To his credit, Niwinski was one of the first scholars to allow for regional variability, labeling some coffins in his typology as "provincial" when other scholars have been inclined to label them Theban. The fact that he includes them in his typology of Theban Coffins at all, however, betrays the underlying assumption that all yellow coffins ought to conform to a Theban model regardless of provenience.

<sup>130</sup> Raven and others, p. 9.

<sup>131</sup> To be fair, Elias includes several pieces from Akhmim and elsewhere in his work and notes that there may be regional traditions. Elias, 'Coffin Inscription in Egypt after the New Kingdom: A Study of Text Production and Use in Elite Mortuary Preparation', p. 394 fn 73.

<sup>132</sup> Taylor's and Elias' Typologies are of little help with, for example, the coffins of Amenirdis at the Pheobe A Hearst Museum of Anthropology (5-1404c) and Tarutu at the Norton Simon Museum in Pasadena. Neither coffin depicts the deceased with a funerary cone, a large Abydos fetish, solar birds, winged figures, registers of text or a judgement scene, features upon which Taylor's dating is dependent.

suggests regional variation in coffin style in the Third Intermediate Period. Research by others on Saite and Ptolemaic coffins in Middle Egypt shows the existence of a patchwork of regional traditions of coffin decoration which persisted despite the re-emergence of an elite class at Memphis and the reunification of the country.

#### Towards a Multidimensional Model of Coffin Development

##### Regional Styles and the “North-South Divide”

One large corpus of coffins that does not fit into the Theban Model consists of coffins found in excavations in Middle Egypt and in the Memphite cemeteries. These coffins are rarer and more difficult to study than their Theban counterparts, in part because conditions in the Middle Egyptian cemeteries tend to be wetter, and the pieces often don't survive excavation. Many of the pieces that are in museum collections were unscientifically excavated and lack provenience,<sup>133</sup> but many of the ones that have been scientifically excavated are simply not published.<sup>134</sup> A notable exception are the coffins discovered by the Leiden/EES excavations at Saqqara in the course of excavating the tombs of Ramesside officials, particularly the coffins found in the courtyard of the tomb of Maya and Meryt,<sup>135</sup> and the coffins found in the shaft and upper rooms of the tomb of Iurudéf.<sup>136</sup> The pieces found in the courtyard of Maya and Meryt must have dated between the late Ramesside period and the Saite period based on the stratigraphy of their burials and the associated pottery. A date between the Ramesside period and early 22<sup>nd</sup> dynasty was reckoned for the Iurudéf pieces based on comparisons with Theban coffins.

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<sup>133</sup> The term provenience is used to refer to knowledge of the place where an object originated. This is to be differentiated from provenance, which refers to a collection history for an object. See: Christina Kahrl Brody, 'Studying the Skeletons in the Closet: Unprovenienced Archaeological Collections in Museums', *Collections*, 5.3 (2009).

<sup>134</sup> *The Tomb of Maya and Meryt. 2: Objects and Skeletal Remains*, ed. by Maarten J. Raven and Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, Excavation Memoir, 65 (Leiden: National Museum of Antiquities [u.a.], 2001), p. 11,12.

<sup>135</sup> Maarten J. Raven, pp. 8–22.

<sup>136</sup> Taylor, 'Coffins as Evidence for a “North-South Divide” in the 22nd-25th Dynasties’.

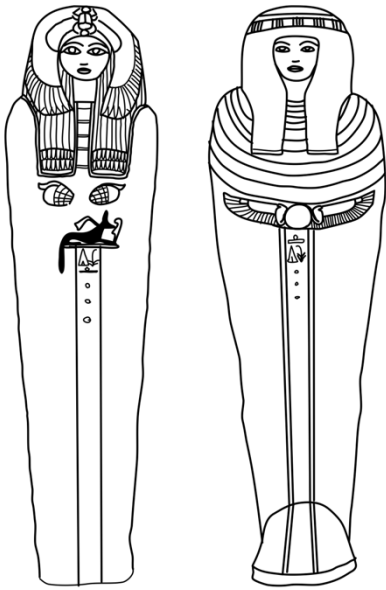


Figure 9: Northern (left) and Theban (right) wooden coffins of the Third Intermediate Period

Taylor examined these coffins along with some published coffins from Italian excavations at el-Hibeh, and coffins found at Lahun by Petrie and others. From these, Taylor was able to recognize a group of “Northern Coffins” originating from the area between Speos Artemidos and Memphis during the Third Intermediate period. These can be distinguished from the “Southern” or “Theban” style coffins.<sup>137</sup> He specifically assigns pieces from Akhmim to the latter group.<sup>138</sup>

Northern coffin sets, like Theban sets, have multiple nested coffins, usually three, with an optional inner cartonnage which, when present, is the most ornate element of the set. The outer coffins are generally plain, with decoration consisting of the face, the wig, and the collar, from which fists emerge. The lower lid contains a vertical line of inscription from the belly to the feet. The lid of the coffin is almost completely flat, except for the lappets, face, and hands, which are attached separately, though the hands are sometimes only painted. Northern coffins usually do not have a projecting foot, and those that do have simply a

projecting flat board from the foot area instead of the modeled footbox characteristic of the Theban pieces (Figure 9).<sup>139</sup>

When compared to contemporary Theban pieces, there are several major differences in the decoration of Northern coffins. Northern coffins do not depict beards or ears for either gender.<sup>140</sup> Winged headdresses are common, but the depiction of a scarab on the forehead indicates that their symbolism is solar. Their presence on coffins belonging to both genders indicates that they are not gendered like the Theban winged headdresses.<sup>141</sup> Fists are almost always depicted on outer cases and cartonnages, and they are always clenched. A distinctive feature of Northern coffins is the decoration of the fists from the knuckles to the wrists with a net-pattern or bracelet-like horizontal stripes. Often, a single flower is drawn on the knuckles as well, giving the impression that the coffin is wearing fingerless gloves!<sup>142</sup>

<sup>137</sup> Taylor, ‘Coffins as Evidence for a “North-South Divide” in the 22nd-25th Dynasties’, p. 379.

<sup>138</sup> Taylor, ‘Coffins as Evidence for a “North-South Divide” in the 22nd-25th Dynasties’, p. 386.

<sup>139</sup> Taylor, ‘Coffins as Evidence for a “North-South Divide” in the 22nd-25th Dynasties’, p. 387.

<sup>140</sup> Taylor, ‘Coffins as Evidence for a “North-South Divide” in the 22nd-25th Dynasties’, p. 389.

<sup>141</sup> For the headdress at Thebes as a gender marker, see: John H. Taylor, ‘The Vulture Headdress and Other Indications of Gender on Women’s Coffins in the 1st Millennium BCE’, in *First Vatican Coffin Conference, 19-22 June 2013: Proceedings*, ed. by Alessia Amenta and Hélène Guichard, 2 vols (presented at the Vatican Coffin Conference, Città del Vaticano: Edizioni Musei Vaticani, 2017), II, 541–50.

<sup>142</sup> Taylor, ‘Coffins as Evidence for a “North-South Divide” in the 22nd-25th Dynasties’, pp. 391–92.

The central inscription is also notable on the Northern wooden coffins. Above it is usually depicted a reclining jackal, who may be Wepwawet. The inscription itself is often garbled or contains pseudoglyphs. Usually it contains an offering formula, but several variants of the formula appear on Northern coffins which are rare or unknown at Thebes. These include a wish that the invoked god allow the deceased to come forth to see the Aten. More intriguing for reasons which will be revealed later in this work is an offering formula in which the deceased wishes that the god might grant them water for their Ba, offerings for their Corpse, and linen clothing for their mummy.<sup>143</sup>

As for the cartonnages, they differ in construction from the Theban pieces in that the face is usually not modeled from cartonnage but carved from wood and attached separately.<sup>144</sup> Several general layouts are used in their decoration (Figure 10).

Some feature a plain white ground, with decoration limited to the head, shoulders, and central column. Sometimes, mummiform or winged deities flank this column. Some of these white-grounded pieces depict arms, breasts, or feet in a fashion reminiscent of the Ramesside daily life coffins.<sup>145</sup>

Other cartonnages divide the available surface below the collar into rectilinear registers which may or may not be bisected by a central inscription column. Much surface space is taken up by the decorative bands which divide these registers, which can consist of stripes, chevron patterns, block patterns, chain patterns, or strips of petals. The ground color for the decoration is white, green, or blue, and the figural decoration can be polychrome, or, with the darker backgrounds, cream-colored with red details.<sup>146</sup>

The actual content of the vignettes does not seem to differ much from that on Theban pieces. Abydos fetishes, sons of Horus, judgement scenes, and guardian demons are popular subjects for vignettes. However, the focus of the decoration and the way these symbols interact with each other and the mummy within the coffin does seem to be different. The Abydos fetish may feature in a small vignette on a Northern piece but does not occupy the lower third of the coffin lid as it might on a Theban piece. The “sunrise motif” with the two falcons is also not

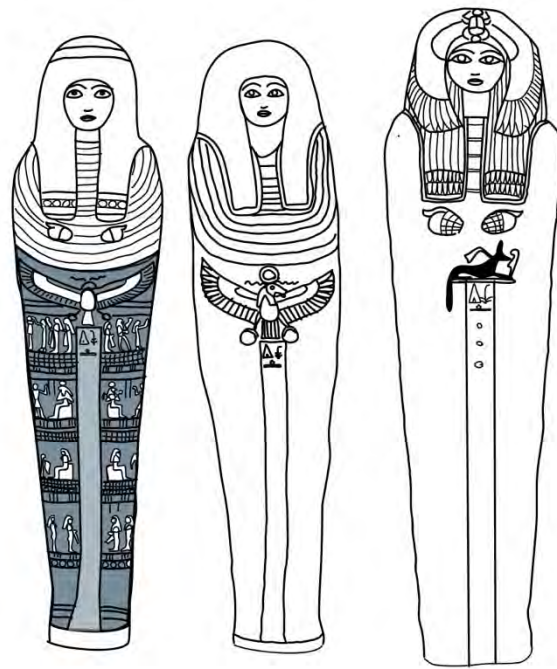


Figure 10: Northern style cartonnages (left and middle) and a wooden coffin (right).

<sup>143</sup> Taylor, ‘Coffins as Evidence for a “North-South Divide” in the 22nd-25th Dynasties’, p. 387.

<sup>144</sup> Taylor, ‘Coffins as Evidence for a “North-South Divide” in the 22nd-25th Dynasties’, p. 393.

<sup>145</sup> Taylor sees the white-grounded cartonnages and the “daily life” cartonnages as two separate “types”. (390) However, the given examples are so similar in their other features that I feel that they ought to be seen as variations within one type.

<sup>146</sup> Taylor, ‘Coffins as Evidence for a “North-South Divide” in the 22nd-25th Dynasties’, pp. 397–99.

present on Northern pieces, though the scarab on the forehead of the coffin surely has similar connotations of resurrection through identification with the rising sun.

Taylor makes the following important observations about the Northern Style: firstly, that this coffin design is more dependent on regional culture than it is on political jurisdiction, and secondly, that it is not tied to Libyan ethnic identity. Even though there was a large Libyan population in Middle and Lower Egypt during the Third Intermediate Period, there is nothing about the Northern style that is Libyan. It relies on construction techniques long familiar to the Egyptians and employs decorative motifs and religious symbolism that are wholly Egyptian.

Secondly, the style exists independently of political borders. According to our (admittedly limited) knowledge of Third Intermediate Period politics, el-Hibeh was under the control of the Theban-ruled south throughout the Libyan period, but the coffins from el-Hibeh have more in common with coffins from Lahun, Memphis, and Herakleopolis Magna, than they do with coffins from Thebes.

As for the dating of these “Northern Style” coffins, Taylor reaffirms that they probably date between the 22<sup>nd</sup> and 25<sup>th</sup> dynasty. He wonders if the emergence of regional traditions did not occur earlier and notes that the regional traditions continued beyond Nubian/Saite reunification of Egypt. However, he suspects that the transition from cartonnages to wooden bivalve coffins occurred in both the north and the south at the same time.<sup>147</sup>

Taylor himself hesitates to propose the existence of smaller regional traditions, preferring to see the “northern style” as radiating outward from an unknown northern seat of production—he likewise sees regional styles in Southern Egypt as being derivative of the Theban tradition.<sup>148</sup> However, the plates in Taylor’s article betray that large variation exists between coffins from different Northern Sites—Naville’s coffins from Sedment do not look like Petrie’s coffins from Lahun, which do not look like Botti’s coffins from el-Hibeh. Since Taylor’s work on Thebes, the only large scale study of other regional traditions is a study on coffins from Akhmim from the Third Intermediate period to the Ptolemaic period by Ruth Brech,<sup>149</sup> which will be discussed in depth below.

Much more work has been done on regional styles at individual sites after the Third Intermediate Period. These include a study on Saite to Ptolemaic coffins from el-Hibeh,<sup>150</sup> a distinctive group of coffins from Abusir el-Melek,<sup>151</sup> Ptolemaic coffins from Gamhud,<sup>152</sup> and a

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<sup>147</sup> Taylor, ‘Coffins as Evidence for a “North-South Divide” in the 22nd-25th Dynasties’, p. 397.

<sup>148</sup> He acknowledges special features on some coffins from Akhmim, but to him, these do not constitute a regional style, but mere “regional peculiarities”. Taylor, ‘Coffins as Evidence for a “North-South Divide” in the 22nd-25th Dynasties’, p. 279.

<sup>149</sup> Brech.

<sup>150</sup> Beatrix Gessler-Löhr, ‘Eine Gruppe Spätzeitlicher Mumien­särge Aus El-Hibeh’, in *Burial and Mortuary Practices in Late Period and Graeco-Roman Egypt*, ed. by Katalin A. Kóthay (Budapest: Museum of Fine Arts, Budapest, 2017), pp. 141–95.

<sup>151</sup> Sabine Schmidt, ‘Bemerkungen Zu Den Sogenannten “Weißen” Särgen Der 25./26. Dynastie Aus Den Grabungen Der Königlichen Museem Zu Berlin In Abusir El-Meleq (1902-1905)’, in *Burial and Mortuary Practices in Late Period and Graeco-Roman Egypt*, ed. by Katalin A. Kóthay (Budapest: Museum of Fine Arts, Budapest, 2017), pp. 241–65.

<sup>152</sup> Gábor Schreiber, ‘The Burial Ensemble of Tasetet from Gamhud and the Ptolemaic Coffin Style in Northern Middle Egypt’, in *Art and Society: Ancient and Modern Contexts of Egyptian Art*, ed. by Katalin Anna Kóthay (Budapest: Museum of Fine Arts, Budapest, 2012).

general study on Memphite coffins after the Third Intermediate Period which will be the topic of a forthcoming dissertation.<sup>153</sup>

The existence of small-scale regional traditions is attested in Middle Egypt during the Saite and Ptolemaic periods but may well have originated in the Third Intermediate period, with the dissolution of the Ramesside state. Regional artistic styles arose around local power centers during the First and Second intermediate periods, so why not in the Third? These regional styles may contain internal variance based on social hierarchy, or on reuse resulting from local economic conditions.

#### Variation in Coffin Style Based on Social Standing of the Owner

Even if we consider only the coffins of known Theban origin from a given time, there is still a large variation in the appearance among members of this subset. There have recently been several attempts to explain this variation within the Theban typologies by proposing differently decorated tiers of coffins corresponding to the position of the owner's family within the Theban social hierarchy. Cooney has proposed for the Twenty-First dynasty, that any new Typology of Yellow coffins ought to view coffin development in terms of such a temporal and a social dimension. She proposes that most of the coffins from this period are reused and refurbished to varying degrees.

The extent to which the reuse was carried out depended on the personal wealth of the deceased's family, but the access to coffins for reuse and the ability to hire someone to do it was a function of their social station. Access to expensive materials such as wood, pigment, and varnish would have been restricted to the group in Thebes who held power: the Amun priesthood. She proposes that coffins within this priestly elite can be divided into social tiers of Higher, Middle, and Lower elite for any given time span within the Twenty-First dynasty. Higher elite coffins were, according to Cooney, not only hid the reuse better than lower elite ones did, but featured innovative scenes drawing from multiple afterlife books and well-written texts. She sees coffins of the middle elite as being more "banal", drawing only from the Book of the Dead. She feels that the art on the coffins of the low elite borders on "folk art" and the texts are poorly written.<sup>154</sup> This theory has some flaws, namely that Cooney doesn't provide any evidence that the variation she sees between social tiers, which is never enumerated beyond a few examples, is tied to the social position of the owner. She also doesn't consider the unknown provenience of at least two of the pieces. Two of the four coffins from her lower elite tier may not even be Theban, thus, their "naïve folk-art" may be more due to regional variation than social position or temporal variation.<sup>155</sup> Nonetheless, the idea of social tiers within the

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<sup>153</sup> Katharina Stövesand, 'Regional Variability in Late Period Egypt: Coffin Traditions in Middle Egypt', in *Ancient Egyptian Coffins: Craft Traditions and Functionality*, ed. by John H. Taylor and Marie Vandenberg (Leuven: Peeters, 2018), pp. 389–403.

<sup>154</sup> Kathlyn M Cooney, 'Ancient Egyptian Funerary Arts as Social Documents: Social Place, Reuse, and Working Towards a New Typology of 21st Dynasty Coffins'.

<sup>155</sup> The coffin ÄS 6066 belonging to Meretenahet is a close parallel to the coffin of Knumnasapehsu in Berlin, discussed above, which is from Akhmim. Also, the anonymous coffin ÄM 9679 may be from Gebelein. It has an almost exact parallel in the Anonymous Coffin 104.1,104.2 in the Sufro Collection at the SFSU Global Museum in San Francisco. The origins of the Sufro coffin are unknown as are the origins of the Berlin coffin, but older records pertaining to both pieces tie them to Gebelein. For more detail, see Rita Lucarelli, Kea Johnston, and Mark-Jan



Theban (and other) corpuses is plausible and seems an attractive explanation for the large variation in decoration and quality.

Taylor has built on this idea in his re-examination of a large group of coffins belonging to the high-titled Priests of Montu and the lower administrative functionaries of the Amun Priesthood during Dynasties 25 and 26. Many of these workers and their families were buried together in caches that seem to have been based on occupation. They were butchers, lotus-cultivators, barbers, porters, and doorkeepers of Amun, and their titles give us an idea of their mainly administrative (and not religious) function in the temple hierarchy.<sup>156</sup> Taylor proposes that the ideal tomb outfit of this group, which he characterizes, following Cooney, as a Low Elite, was different than that used for the High Elite, whose text-rich coffins were the focus of Taylor's earlier typology. Instead of a set consisting of a bivalve inner coffin with one or two plain nesting outer coffins and a *Qrsw* coffin, these low elite sets consist of a bivalve coffin and one or two enclosing outer coffins, the outermost of which is brightly decorated (Figure 7, e).

These "Lower Elite" coffins are characterized by a focus on pictorial decoration over textual, contrast with the coffins of the "Higher Elite", who were at this time exhibiting the new Saite/Nubian redactions of Book of the Dead spells on their coffins. Iconography on both types of coffins expresses identification of the deceased with Osiris at the moment of Awakening.

However, in the lower elite sets, the iconographic programs of the outer anthropoid coffins focus on the rebirth of Sokar, hinting those beliefs about the mechanism of resurrection may have varied between social groups. The line between Taylor's social tiers is quite hazy, and there is a large amount of crossover. Bivalve coffins with an emphasis on pictorial over textual decoration in exist in sets with outer *Qrsw* coffins. Thus, Taylor proposes that it might be more accurate to see social tiers as existing on a spectrum.<sup>157</sup>

In conclusion, it has long been known that coffin styles change broadly over time. Most coffin typologies for the first millennium BCE focus on Theban coffins and attempt to model coffin style as a function of time. However, there is such a high level of variation in the types of coffins known to co-exist, even within the large Theban corpus, that time cannot be the only factor controlling change in coffin design. There is some agreement that regional variation in the Third Intermediate Period exists along the lines proposed by Taylor, namely that Upper Egypt follows Thebes in coffin design, little can be said about the Delta, and Middle Egyptian coffins can be grouped into a "Northern Style". After the Third Intermediate Period, distinct Memphite and Faiyumi styles can be discerned, and even more Middle Egyptian regional styles are evident in the Ptolemaic period.

However, more research needs to be done on non-Theban Upper Egyptian pieces to confirm this theory, and more work needs to be done to characterize the different Faiyumi styles during all periods. Within the context of a constant place and time, Cooney and Taylor have explained some of the co-existing variation in coffin types at Thebes by proposing that different styles of coffins met the needs of different social tiers within the elite. These tiers can

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Nederhof, 'Book of the Dead in 3D: SFSU Global Museum-104.1,104.2', *Book of the Dead in 3D*, 2018 <<https://3dcoffins.berkeley.edu/coffins/sfsu-global-museum-10411042>>.

<sup>156</sup> Cynthia May Sheikholeslami, 'Sokar-Osiris and the Goddesses: Some Twenty-Fifth—Twenty-Sixth Dynasty Coffins from Thebes', in *Thebes in the First Millennium BC*, ed. by Elena Pischikova, Julia Budka, and Kenneth Griffin (Newcastle Upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars, 2014), pp. 453–83.

<sup>157</sup> Taylor, 'Evidence for Social Patterning on Theban Coffins of Dynasty 25'.

be seen as a High, Middle, and Low elite, but should probably rather be seen as a gradient where people's access to different types of coffins depended on their access to knowledge and the wealth at their disposal.

Based on this, I would propose that coffin development is best seen as a multidimensional phenomenon, where the design of a given coffin can be described in terms of the time in which it was made, the location in which it was made, and the socioeconomic status of the owner (as well as the socioeconomic status of the artists who made the piece). We can expect the education, beliefs, and preferences of the buyer, as well as the scribe and artist to manifest themselves as variations within this framework. When we speak of first millennium coffins at Akhmim, we are speaking of a vertical slice of the matrix of coffin development. Leaving aside (for a moment) the agency of the artist and buyer, we can expect to see some variation in coffin style based on social status and time, but we can understand this developmental trajectory as being tied to the political and economic conditions in one place, Akhmim.

## Akhmim

The large corpus of coffins from the ancient city of Akhmim<sup>158</sup> presents an opportunity to study coffin production outside of Thebes. Over one-hundred and fifty coffins are thought to have come from the site.<sup>159</sup> The city was an important regional center throughout the First Millennium BCE and was home to a coffin-buying elite. These people and their families were interred over generations in the city's three sprawling cemeteries (Figure 11). Sadly, our knowledge of Akhmim's history during the First Millennium is lacking. The ancient city is buried underneath the modern city, and the cemeteries were ransacked for antiquities in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century.

The burial equipment from Akhmim's cemeteries and the associated human remains were dispersed to collections across the world with little care for recording their provenience. Regardless, a large number of coffins can be associated with the site, however, and their stylistic seriation has been the subject of a dissertation (and later book),<sup>160</sup> as well as several articles<sup>161</sup> which shall be discussed in this review.

### The City of Akhmim, its Cults, and its Cemeteries

Approximately two-hundred kilometers downriver from Luxor (north of Thebes) is the ancient and modern city of Akhmim. In ancient times it was the capitol of the 9<sup>th</sup> Upper Egyptian nome. In modern times, it is in Sohag governate, and nearby city of Sohag has long eclipsed it in political and economic importance.<sup>162</sup> In pharaonic times, two names were associated with the city: Ipu and Khenty-min.<sup>163</sup> The latter is the source of its modern name.

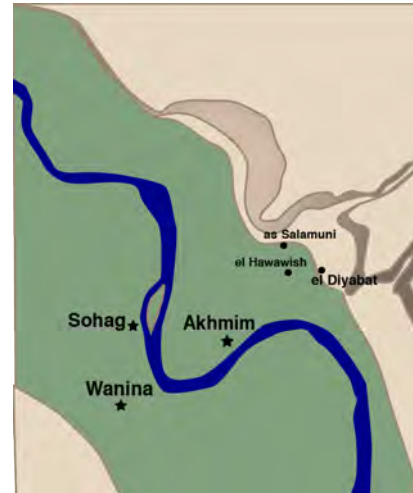


Figure 11: Map of the Akhmim area. Dots indicate ancient cemeteries and stars indicate modern cities.

<sup>158</sup> Here, the term "Akhmim" is used to refer to the area of the city of Akhmim and of the three cemeteries associated with the site: es-Salamuni, el-Hawawish, and el-Diyabat.

<sup>159</sup> This is by my own count, and there are probably more. Brech deals with 85 ensembles which she feels have a firm provenience. Brech, p. 20.

<sup>160</sup> Brech; Renate Siegmann, 'Review: Brech, Ruth 2008. Spätägyptische Särge aus Achmim: eine typologische und chronologische Studie', *Bibliotheca Orientalis (BiOr)*, 68.1 (2011), 79–86.

<sup>161</sup> Sabina Malgora and Johnathan P. Elias, 'The Coffin of Ankhpakhered (Inv. Asti 94a): Defining an Akhmimic Regional Style for the Later Third Intermediate Period', in *First Vatican Coffin Conference, 19-22 June 2013: Proceedings*, ed. by Alessia Amenta and Hélène Guichard (presented at the Vatican Coffin Conference, Città del Vaticano: Edizioni Musei Vaticani, 2017), pp. 277–88; Éva Liptay, 'A Local Pattern of the Twenty-First Dynasty Theban Coffin Type from Akhmim', *Bulletin de Musée Hongrois Des Beaux Arts*, 114–115 (2011), 9–21.

<sup>162</sup> Akhmim lost its status as a regional capital first to Girga in the 16<sup>th</sup> century, and then to Sohag with the introduction of the railroad on the western side of the river in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Klaus Kuhlmann, *Materialien Zur Archäologie Und Geschichte Des Raumes von Achmim*, SDAIK, 11 (Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 1983), p. 1; Naguib Kanawati, *Sohag in Upper Egypt: A Glorious History*, Prism Archaeological Series, 4 (Guizeh: Ministry of Culture), p. 11.

<sup>163</sup> Kuhlmann proposes that there were originally two cities at the site: Ipu was the main settlement dating as early as the Predynastic period, and Khenty-min was originally a temple town founded to maintain the Min temple in the Middle Kingdom. He suspects that the two cities eventually sprawled into each other, taking the name Khenty-min. Kuhlmann, p. 10.

The Greeks and Romans called the city Panopolis, after the god Pan with whom they associated Akhmim's primary local god, Min.

Min was a masculine fertility god. His association with Akhmim dates to the early Dynastic Period. As a god who sometimes assumed kingly aspects, he could syncretize with Horus, Amun, and Re.<sup>164</sup> In the Late and Ptolemaic period, Min took on lunar characteristics as well in his syncretism with the god Iah.<sup>165</sup> Min was the primary "Lord of Ipu" worshipped at Akhmim, but formed a triad with Isis (who later took the form of Aperet-Aset) and Horus.<sup>166</sup> In later Ptolemaic times, he could also form a triad with Repyt (later Tryphis) and Kolanthes, who were worshipped at Akhmim but are primarily known from the nearby site of Athribis (near modern Wanina).<sup>167</sup> Other deities revered at Akhmim include a form of Thoth called "Thoth-who-listens",<sup>168</sup> as well as a snake-formed incarnation of Atum.<sup>169</sup>

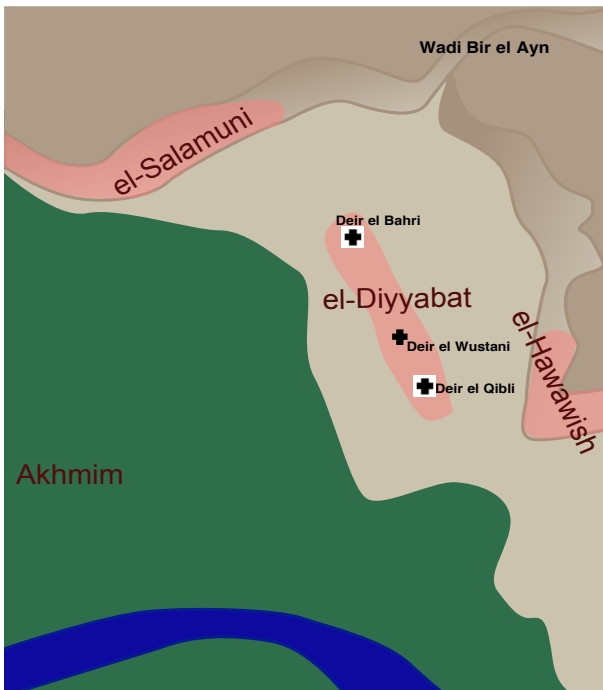


Figure 12: Akhmim's three cemeteries are highlighted in pink. The cross shapes indicate Christian monasteries.

As to how these deities and their clergy were fed and enriched, Akhmim's position on the convex side of a bow in the river gave it a fertile floodplain and easy access to water. The cliffs to the north and east provided an ideal place for quarrying limestone. The canals which still crisscross the agricultural land and desert areas between the river and the cliffs allowed for the transport of quarried stone to the city and thus to the river. This industry was an important part of the local economy from the 18th dynasty through the Roman period.<sup>170</sup> If they still exist, the earthly homes and workplaces of Akhmim's citizens are now beneath the modern city, but some of their graves still survive in the three cemeteries located nearby (Figure 12).

<sup>164</sup> Rolf Gundlach, 'Min', *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*, V (1982), 136–40.

<sup>165</sup> Kuhlmann, p. 24. A monument to Min-Iah monument is mentioned in an inscription at the Ay temple and may date to the Late Period.

<sup>166</sup> Erika Feucht, 'Aperetiset', *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*, I (1975), 335–36.

<sup>167</sup> Jan Quaegebeur, 'Kolanthes', *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*, III (1980), 671–72.

<sup>168</sup> Maria-Theresia Derchain-Urtel, 'Thot a Akhmim', in *Hommages à François Daumas* (Montpellier: Université de Montpellier, 1986), pp. 173–80.

<sup>169</sup> Evidence for this comes from the recent discovery of a shrine of Atum which dates from the Roman period. Whether reverence of this form of Atum occurs earlier at Akhmim is unknown. Gamal Abd el-Nasser, Stefan Baumann, and Christian Leitz, 'A Newly Discovered Edifice of Atum in Akhmim: Part of the Necropolis of the Primeval Gods?', *ENiM*, 8 (2015), 187–221.

<sup>170</sup> Kuhlmann, pp. 1–6.

The el-Diyyabat<sup>171</sup> cemetery is the largest and most long-lived of these, being in use between the Predynastic and Coptic periods. It seems that most material from the First Millennium BCE came from this cemetery.<sup>172</sup> It is situated on a low hill in the desert in an area which also includes the remains of three Coptic monasteries.<sup>173</sup> In the cliffs to the east are the rock-cut tombs of the el-Hawawish cemetery,<sup>174</sup> in which the local nomarchs of the late Old Kingdom and First Intermediate Period were buried. These were probably reused in the Third Intermediate Period and again in Greco-Roman times, as evidenced by the fragments of Third Intermediate Period coffins found intrusively in the tombs.

Kuhlmann suspects that the presence of a temple called the "Senu of Min" between el-Diyyabat and el-Hawawish cemeteries drew people to prefer el-Diyyabat for the burial of their dead.<sup>175</sup> However, this temple is known only from texts and titles which are not explicit as to its importance for the dead or its exact location. Any remains of such a temple apparently vanished under agricultural lands in the 19th century.<sup>176</sup> In the cliffs to the North, around a great speos carved in the cliff by the 18th Dynasty King Ay, are painted tombs which date from the Late Period and later. The most famous surviving examples date to the Roman period. Today, this cemetery is called es-Salamuni.<sup>177</sup>

#### Akhmim Between the 21st Dynasty and the Ptolemaic Period

The profusion of material said to come from the site, combined with classical records indicates that Akhmim was an important regional and cultural center in the first Millennium BCE, especially after the Third Intermediate Period. However, our knowledge of the political history of Akhmim during the First Millennium BCE is unfortunately very limited. In part, this is because the extant textual and archaeological evidence for the Third Intermediate Period is heavily biased towards Thebes,<sup>178</sup> and although Thebes was an important cultural, political, and

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<sup>171</sup> The cemetery, which Kuhlman names "Cemetery A" is called el-Hawawish in some early literature after the nearby cluster of towns. This leads to confusion between it and Kuhlman's "Cemetery B", which is also sometimes called el-Hawawish, most notably by Kanawati who published the rock tombs there. Today, the area of Cemetery A is considered part of Naga el-Diyyabat. Thus, this work, this central Cemetery A is called el-Diyyabat, and Cemetery B is called el-Hawawish in deference to Kanawati. See: Yahia el-Masry, 'Recent Explorations in the Ninth Nome of Upper Egypt', in *Egyptology at the Dawn of the Twenty-First Century: Proceedings of the Eighth International Congress of Egyptologists, Cairo, 2000*, ed. by Zahi A. Hawass and Lyla Pinch Brock (presented at the International Congress of Egyptologists, Cairo ; New York: American University in Cairo Press, 2003), pp. 335–36.

<sup>172</sup> Renate Germer, Hannelore Kischkewitz, and Meinhard Lüning, 'Die Gräberfelder von Achmim — eine sprudelnde Geldquelle für Einheimische und Antikenhändler', in *Berliner Mumiengeschichten* (Berlin: Schnell Steiner, 2009), pp. 113–38.

<sup>173</sup> Kuhlmann, pp. 52–63.

<sup>174</sup> This is Kuhlmann's "Cemetery B". Kuhlmann, p. 52,63-71

<sup>175</sup> Kuhlmann, p. 83.

<sup>176</sup> Kuhlmann, p. 12.

<sup>177</sup> This is Kuhlmann's "Cemetery C". Kuhlmann, p. 52,71-86.

<sup>178</sup> This problem of disparity in archaeological evidence between Thebes, the Delta, and other localities, mainly in Upper Egypt, is briefly addressed in Aston, *Burial Assemblages of Dynasty 21-25*, p. 19. A gap between Theban textual data and Delta textual data is also noted by Frédéric Payraudeau, *Administration, Société et Pouvoir à Thèbes Sous La XXIIe Dynastie Bubastite*, Bibliothèque d'Étude, 160, 2 vols (Le Caire: Institut Français D'Archéologie Orientale, 2014), i, p. 4.

economic center, our knowledge of it tends overshadow all other localities in Upper Egypt to the point of obscuring them.

Akhmim hardly appears at all in the major ancient textual records of the Third Intermediate Period. It is not mentioned as a city in need of subduing in Prince Osorkon's struggle for Thebes during the mid 22<sup>nd</sup> Dynasty (though it is mentioned as a source of a silver payment in offering to Amun).<sup>179</sup> It is also not discussed in the Gebel Barkal Stela created some decades later when Piye marched north from Thebes to enforce tribute from his vassals in the Delta. From this, we can assume that Akhmim posed no military challenge to either of these rulers, or that it fell in line behind Thebes in acknowledging them.

Indeed, there is a tendency in the literature to refer to Middle and Upper Egypt during the Third Intermediate Period as the "Thebaid",<sup>180</sup> a term borrowed from the Greek term for Upper Egypt during the Ptolemaic Period.<sup>181</sup> This terminology is misleading not only because the borders of area controlled by Thebes in the Third Intermediate Period were fluid and not the same as they were in the Ptolemaic period, but also because our knowledge of how much control Thebes actually exerted over the rest of Upper Egypt during the Third Intermediate Period is limited.

Thebes probably exerted military and some economic control over Akhmim and the surrounding area during the Third Intermediate Period. Theban military titles claim jurisdiction *n rsy.t* "of the South."<sup>182</sup> A string of fortresses throughout Upper Egypt testify to the military control that Thebes had over the area. Pertinent to Akhmim is a fortress at the border of the 8th and 9th nomes at el-Ahawaih with stamped bricks of High Priest Menkheper.<sup>183</sup>

Assessing Theban economic control of the lands around Akhmim is more difficult. Land registers dating to the early Third Intermediate Period in P. Louvre 6345 indicate that the temples of the Theban Triad controlled extensive land in the 10th nome, which bordered the 9th Nome to the North. However, the Temples of the Gods of Akhmim themselves also controlled a small amount of land in the Tenth Nome.<sup>184</sup> We can assume the Akhmim temples also controlled substantial land closer to home. We know that the Theban elite held some control over the land holdings of the gods of Akhmim during the late Twenty-First dynasty, because two women in the family of high priest Pinudjem II, Isetemkheb D and Nesitanebetashru, were given high ranking sacerdotal titles in the temple of Min, Horus, and

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<sup>179</sup> Robert Ritner, *The Libyan Anarchy: Texts from Egypt's Third Intermediate Period*, Writings from the Ancient World, 21 (Atlanta: Society for Biblical Literature), p. 374.

<sup>180</sup> See, for a typical example, D. Agut-Labordère, 'The Saite Period: The Emergence of a Mediterranean Power', in *Ancient Egyptian Administration*, ed. by Juan Carlos Moreno Garcia (Boston: Brill, 2013), p. 968. where the author characterizes all of Egypt south of the Delta as "...a Thebaid dominated by the Temple of Amun."

<sup>181</sup> Joseph Manning, 'The Capture of the Thebaid', in *Perspectives on Ptolemaic Thebes*, ed. by Peter Dorman and Betsy Bryan, *Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization*, 65 (Chicago: Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 2011), pp. 1–14 (p. 2).

<sup>182</sup> Payraudeau, I, p. 338.

<sup>183</sup> James Bennett, *Archaeology of Egypt in the Third Intermediate Period* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2019), pp. 68–69.

<sup>184</sup> Annie Gasse, *Données Nouvelles Administratives et Sacrédotales Sur l'Organisation Du Domaine d'Amun XXe-XXIe Dynasties*, Bibliothèque d'Étude, 104, 2 vols (Cairo: Institut Français D'Archéologie Orientale), I, p. 14. The temple of Min, Horus, Isis and the Lords of Akhmim is mentioned, (along with the Temple of Osiris at Abydos) as a temple of secondary importance in the nome, but the specifics of its holdings aren't mentioned.

Isis of Akhmim.<sup>185</sup> These would have allowed these women to draw an income from the temple's holdings.

However, viewing the situation at Akhmim exclusively in light of Theban hegemony does not give a complete picture of what was happening at the site in the Third Intermediate Period. The city of Akhmim and its cults received royal attention during New Kingdom,<sup>186</sup> and so it was natural that it should retain some importance in the Third Intermediate Period as well. The Temple of Min was important enough to merit attention from at least one Delta ruler as well. Excavations at the Min Temple in the 1980's and 1990's yielded fragments of the cartouche of Smendes I, as well as the cartouche of a king who is likely High Priest Pinudjem I, but could also be a Psusennes,<sup>187</sup> hinting that construction took place at the temple in the name of both this northern king and the aforementioned Theban high priest.

Furthermore, there was a group of local elites at Akhmim, mainly tied to the Min temple, who were not Theban transplants, and did not owe their positions to the rulers in Thebes. The existence of these officials and their families are witnessed by their coffins and stelae which can be roughly stylistically dated in comparison with those from Thebes. An example of a family of Akhmim priests can be seen on the stela of Hori (Cairo JE 26094, TN 20/6/24/10).<sup>188</sup> On this stela, Hori traces his lineage back eight generations into the Ramesside period, with each of his ancestors holding priesthoods of Min or Isis.<sup>189</sup> Hori himself probably lived in the early 22nd dynasty, a date based on based on the style of his stela<sup>190</sup> and confirmed by the features of the coffin of his wife Asetemakhbit,<sup>191</sup> with which we will deal in detail later.

A large relative increase in the number of funerary stelae at Akhmim during the Nubian and Saite Periods indicates that the local elite thrived during this time. A distinct style of

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<sup>185</sup> Saphinaz-Amal Naguib, *Le Clergé Féminin d'Amon Thébain à La 21e Dynastie*, *Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta*, 38 (Leuven: Peeters, 1990), pp. 153–54, 171.

<sup>186</sup> Most notably from the late Thutmosids who had familial ties to the area and the Ramesside kings who wanted to both eradicate the memory of the former and perpetuate their own legacy. Yahia el-Masry, 'Evidence of Building Activities of Certain Monarchs from Inscribed Material at Akhmim', *Mitteilungen Des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Abteilung Kairo*, 64 (2008); Yahia el-Masry, 'Further Evidence for a Temple of Rameses II at Akhmim', *Mitteilungen Des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Abteilung Kairo*, 59 (2003); Yahia el-Masry, 'New Evidence for Building Activity of Akhenaten at Akhmim', *Mitteilungen Des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Abteilung Kairo*, 58 (2002); Benôit Lurson, 'Ay, Neferti, Nakhtmin and Ameny', *ZÄS*, 146.2 (2019), 164–208.

<sup>187</sup> Yahia el-Masry, 'Evidence of Building Activities of Certain Monarchs from Inscribed Material at Akhmim', *Mitteilungen Des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Abteilung Kairo*, 64 (2008), pp. 213, 235.

<sup>188</sup> Karl Jansen-Winkel, *Inschriften Der Spätzeit*, VI vols (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz Verlag, 2007), II: Die 22-24. Dynastie, pp. 481–82. Note that the accession number is incorrect in Janssen-Winkel. The correct accession number can be found in Marc Loth and Frank Feder, 'Lost in Transition: Die Stele Berlin ÄM 823, Ein Kriegsverlust, Mit Einem Anhang Zu Den Holzstelen Des Ägyptischen Museums Berlin', *Internet-Beiträge Zur Ägyptologie Und Sudanarchäologie*, 19 (2017), n. 78

<[https://www.academia.edu/23055658/Lost\\_in\\_Transition\\_Die\\_Stele\\_Berlin\\_%C3%84M\\_823\\_ein\\_Kriegsverlust\\_mit\\_einem\\_Anhang\\_zu\\_den\\_Holzstelen\\_des\\_%C3%84gyptischen\\_Museums\\_Berlin](https://www.academia.edu/23055658/Lost_in_Transition_Die_Stele_Berlin_%C3%84M_823_ein_Kriegsverlust_mit_einem_Anhang_zu_den_Holzstelen_des_%C3%84gyptischen_Museums_Berlin)> [accessed 9 March 2020].

<sup>189</sup> Éva Liptay, 'The Cartonnage and Coffin of JS.T-M-3HBJ.T in the Czartoryski Museum, Cracow', *Studies in Ancient Art and Civilization*, 6 (1993), pp. 24–26.

<sup>190</sup> Peter Munro, *Die Spätägyptischen Totenstelen*, *Ägyptologische Forschungen*, 25, II vols (Glückstadt: J. J. Augustin, 1973), I,II, p. 117;

Friedrich Wilhelm von Bissing, *Denkmäler ägyptischer Sculptur*, 2 vols (München: F. Bruckmann, 1914), ii, sec. 98.

<sup>191</sup> Czartoryski Museum Cracow, MNK XI 482a,b

funerary stelae tied to the Akhmim elite emerges, which has stylistic links to contemporary Theban stelae.<sup>192</sup> Some of these stelae belong to members of the family of the Theban vizier Nespaqashuty II,<sup>193</sup> who was active under Psamtik I. One of the Vizier's uncles, Djedhor, and one of his brothers, Horemsaf, apparently moved their families to Akhmim and assumed sacerdotal titles at the Min Temple.<sup>194</sup> Munro notes that some of these family members kept some of their sacerdotal titles for Amun, even several generations after their move to Akhmim. These stelae with their genealogies and titles point to a close relationships between Akhmim and Thebes during the Kushite and Saite periods.<sup>195</sup> While Munro uses the family of Nespaqashuty II to illustrate Akhmim's closeness to Thebes, it's also possible that the family of the powerful vizier actually came from Akhmim to begin with.<sup>196</sup> Additionally, these Theban transplants are not the only owners of Kushite or Saite period Stelae from Akhmim,<sup>197</sup> and the number of stelae appearing at this time indicates a thriving elite.

Despite the increase in evidence for the funerary cults of the local nobility, there is very little Saite and Nubian period evidence for royal building at the temples from which the Akhmim elite derived income. Akhmim is a lacuna in the repertoire of even the most prolific Kushite and Saite builders, with the possible exception of Taharqa. The head of a statue which may represent this king was found by Schiaparelli in 1884 at Akhmim and is now in Florence.<sup>198</sup> There may also be an indirect allusion to a statue cult of a Saite king on the Akhmim Stele of a "priest of the statues of Pharaoh."<sup>199</sup> What we do have from this period is a description of an Akhmim temple by Herodotus, which was written in the First Persian Period. (Dynasty 27). He describes the temple as follows:

*"...there is a great city called Chemmis, in the Theban province, near the New City; in this city is a square temple of Perseus son of Danae, in a grove of palm trees. The colonnade before this temple is of stone, very great; and there stand at the entrance two great*

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<sup>192</sup> Peter Munro, *Die Spätägyptischen Totenstelen*, Ägyptologische Forschungen, 25, II vols (Glückstadt: J. J. Augustin, 1973), I,II, p. 117.

<sup>193</sup> This vizier is famous for being the owner of TT 312, and a witness in the Brooklyn Oracle Papyrus. (Brooklyn, 47.218.3a-j)

<sup>194</sup> Herman De Meulenaere, 'La Famille des viziers Nespamedou et Nespakachouty', *Chronique d'Égypte*, XXXVIII.75 (1963), 71–77. For Horemsaf, see op. cit. Munro, p 120.

<sup>195</sup> Munro, I,II, p. 117.

<sup>196</sup> As Munro notes, Nespaqashuty II's grandfather (and Djedhor's father) was the Vizier Nespaqashuty I. However, we know nothing of the family's titles before Nespaqashuty I. See Munro I,II p 120. Demeulenaere proposes that the family was originally from This because of the theophoric names Nesshutefnut and Djedanhuriwefankh in the family tree, which are less common in Thebes. See op. cit. de Meulenaere, p 77. Though to my knowledge it has not yet been proposed, the fact that the family moved to Akhmim may indicate that they were from there originally. For a further discussion of why it is problematic to date Akhmim funerary goods by Nespaqashuty II, see note 303.

<sup>197</sup> I feel that Munro's implication that the style of these stelae was imported from Thebes by Theban transplants is less certain than he states. He necessarily focuses on the stelae of Akhmim elites with Theban families, because these are the ones that are datable via other sources. We don't have enough information on the other stelae to say that these few pieces tied to Theban families represent the origin of the style at Akhmim.

<sup>198</sup> Edna R. Russmann, *The Representation of the King in the XXVth Dynasty*, Monographies Reine Élizabeth, 3 (Brooklyn, 1974), p. 54. The object is Florence 7655, and is visible in Von Bissing *Denkmaler* no 64, pl 8.

<sup>199</sup> Munro, I,II, p. 121. Munro argues against De Meulenaere's 30<sup>th</sup> dynasty date for the piece. He thinks that the piece is stylistically Saite and must refer to a Saite king.



*stone statues. In this outer court there is a shrine with an image of Perseus standing in it.”*<sup>200</sup>

Herodotus' description is vaguer than it initially appears. Kuhlman reasons that the temple described by Herodotus (which is the only Egyptian temple described by him), is probably a New Kingdom Temple, and probably not the main Min temple.<sup>201</sup> Kuhlman's logic is indirectly supported by the identification of "Perseus" not with Min, but with Horus, who was, along with Aperet-Isis, part of a holy triad at Akhmim at this time.<sup>202</sup> Herodotus yields no more than we know already from the titles on stelae, but his description provides a vivid picture of a thriving complex of temples in a large city, which we can project back on the Saite Period.

Herodotus then goes on to describe a local legend about Perseus, his origins at Akhmim, and the celebration of Olympic-style games at the temple. The Greek flavor of these local customs probably indicates that the people telling Herodotus about Akhmim were Greek Egyptians familiar with the local religious festivals and their Greek analogues. Their home may have been the "New City" mentioned by Herodotus, which seems to have been a Greek enclave in Upper Egypt, founded near Akhmim, probably in the Saite Period.<sup>203</sup>

The lack of royal building at Akhmim during the Saite and Nubian periods is highlighted by the surprising number of attestations of Late Period kings from the site, including references to otherwise ephemeral rulers of Dynasty 29. A stela of a man named Hor indicates the existence of a statue cult of Nephertites I.<sup>204</sup> A partial inscription indicates that Psammouthis also built at Akhmim, though the nature of his construction is unknown.<sup>205</sup> A statue-cult of Akoris is mentioned on another stela.<sup>206</sup> Some reliefs from the White and Red Monasteries at Sohag may also have come from Akhmim, such as a block testifying to the existence of a chapel built by the 30th dynasty king Nectanebo I.<sup>207</sup> There seems to be an increase in building at the site during the Late Period, and this may have included the construction of large buildings as it did at Abydos. However, the currently available evidence only allows us to state that the late period kings constructed small shrines and erected statues at Akhmim.

There are no clear accounts of the temple which would have existed in Herodotus' time, or any of its earlier post New Kingdom predecessors. If they still exist, they are buried beneath

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<sup>200</sup> Herodotus, *Herodotus I: Books I-II*, trans. by A. D. Godley, The Loeb Classical Library, 117–120, V vols (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1990), 1981), I, bk. II:91.

<sup>201</sup> Kuhlmann, p. 24.

<sup>202</sup> A B Lloyd, 'Perseus and Chemmis (Herodotus II 91)', *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 89 (1969), 79–86. Lloyd associates Perseus with Horus, and argues against Sauneron, who uses an epithet of Min of Akhmim in a Roman Period temple of Edfu to argue that Persius is derived phonetically from the epithet of Min: pA wrS—"the lookout". While Sauneron's argument is compelling, I agree with Lloyd that Horus is ultimately a better analog to Perseus. See: Serge Sauneron, 'Persée Dieu de Khemmis (Hérodote II, 91)', *Revue d'Égyptologie*, 14 (1962), 53–57.

<sup>203</sup> Lloyd, p. 80.

<sup>204</sup> Claude Traunecker, 'Essai Sur l'histoire de La XXIXe Dynastie', *Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale*, 79 (1979), 395–436 (p. 409). This piece is now in Leiden (A. 20).

<sup>205</sup> Traunecker, p. 410. This piece is JE 57173.

<sup>206</sup> Munro, I,II, p. 123.

<sup>207</sup> el-Masry, 'Evidence of Building Activities of Certain Monarchs from Inscribed Material at Akhmim', p. 226. El-Masry provides a sketch of a block bearing the cartouche of this king. The block was found at the White Monastery, and the guard there apparently told el-Masry that the block was found by sebakh-diggers at Akhmim.

the ruins of the grand Ptolemaic temple.<sup>208</sup> This temple stood until the 14th century and was a source of wonder for Arab geographers. One such geographer, Ibn Jobair, visited the temple in the 12th century on his way to Mecca. His vivid description gives a picture of a temple comparable in size and form to Dendera or Edfu. He spoke of an enormous columned hall supporting a ceiling sculpted and painted with winged vultures and finely modeled figures of animal-headed men bearing objects. These filled his thoughts with both trouble and wonder. He dwells admiringly on the colors of the column capitols, which fade into darkness as he moves towards the inner rooms of the temple, which would have been seen only by flickering lamplight in ancient times. He escapes the pure darkness climbing a stairway to the roof, and marvels at the size of the stone ashlar which form the floor of this terrace.<sup>209</sup> Through his description we can get a picture of the great temple in which the coffin buyers worked, and in whose shadow the artisans of Akhmim lived their lives.

#### Excavation at Akhmim

The location of the modern city has prevented any but salvage archaeology of the settlement and temples of Ancient Akhmim. We are therefore dependent on the cemeteries for information on the inhabitants of Akhmim and their lives. It is now time to discuss the proverbial elephant in the room which is that early treasure-hunters laid waste to the cemeteries of Akhmim in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century. That hunt for antiquities, especially aesthetically pleasing ones with texts, populated the collections and museums of the world, but produced only the most cursory of publications. The result is that, with the exception of objects found in excavations of the last thirty years, nothing said to be from Akhmim has a clear find context. In fact, most objects said to be tied to Akhmim have little to tie them to the site. If we want to ascertain that an object is from Akhmim, we can make guesses based on the style of the object and based on our understanding of how the provenance of the object corresponds with what we know about the antiquities market.

#### The Excavations of the 1880s

For any given object, the scant clues to provenience are often cloaked in gossip and exaggeration: Budge tells a tall tale about discovering a tomb full of Roman mummies at Sohag. They probably came from Akhmim instead and might have come from more than one tomb.<sup>210</sup> In the late 1880's, the antiquities market was flooded with wooden ka statues said to be from

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<sup>208</sup> Arab geographers in the Middle Ages as well as later European scholars spoke of two sets of ruins at the site. One of the two temples dated to the new Kingdom, and this was associated with a temple that was torn down for building material and to make Lime. The other was Roman, and it was used to build a religious school. Sauneron thinks that the first temple is the one described by Ibn Jobair. However, Kuhlmann points out that all the Arabic descriptions—as well as the modern European ones are so vague that they cannot be associated with a particular ruin, nor can any of the descriptions be associated with anything visible today. See Serge Sauneron, 'Le temple d'Akhmim décrit par Ibn Jobair', *Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale*, 51 (1951). And also: Kuhlmann, pp. 38–49.

<sup>209</sup> Sauneron, 'Le temple d'Akhmim décrit par Ibn Jobair'.

<sup>210</sup> Mark Smith, 'Budge at Akhmim, January 1896', in *The Unbroken Reed: Studies in the Culture and Heritage of Ancient Egypt in Honour of A. F. Shore*, ed. by Christopher Eyre, Anthony Leahy, and Lisa Montagno (London: Egypt Exploration Society), pp. 293–303.

Gebelein. Bourriant intimates that they're probably really from el-Diyyabat.<sup>211</sup> As Egyptologist Mark Smith once said, "...at Akhmim, nothing is ever simple."<sup>212</sup> Despite this a rough history of scholarly (and not so scholarly) interest in the Akhmim cemeteries can be told. These must use the scant documentation of Maspero's "discovery" of the cemeteries, the records of travelers, tourists and collectors, and finally, the cornerstone publication on Akhmim by Kuhlmann, who pieced the former together into a coherent picture.

Though writers from the Arab world such as Ibn Jobair describe the Akhmim temple in their writings, they seem to have avoided the city's cemeteries. These desert cemeteries did not, however, escape the attention of European travelers, who documented their visits to the site as early as the 18th century. The Napoleonic savant Saint-génis, the Prussian scholar Lepsius, and others visited and recorded monuments at the site prior to the 1880's,<sup>213</sup> but their descriptions were rarely accurate or detailed enough for later excavators to relocate the areas that they visited.

In the first years of the 1880s, antiquities said to be from Akhmim were surfacing on the antiquities market. This prompted Director of the Antiquities Service Gaston Maspero to actively search for necropoleis around Akhmim,<sup>214</sup> In December of 1881, he searched an area around the cliffs near es-Salamuni for a "great tomb" mentioned by Lepsius.<sup>215</sup> This excavation proved disappointing. Maspero did not find this "great tomb", and he does not elaborate on any discoveries that might have been made in his foray.<sup>216</sup> A little over a year later, in January of 1883, Maspero visited the site with Charles Wilbour in tow to look for the tomb again. After another fruitless search around the mouth of the Wadi bir-el-Ayn, Maspero noticed that the citizens in the small townships collectively called el-Hawawish were using limestone sarcophagi for animal troughs.<sup>217</sup> The source of these "troughs" was a desert hill three kilometers in length, located in the crescent formed between the cliffs and bordered on the north and south by the Coptic monasteries of Deir el-Qibli and Deir el-Bahri respectively. There, on the southern end of the el-Diyyabat cemetery, Maspero found a vast cemetery honeycombed with underground catacombs, stuffed to the ceilings with mummified people and their coffins, all dating between the Third Intermediate Period and the Ptolemaic period. According to him, it

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<sup>211</sup> Urbain Bourriant, 'Notes de Voyage', *Recueil de Travaux Relatifs à La Philologie et à l'Archéologie Egyptiennes et Assyriennes (RdT)*, 11, 131–59 (p. 141).

<sup>212</sup> Mark Smith, 'Aspects of the Preservation and Transmission of Indigenous Religious Traditions in Akhmim and Its Environs during the Graeco-Roman Periods', in *Perspectives on Panopolis*, ed. by A. Egberts, B. P. Muhs, and J. van der Vliet (Boston: Brill, 2002), p. 234.

<sup>213</sup> Kuhlmann, p. 30.

<sup>214</sup> Gaston Maspero, 'Voyage d'Inspection En 1884', *Bulletin de l'Institut Égyptien, Deuxième Série*, 5, 1885, p. 66.

<sup>215</sup> Charles Edwin Wilbour, *Travels in Egypt (December 1880 to May 1891)*, ed. by Jean Capart (Brooklyn, NY: Brooklyn Museum, 1936), p. 204. The "Great Tomb" for which he was searching was probably the Rock Temple of Ay. According to Kuhlmann, early scholars considered the Ay temple and the rooms carved in the rock around it to be a New Kingdom cemetery. Kuhlmann, p. 83.

<sup>216</sup> Gaston Maspero, 'Sur Les Fouilles Exécutées En Égypte de 1881-1885', *Bulletin de l'Institut Égyptien, Deuxième Série*, 6, 1886, p. 85.

<sup>217</sup> Kuhlmann points out that during Maspero's time, there was no single village called "el Hawawish", but that the term refers collectively to the several small towns which grew up around homesteads in the area. Hence, the later confusion about the cemetery name mentioned above in note 171. Kuhlmann, p. 53.

was a true city of the dead with occupants in the thousands.<sup>218</sup> His description paints a vivid picture of the number and density of the burials.

*“Non seulement toute la colline est percée de puits et de tombes taillées avec soin, mais toutes les grottes naturelles, toutes les failles dont elle est pleine ont été utilisées pour y déposer des cadavres”... “Dans les grottes, on a accumulé par lits les momies sans cartonnages et sans cercueils, mais emmaillottées de bandelettes; puis, sur les momies sables, on a entassée jusqu’au plafond les momies à cartonnages et à gaine en bois. Pour tirer parti de tout l’emplacement, on a forcé les cercueils des couches supérieures à entrer entre le plafond et les cercueils des couches inférieures sans s’inquiéter si on les brisait en ce faisant.”<sup>219</sup>*

Maspero made it quite clear that what he wanted from the site were beautiful inscribed objects. He hired an excavation team whose numbers were supplemented by the military,<sup>220</sup> put the excavation in the hands of his overseer, Halil Sakkar, and left.<sup>221</sup> Occasionally, barges were sent from Cairo to the site to pick up the products that the excavation had produced for the Egyptian Museum.

Sakkar found an incredible number of burials. Maspero tells us that in one part of the cemetery there were eight or nine thousand mummies exhumed, but of these, only one in twenty had a coffin or cartonnage and bore an inscription. To Maspero, the rest were worthless.<sup>222</sup> Of the coffins recovered by Sakkar, only ones deemed valuable by Maspero were returned to the Boulaq in Cairo: about three-hundred pieces.<sup>223</sup> The rest were probably left behind and picked over by the small army of opportunistic treasure hunters which would follow Sakkar’s excavations throughout the three cemeteries, illicitly digging and probably picking over leftovers to sell on the antiquities market, to use for other commercial purposes. The mummified human and animal remains, and their wrappings were exported in bulk to the US and Europe for use in fertilizer or paper.<sup>224</sup>

The burials from the first season of excavation were apparently mainly Late Period and Ptolemaic, but in the winter of 1885-86, Sakkar’s excavation discovered a Coptic cemetery around the monastery of Deir el-Qibli, in which the dead were clothed in beautifully embroidered and woven fabric.<sup>225</sup> Then, having depleted the Coptic cemetery, the

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<sup>218</sup> Maspero, ‘Sur Les Fouilles Exécutées En Égypte de 1881-1885’, p. 85.

<sup>219</sup> Maspero, ‘Voyage d’Inspection En 1884’, p. 66.

<sup>220</sup> Wilbour, p. 301.

<sup>221</sup> Maspero, ‘Sur Les Fouilles Exécutées En Égypte de 1881-1885’, p. 85.

<sup>222</sup> Maspero, ‘Voyage d’Inspection En 1884’, p. 67.

<sup>223</sup> Germer, Kischkewitz, and Lüning.

<sup>224</sup> There are stories, mostly from earlier decades of the 19th century, of mummies being used as fuel for trains in Egypt. Reuse in fertilizer and paper was the fate of the sacred animal mummies from the animal catacombs near Memphis. It was probably also the fate of the citizens of Akhmim who did not have the good fortune to be buried in “museum quality” coffins. Kuhlmann, p. 54, fn 272. For more information on the commercial uses of mummies, see S. J. Wolfe and Robert Singerman, *Mummies in Nineteenth Century America: Ancient Egyptians as Artifacts* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Company, 2009), pp. 174–99.

<sup>225</sup> Maspero is not specific about where he found this cemetery in his 1886 report “Fouilles et travaux exécutés en Égypte pendant l’hiver de 1885-1886”, but Kuhlmann, compares his description with the letters from Forer to reach the conclusion that this discovery and the discovery of Coptic textiles that brought the site to the attention of Europe’s museums were at the same place near the Monastery Deir el-Qibli. Kuhlmann, p. 55.

Maspero/Sakkar excavation and its hangers-on refocused their attentions to the Northwest, around Dier el-Wustani by the winter of 1887 and 1888. We can only really infer the events from these two seasons because nothing at all was ever published about them. Based on the entries in the *Bulletin d'Institut Egyptien's* table of accessions to the Cairo Museum, they seem to have found objects from the Old Kingdom, Middle Kingdom, and Second Intermediate Period.<sup>226</sup>

Urbain Bourriant, visited the area in 1889 to purchase artifacts on the antiquities market for the Boulaq Museum. He mentions that at this time, the “unofficial” excavators had moved again, this time to a part of the cemetery near another monastery, where they were finding grave goods of the Old and Middle Kingdoms. In this last year of the official excavations at el-Diyyabat, Bourriant lamented the condition of the cemetery:

*“une nécropole finie ,on l’a tournée et retournée dans tous les sens et elle ne donnera plus rien de bon...”*<sup>227</sup>

This sentiment was echoed by the Swiss treasure-hunter, Robert Forrer who painted a ghoulish picture of blackened limbs and ribcages strewn across the ground, their open graves appearing as black holes from afar.<sup>228</sup> Late-comers to the site, like Gaston le Breton from the museum of Rouen, were left to pick among the tattered wreckage for the coffins, remains, and textiles that they eventually smuggled home.<sup>229</sup>

After his work at the el-Diyyabat cemetery was completed, Sakkar spent a season digging at el-Hawawish, where several tombs had already been cursorily recorded by Schiaparelli in 1885.<sup>230</sup> As is the case with the 1886 and 1887 seasons, we know little about what was found there, with one exception: at the end of 1888, Daressy was sent down the river with a barge to tow back all of the antiquities found by the various government excavations. At Akhmim, he picked up a haul of Old Kingdom and First Intermediate Period coffins, the inscriptions on which were subsequently published by Pierre Lacau as part of the series “Catalogue Generale des Antiquités Egyptiennes.”<sup>231</sup>

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<sup>226</sup> See Bourriant, pp. 141, 142 for transcriptions of inscriptions on some of these objects. Kuhlmann has cross referenced Bourriant’s report with the inventories of items entering the Boulaq in the BIE in 1886-87 to show that these objects were probably also from Cemetery A. Kuhlmann, p. 58.

<sup>227</sup> Bourriant, p. 141.

<sup>228</sup> Robert Forrer, *Mein Besuch in El-Achmim: Reisebriefe Aus Aegypten* (Strassbourg: Verlag von Fritz Schlesier, 1895), pp. 30–32.

<sup>229</sup> Florence Saragoza and P. Georges-Zimmermann, ‘Doublement Éternel: Quand Les Égyptiens Inhumèrent Leurs Morts Deux Fois’, *ENiM*, 7 (2014), 61–78; Sydney Aufrère, *Collections Égyptiennes* (Rouen: Collections des Muées départementales de Seine-Maritime, 1987), pp. 205–6.

<sup>230</sup> Curiously, Schiaparelli mentions that the French had been there before him but had not published. I do not know to whom or what he is referring, and Kuhlmann makes no mention of it. Ernesto Schiaparelli, ‘Chemmis (Achmim) e La Sua Antica Necropoli’, in *Études Archéologiques: Linguistiques et Historiques, Dédiées à Mr. Le Dr. C. Leemans, à l’Occasion Du Cinquantième Anniversaire de Sa Nomination Aux Fonctions de Directeur Du Musée Archéologique Des Pays-Bas*, ed. by Conradus Leemans and others (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1886), p. 85.

<sup>231</sup> Daressy mentions collecting the coffins JdE 29007-29018 from this site. Georges Daressy, ‘Le Voyage d’Inspection de Grébaut En 1889’, *Annales Du Service Des Antiquités de l’Égypte*, XXVI, 1926, 1–22 (p. 3). These are published in Pierre Lacau, *Sarcophages Antérieurs Au Nouvel Empire Nos 28001-28078.*, *Catalogue Général Des Antiquités Égyptiennes Du Musée Du Caire* (Cairo: Imprimerie de l’Institut Français d’Archéologie Orientale, 1903).

The official excavations at Akhmim seem to have been halted in early 1889, when Sakkar was recalled to Cairo by Maspero's replacement, Grébaud.<sup>232</sup> The freelance excavations continued in his absence. When el-Hawawish was re-visited by Newberry twenty years later, site was still being predated by treasure hunters who had vacated the site only days before his arrival.<sup>233</sup>

A similar fate befell the cemetery in the cliffs near the village of el-Salamuni, which Maspero and Sakkar's team never reached. The treasure-hunters did. By the time it was explored by von Bissing and Kees in 1894, it too had been thoroughly exploited.<sup>234</sup>

#### Akhmim Burial Goods on the Antiquities Market

Maspero had little direct involvement in the excavations conducted in his name at Akhmim between 1884 and 1889, aside from sending the occasional barge to the site to collect antiquities from Sakkar's travails. Only three short articles were ever published of these excavations, and while an engaging read, they give frustratingly little information about the site and no specific information on any of the objects found there. Most of the objects found in the three cemeteries went onto the market, and these never had an associated provenience. The coffins and other objects from the Maspero excavations which came to the Boulaq from Akhmim are more clearly tied to Akhmim than of any of the antiquities market objects, but it is likely that not even Maspero knew who had dug them up or from whence they had been excavated.<sup>235</sup> Because a certain amount of background investigation needs to be done on almost all objects said to come from Akhmim, it's essential to have at least a cursory understanding of how the antiquities trade worked at Akhmim in the 1880s, starting with the people who were digging up the objects.

As Sakkar's excavation moved southeast through the el-Diyyabat cemetery, they were followed by a small army of treasure hunters digging up goods to sell onto the antiquities market. These included foreign opportunists like Forrer, Budge, and Breton, who were digging illegally (or legally, but in a way that we today would consider ethically suspect). The army of treasure hunters also probably included licensed antiquities dealers, since the Antiquities services is known to have granted excavation permits to these at the time.<sup>236</sup> However, Sakkar apparently freely granted excavation permits to interested local diggers. This practice deserves a closer look since Sakkar occasionally gets blamed for the devastation at the site.<sup>237</sup>

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<sup>232</sup> Wilbour speculates that Sakkar's recall had to do with Grébaud's crackdown on the antiquities market. Wilbour, p. 427.

<sup>233</sup> Percy E Newberry, 'Inscribed Tombs at Ekhmim', *University of Liverpool Annals of Archeology and Anthropology*, 4, 1912, 99–120 (p. 99).

<sup>234</sup> Kuhlmann, p. 72.

<sup>235</sup> It's possible that local officials kept some record of who kept which object for their share of the partage. This information may come to light as a result of archive projects like the Abydos Temple Paper Archive Project (ATPA).

<sup>236</sup> Fredrik Hagen and Kim Ryholt, *The Antiquities Trade in Egypt 1880-1930: The H. O. Lange Papers.*, Scientia Danica, 8 (Copenhagen: Royal Danish Academy of Sciences and Letters, 2016), pp. 122–23.

<sup>237</sup> For example, see Kuhlmann, p. 55; Germer, Kischkewitz, and Lüning, p. 114.. That Sakkar might have taken the devastation at Akhmim personally is hinted by a note in the Baedeker's guide which mentions that Sakkar (who is titled as the Keeper of the Egyptian Museum) would give tours of the site, but the visitor was warned not to try to purchase a mummy in his presence! Karl Baedeker, *Egypt: Handbook for Travelers* (Karl Baedeker, 1892), 2: Upper Egypt with Nubia as far as the Second Cataract and the Western Oases, p. 51.

In 1883, Maspero obtained permission from the Egyptian government to implement a type of heritage management program at Gurna. The director had concluded that preventing looting was impossible, and that the treasures of Egypt were filling the wealthy museums of Europe while the Boulaq Museum in Cairo was unable to compete for choice objects. His solution to this was to finance freelance digs, providing locals with a steady income on the condition that their finds would be split with the Cairo Museum. This “partage” would be conducted in a way that Maspero hoped would be considered equitable by the citizens of Gurna.<sup>238</sup> The treasure hunters would then be free to sell their half of the find to antiquities dealers. Maspero is unclear about the scope of this project and whether it extended outside of Gurna, but later remarks from Daressy<sup>239</sup> and Wilbour<sup>240</sup> confirm that a system of partage with local excavators existed at Akhmim as well.

Though many of the freelance excavations at Akhmim were legal, there were many who did not need the government funding and did not want to split their finds. It also proved difficult for the Antiquities service to even police the partage process, never mind limit illegal digging. Thus, many objects that should have gone to the Boulaq went to dealers anyway.<sup>241</sup>

Freelance excavators and unlicensed dealers were vulnerable to getting their wares seized by the government regardless of whether those goods were legally obtained or not.<sup>242</sup> The punishments for dealing in or smuggling “looted” antiquities were harsh and especially unforgiving to those with few connections and resources. So, small time dealers and treasure hunters had plenty of incentives to move their wares.

Some of the Akhmim coffins were probably bought and sold in Akhmim itself. An extended Thomas Cook Nile cruise in the 1890’s allowed well-heeled tourists to go to the site itself. There, according to the Baedeker’s travel guide, they could buy a mummy.<sup>243</sup> The guide’s depiction of Akhmim as a seat of a bustling trade in bodies (and probably their coffins) is echoed in the letters of Charles Edwin Wilbour, who visited several dealers at Akhmim,<sup>244</sup> and mentions one who had three rooms of his house stuffed with mummies.<sup>245</sup>

Since Akhmim was not on most tours,<sup>246</sup> higher prices and more opportunities for sale might be found a little further afield. Many antiquities were not sold at Akhmim, but instead sent off to the more frequented transit-stops at Sohag and Qena. Those tourists who chose to travel Egypt by rail stopped at Sohag. Bourriant notes a thriving market here for antiquities,

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<sup>238</sup> Maspero, ‘Voyage d’Inspection En 1884’, pp. 62, 63.

<sup>239</sup> Georges Daressy, ‘La Trouvaille de Sen-Nezem’, *Annales Du Service Des Antiquités de l’Égypte*, XXVIII, 1928, 7–11 (p. 11).

<sup>240</sup> Wilbour, p. 465.

<sup>241</sup> Hagen and Ryholt, p. 123.

<sup>242</sup> Wilbour, p. 465.

<sup>243</sup> Baedeker, 2: Upper Egypt with Nubia as far as the Second Cataract and the Western Oases, pp. xvii–xviii, 51.

<sup>244</sup> In addition to the French consular agent, Frenay, who also dealt in antiquities, Wilbour mentions a dealer named Sirdak, as well as a man named Halil. See Wilbour, pp. 455, 465, 489, 526.

<sup>245</sup> Wilbour, p. 348.

<sup>246</sup> The cheaper and more frequent Cook cruises instead stopped at Qena to allow tourists to see the temple at Dendara. Baedeker, 2: Upper Egypt with Nubia as far as the Second Cataract and the Western Oases, pp. xiv, xvi.

especially Roman period mummy labels from nearby Athribis.<sup>247</sup> Because of its proximity to multiple important sites including Akhmim, Qena was also an important hub for the antiquities market in the late 19th century.<sup>248</sup>

An Akhmim coffin travelled through many hands, but its final point of sale was often Cairo or Luxor because the foreign demand for antiquities would have been concentrated in these tourist hubs.<sup>249</sup> Wilbour mentions searching for papyri to buy and being offered some in Luxor by a local but being disappointed to find that they were only fragments of Akhmim coffins!<sup>250</sup> More complete and salable objects would have found their way into the hands of licensed dealers, and wealthy consular agents who often dealt in antiquities. These later had wealthy and powerful contacts in Egypt and abroad and were effectively above the law.<sup>251</sup>

The sheer number of objects extracted from the Akhmim cemeteries allowed the antiquities market to accommodate the demands of the tourists, the museum agents, the reverends, the nouveau riche, and the mummy-clubs. An enormous number of coffins from the Late and Ptolemaic period stemming from the excavations flooded the antiquities market in the 1880s. There were so many, in fact, that some dealers started to buy them up and hoard them to keep the prices high.<sup>252</sup>

As for why the objects were in such demand, the enormity of the discovery at Akhmim reverberated through popular American and European periodicals.<sup>253</sup> Such accounts piqued the interest of a curious and increasingly cosmopolitan middle and upper class in Europe and America. Among these were wealthy individuals looking to enrich the cultural lives of their hometowns, and American clergymen with a personal interest in relics that could be tied (erroneously) to people in the Bible.<sup>254</sup> Some coffins were even acquired by traveling shows and circuses.<sup>255</sup> Sometimes, communities even banded together to acquire a coffin for their local museum, forming "Mummy Clubs," These were especially popular in Germany—the towns of Detmold and Hamm both acquired coffins from Akhmim in this way.<sup>256</sup> The richness of the Akhmim cemeteries was further publicized when the textiles which once clothed the Christian dead of the el-Diyyabat cemetery were exhibited in the Paris Exposition Universelle of 1889. This, of course, attracted even more opportunistic digging.<sup>257</sup>

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<sup>247</sup> Bourriant also interestingly notes that area also developed a reputation for forgeries, notably Old Kingdom/First Intermediate period Ka Statues, authentic examples of which were concurrently being excavated by Sakkar at Cemetery B. He does not mention coffins as being among these forgeries. Bourriant, p. 144.

<sup>248</sup> Hagen and Ryholt, p. 101.

<sup>249</sup> Hagen and Ryholt, pp. 65, 73.

<sup>250</sup> Wilbour, p. 497. They were probably made from Ptolemaic period cartonnage mummy overlays. These overlays were often made of what the Ptolemaic Egyptians considered scrap paper and recycled into paper mâché.

<sup>251</sup> Hagen and Ryholt, pp. 31–36. For the consular agent at Akhmim, Frenay, see p 216.

<sup>252</sup> Germer, Kischkewitz, and Lüning, p. 116.

<sup>253</sup> For example, a small blurb on p 603 in the Nov 1883-Apr 1884 edition of *Nature* (vol XXIX) touts the richness of the recent discovery at Akhmim.

<sup>254</sup> An example of this is UNL 15-10-97, collected by Rev. Henry Rominger. See Johnathan P. Elias, Overview of Lininger A06696, a Mummy and Coffin at the University of Nebraska, Lincoln, Akhmim Mummy Studies Consortium Research Paper, 16–3 (Carlisle, Pennsylvania: AMSC Research LLC, 2016).

<sup>255</sup> For more on the phenomena of mummies as "freak show" exhibits, see Wolfe and Singerman, pp. 55–95.

<sup>256</sup> Ruth Brech-Neldner and Dagmar Budde, *Der Mumiensarkophag Des Nes-Pa-Kai-Schuti* (Detmold: Lippisches Landesmuseum, 1992), pp. 76–79.

<sup>257</sup> Saragoza and Georges-Zimmermann.



The eager but scrupulous tycoon or museum agent did not have to buy from a dealer or consular agent. They could purchase directly from the museum in Cairo. The collection history of many objects said to come from Akhmim mention that the coffin was acquired for the original buyer by Émile Brugsch. The somewhat less reputable younger brother of Egyptologist Heinrich Brugsch, Émile was not trained in Egyptology, but he managed to befriend first Mariette and then Maspero, through whose graces he became a conservator and then keeper of the Cairo Museum.<sup>258</sup> As such, he was in charge of the sale of antiquities through the sale room (Salle du Vente) at the Cairo Museum,<sup>259</sup> which was begun in the directorship of Grébaut. Here, the Antiquities Service raised funds for the Cairo Museum and government sponsored excavations by selling off “duplicate” objects.<sup>260</sup> If a well-heeled tourist did not find an artifact to their liking at the Salle du Vente, Brugsch had no qualms with connecting them to antiquities dealers legal and illegal.<sup>261</sup>

#### Modern Excavations at Akhmim

Perhaps because the site gained a reputation for having been exhausted by treasure-hunting in the 1880s, only limited excavation has taken place at the Akhmim cemeteries since then. The timeline and scope of the Maspero excavations was reconstructed in the late 1970’s by Klaus Kuhlmann, who compared in-person observations of the tombs with the notes taken by 19th century travelers and the sparse archaeological publications. He was able to roughly pinpoint the parts of el-Diyyabat cemetery from which various objects in the Cairo museum originated by comparing the object accession lists in the *Bulletin d’Institut Egyptien* with the area that Maspero’s team was excavating in the year they were accessioned. His work, though not an excavation report per-se, remains the foundational piece of research on which other studies of Akhmim and its artifacts rely, especially with regards to el-Diyyabat cemetery, where most of Maspero’s digging took place.

Only very recently have two more small excavations taken place in this cemetery, which remains to this day, to paraphrase Kuhlman, a veritable moonscape of craters.<sup>262</sup> These excavations have both been undertaken by the Egyptian Ministry of Antiquities. The first was conducted under the leadership of Dr. Yahia el-Masry from the University of Mansura over two seasons: one in 1986 and one in 1999.<sup>263</sup> The excavation found remains of undecorated multi-room tombs which had been plundered. However, the treasure-hunters had left behind a selection of objects which were perhaps deemed worthless. Some of these objects, including the inscribed lid of a limestone sarcophagus, stelae, amulets, and remnants of cartonnage, provide precious examples of Ptolemaic and Late Period items which can be tied without a doubt to the el-Diyyabat cemetery at Akhmim.<sup>264</sup>

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<sup>258</sup> Warren R. Dawson and Eric R. Uphill, *Who Was Who in Egyptology*, ed. by M.L Bierbrier, Third Revised (London: The Egypt Exploration Society, 1995), p. 66.

<sup>259</sup> Hagen and Ryholt, pp. 50–51.

<sup>260</sup> Hagen and Ryholt, pp. 47–48.

<sup>261</sup> Hagen and Ryholt, pp. 50–51.

<sup>262</sup> Kuhlmann, p. 55.

<sup>263</sup> Yahia el-Masry, ‘The Ptolemaic Cemetery of Akhmim’, in *Honi Soit Qui Mal y Pense: Studien Zum Pharaonischen, Griechisch-Römischen Und Spätantiken Ägypten Zu Ehren von Heinz-Josef Thissen*, ed. by Christian Leitz, Hermann Knuf, and Daniel von Recklinghausen (Leuven: Peeters, 2010), p. 173,174.

<sup>264</sup> For more on these finds, see el-Masry, ‘The Ptolemaic Cemetery of Akhmim’.

More recently, in April of 2019, a decorated Ptolemaic period tomb was found when some local treasure-hunters were apprehended with antiquities. This tomb, belonging to a man named Tutu and his wife Tasheritaset, contained goods from the burials of the two owners, as well as the mummies of an unknown woman and child. It also seems to have been reused as an animal catacomb, being filled with the mummies of birds, cats, dogs, and mice.<sup>265</sup> Given that it is the only decorated tomb from the site, the only intact animal catacomb at Akhmim, and the only known tomb from the site that wasn't touched in the 1880's, it will be invaluable to scholarship should it ever be published.

As for el-Hawawish cemetery, it was explored in 1912, over the course of one season by Percy Newberry. He recorded twenty-eight rock tombs at el-Hawawish, publishing the names written in them as well as some short inscriptions.<sup>266</sup> If he found anything dating later than the Middle Kingdom, he did not publish it. The same cemetery was revisited in the 1980's by an expedition from Macquarie University, Sydney, led by Naguib Kanawati, who endeavored to clear and record the Late Old-Kingdom/First Intermediate Period rock-cut tombs in the cemetery. In several of the tombs at the site, he found coffin fragments from intrusive burials which can be dated stylistically between the 19th and early 22nd dynasty.<sup>267</sup> These remains of "Yellow Coffins" are the only finds from the Late New Kingdom or Third Intermediate Period with context from any of the Akhmim cemeteries (See Appendix I for a full list).

Since the 1894 excavations of von Bissing and Kees, the German mission has returned to the site of Cemetery C, near el-Salamuni. Their work, however, has focused on the rock temple of Ay. A handful of the Roman-period tombs at the site were published by von Bissing,<sup>268</sup> and another handful featuring zodiac ceilings were revisited in 1952 by Nimms, though not published.<sup>269</sup> However, this cemetery has never been systematically excavated or mapped.

Aside from the objects found in the excavations mentioned here, none of the coffins (or other objects) said to have been found at Akhmim have a definite findspot. For a documentary connection between the site and a particular coffin to have survived, every single buyer and seller through which the coffin passed would have had to have cared about and saved such information at a time when this provenience and provenance were of secondary importance. Because most objects were purchased in Cairo or Luxor after having passed through many hands, documentation tying a particular piece to Akhmim is rare. Any link with the site must be derived from properties intrinsic to the coffin itself: the titles of the owner, and the style of the decoration.

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<sup>265</sup> Nevine el-Aref, 'In Photos: Ptolemaic-Era Tomb Discovered in Upper Egypt's Sohag', *Ahram Online*, 5 April 2019 <<http://english.ahram.org.eg/NewsContent/9/40/329501/Heritage/Ancient-Egypt/In-Photos-Ptolemaicera-tomb-discovered-in-Upper-Eg.aspx>> [accessed 3 June 2019].

<sup>266</sup> Newberry, pp. 99–120.

<sup>267</sup> See Appendix I for a full list.

<sup>268</sup> Friedrich von Bissing, 'Tombeaux d'Époque Romain à Akhmim', *Annales Du Service Des Antiquités de l'Égypte*, 50 (1950), 547–76.

<sup>269</sup> Kuhlmann, p. 74.

Brech's "Spätägyptische Särge aus Achhmim"

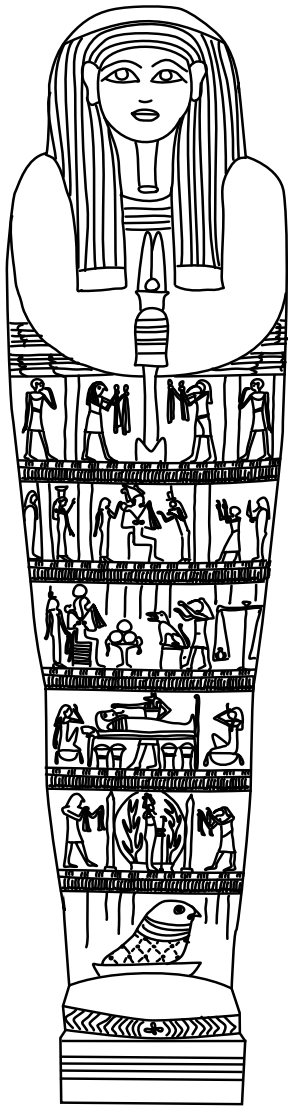


Figure 13: Coffin of Brech's "Gruppe A".

Most published coffins from Akhmim are published as entries in museum catalogues. Only a handful of works deal with groups of coffins from the site. The most comprehensive of these is Ruth Brech's 2008 monograph *Spätägyptische Särge aus Achhmim*, which was based on her PhD thesis at the University of Hamburg. In it, Brech sought to characterize the stylistic development of coffins at Akhmim between the Third Intermediate Period and the Ptolemaic period. She located and documented 85 coffin ensembles where the owner's titles or Museum records could be linked with Akhmim, arranging these into a typology. For each coffin, she provided a sketch-like record with a short description of the decoration and a list identifying recognizable texts written on the coffin. Using these sketches Brech organized the coffins into "types" based on common recurring decorative and textual elements, looking for datable features within the group. Here, Brech's work will be discussed in detail along with its limitations. The framework provided by Brech will then be augmented with information from the handful of other articles on the subject.

Though Brech was unable to discern any unifying pattern in the disparate group of coffins from the Third Intermediate period, a series of locally unique coffins develops at Akhmim directly after. This type, which she calls "Gruppe A" (Figure 12) always appears on innermost coffins or cartonnages. In form at least, coffins of this group are comparable to early Theban bivalve coffins: they have a pedestal which is separated from the foot on wooden examples by a groove. Like the Theban bivalves, wooden examples have a back column.<sup>270</sup>

As for the decoration, these coffins have the peculiarity of having a yellow or beige ground for the lid and a white ground for the basin (See, for example, Plate 84). The surface is divided into horizontal registers, which contain the same sequence of vignettes from top to bottom on most examples: the adoration of the Abydos

Fetish, the introduction of the deceased before Osiris, the Weighing of the Heart before Re-Harakhte, and the embalming scene with the deceased as Osiris on a bier with or without Anubis as an embalmer. The most striking (and diagnostic) scene on these coffins usually occurs around the shins and depicts Osiris standing amongst one or more trees.<sup>271</sup> There are

<sup>270</sup> Brech makes clear that photographs of the back, inside, top and pedestal bottom were unavailable for most of the coffins in her typology, so her typology generally only characterizes the decoration on the lid and sides of the basin. For general comments on this see Brech, pp. 21–22. As well as the notes for the individual coffins.

<sup>271</sup> Brech, pp. 83–95.

often obelisks flanking this scene, and it may refer to an actual cenotaph of Osiris within certain temple complexes. It probably refers to Osiris (or rather the occupant of the coffin) being reborn merged with Re.<sup>272</sup>

The footparts have variable decoration. The bottom of the foot sometimes features a running bull with or without a mummy on its back, which Brech sees as a datable iconographic motif in comparison with Taylor's description of Theban examples.<sup>273</sup> Brech dates *Gruppe A* to the 25th through the 27th dynasty.<sup>274</sup> This dating is probably roughly accurate, but the logic behind it has some problems, which will be discussed further below.

The next group, *Gruppe B* (Figure 14), appears unrelated to A. It is very similar to the text-heavy coffins described by Elias<sup>275</sup> and Taylor,<sup>276</sup> which Elias terms "Eleven-Eleven" style coffins ( see above on page 25). At Akhmim, these coffins are always bivalve wooden coffins with the pedestal slightly larger than the foot at the front. They have a similar ratio of lid to base depth as those of *Gruppe A*. The coffins are slightly bulbous at the chest when seen from the side, and the top of the head is usually flat. The decoration is characterized by a depiction of a winged goddess, usually Nut, directly below a collar which starts at the shoulders. Below the register with Nut is a horizontal line of inscription, and on a few coffins, a short, broad strip of decoration often depicting a weighing of the heart scene with a sequence of deities (Book of the Dead Spell 125). Below this is a square pectoral with a scene of the mummy on a bier—a vignette for Book of the Dead Spell 89,<sup>277</sup> the text of which often occupies the central columns of text bisecting the rest of the body of the lid. The area to each side of the column is filled with representations of striding deities, who are rotated at 90 degrees to the central column. Several coffins of this type have eleven deities on each side. These gods are surrounded by small

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<sup>272</sup> Pierre Koemoth, *Osiris et Les Arbres*, *Aegyptiaca Leodiensia*, 3 (Liège: Centre Informatique de Philosophie et Lettres, 1994), p. 140.

<sup>273</sup> Taylor, 'Theban Coffins from the Twenty-Second to the Twenty-Sixth Dynasty: Dating and Synthesis of Development', p. 104.

<sup>274</sup> Brech, pp. 92–93.

<sup>275</sup> Elias and Lupton.

<sup>276</sup> 25th-26th dynasty inner coffin Type III: Taylor, 'Theban Coffins from the Twenty-Second to the Twenty-Sixth Dynasty: Dating and Synthesis of Development', pp. 114–16.

<sup>277</sup> Brech sees the presence or absence of Anubis in this scene as reflecting a shift in meaning over time—when Anubis is present, it represents spell 151, and when he is absent and a ba bird is present, the scene is spell 89. She feels that 89 is replaced by 151 over time. (Brech, 312-313) However, the presence of Anubis in the bier scene on the contemporary Group A pieces would argue against this. I wonder if either scene could function as both for the deceased.

columns of text, also rotated 90 degrees to the central column. Brech dates the pieces to the 26th through the 30th dynasty.<sup>278</sup>

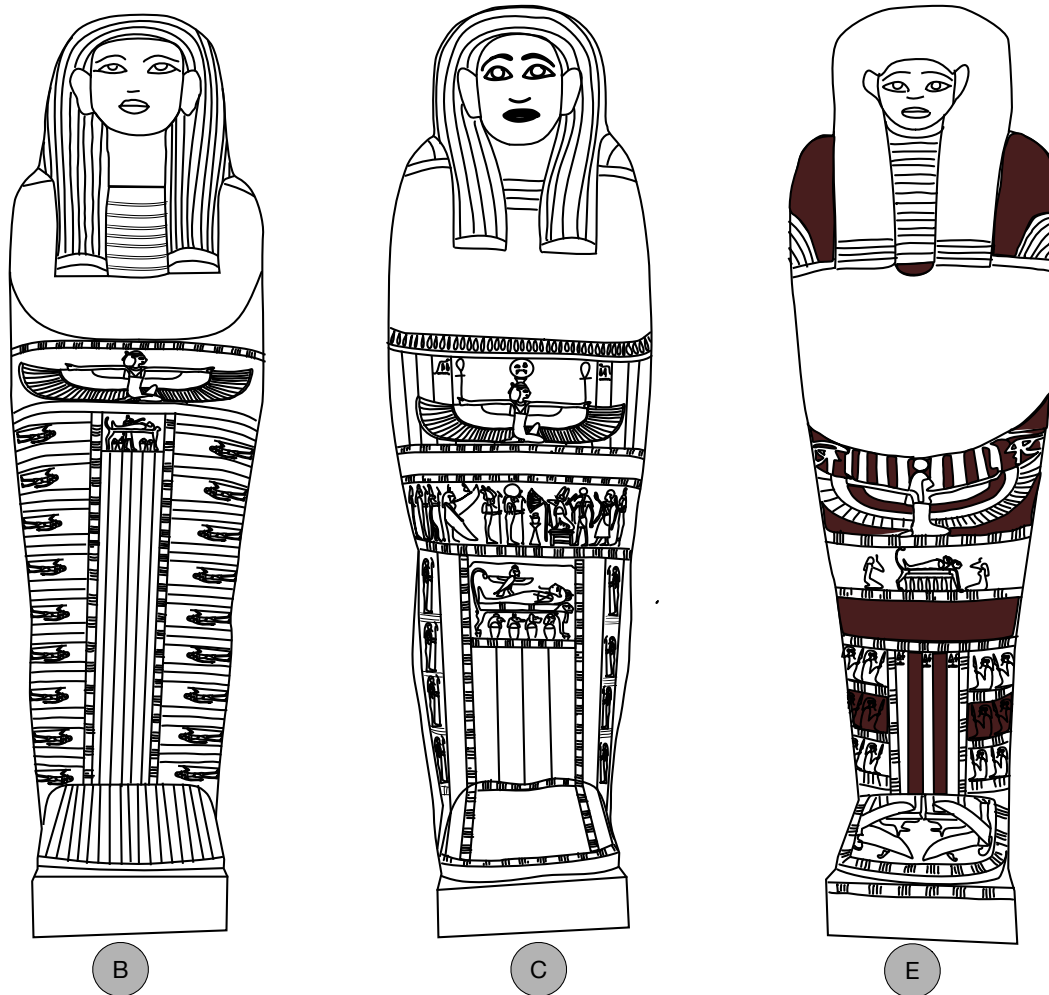


Figure 14: Brech's groups B, C, and E

Brech sees *Gruppe B* as the beginning of a type-series, which evolves into *Gruppe E* with *Gruppe C* as a transitional style between them. *Gruppe C* is very similar in appearance to B. The general shape is the same, but the basin becomes slightly shallower than the lid. The pedestal, like that of B, is only larger than the foot at the front. Most of the coffins in this group feature yellow or white decoration on a black ground, sometimes with details in red or green. Brech comments that the faces of these coffins are usually beautifully sculpted. *Gruppe C* coffins, like those in *Gruppe B* have a small, decorated area between the lappets of the wig, which Brech calls a "Chemisette". Brech feels that it is developmentally important that on these coffins the "Chemisette" does not fill the whole height of the area between the

<sup>278</sup> Brech, pp. 116–27.

lappets.<sup>279</sup> On group C coffins, the vignette for Book of the Dead Spell 89 is much bigger, though still contained in a rectangular cell at the chest. The lower half of the coffin is also bisected by several columns of text, usually consisting of an offering formula with genealogy.

The decoration to the right and left of the center column consists of striding deities, as was the case with the *Gruppe B* coffins. Now, however, the deities are facing the central column, no longer rotated perpendicularly to it. The texts surrounding them are gone, and they are divided from each other by stripes and decorative patterns. On the feet appear two jackals on shrines, and the footboard often features a picture of a shen-ring. Brech dates these pieces to the 30th dynasty and early Ptolemaic period.<sup>280</sup>

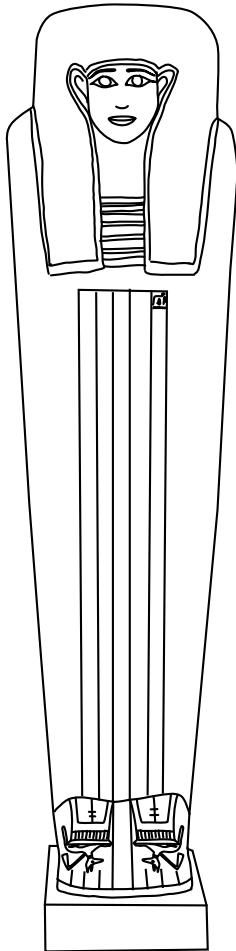


Figure 15: An example of Group D.

*Gruppe D* (Figure 15) is apparently unrelated to the type-series B, C, and E. *Gruppe D* coffins are plain, often with a red or natural wood ground. These coffins have very straight sides when viewed from the front—few body contours are visible except at the shoulders. The top of the head is flat, and the pedestal projects from the foot on three sides. The basin is much shallower than the lid to the point where it resembles in some examples a tray for the body. The wig is usually a single color. The pieces have a chemisette that fills the area between the lappets of the wig, but the large collar so characteristic of other coffins is often absent. There is little pictorial decoration on coffins of *Gruppe D*—it is limited, if present, to the jackals on shrines at the feet. The surface is plain except for the central inscription which occupies multiple columns and contains a genealogy as well as excerpts from funerary texts, especially spell 72 of the Book of the Dead, Pyramid Text Number 447, and a so-called Nut formula.

It's hard to know what to make of this group, because it is so different than the other groups that Brech describes. She wants to link them with the often natural-wood-colored, sparsely decorated outer coffins of the Third Intermediate Period, 25th, and 26th dynasties, and feels that they might take the functions of an outer coffin.<sup>281</sup> However, she notes that outer coffins are vanishingly rare at Akhmim after the disappearance of *Gruppe A*. There are only two post Saite nests of anthropoid coffins, and on one of these, the inner coffin is of *Gruppe D*.<sup>282</sup> It is therefore hard to draw a line between the function of an outer

<sup>279</sup> What this “chemisette” actually is never really defined by Brech. It appears to be a second, short collar which sits at the throat of the deceased and is only visible between the lappets of the wig. It is less round than the full collar (ie. The *Halskragen*), but has visible drop-beads on the bottom row on some examples. There is sometimes a half-moon shaped gap between the last row of the small-collar/Chemisette and the first row of the large-collar/*Halskragen*, and this area is usually undecorated on pieces from Akhmim.

<sup>280</sup> Brech, pp. 141–47.

<sup>281</sup> Brech, pp. 169–70.

<sup>282</sup> The set belongs to a man named Nesmin. The outer coffin is a Group E coffin, Brech's Dok Es2 (British Museum 29582), and the inner is a Group D coffin, Dok D2 (British Museum 29581). They are discussed in Brech, pp 169.

coffin and this Type, though they appear similar on account of their plainness.<sup>283</sup> These pieces cannot be precisely dated, but Brech proposes a general Ptolemaic date for them.

*Gruppe E* is the largest group of coffins from Akhmim and the final group in Brech's type-series. They can be roughly dated to the Ptolemaic period,<sup>284</sup> and won't actually be included in this study, but are important to discuss briefly here because Brech uses them as evidence for her argument about pattern books. As with *Gruppe D*, the basin is very shallow in comparison with the lid. The pedestal exceeds the foot on the sides and at the front. These coffins hardly ever have a beard, even on pieces for male owners. All coffins of Group E have a "Chemisette", usually of a single color, that fills the area between the lappets of a wig. The collar is generally large, pushing the rest of the decoration downward towards the lower ribs. The clasps of the collar are visible approximately at the level of the ends of the hair lappets and feature clasps in the shape of falcon heads with sun-disks.<sup>285</sup> As with the coffins of *Gruppe B* and *Gruppe C*, the decoration directly below the collar is a kneeling goddess with outstretched wings. The area below this can be divided into one or more horizontal registers which fill the breadth of the lid. One of the registers usually contains the scene of a mummy on a bier over whom Anubis sometimes officiates. The scenes enclosed in the additional registers, if they exist, vary. Depending on their number, these additional horizontal pictorial registers push the vertical central inscription columns towards the knees of the coffin. The central inscription is flanked by squatting guardian deities or demons, either depicted singly in rectangular cells or in continuous strips. Another row of squatting guardians may appear on each side edge of the lid, these being rotated at a right angle to the central column. The top of the foot of Group E coffins is generally occupied by two crouching jackals on one continuous shrine spanning the whole foot, or on individual shrines on each side. On all coffins of this group, the ground color is either beige or dull, dark red, except on subgroup Es, where the ground color is black. Brech's subgroups of this type usually involve variations in the number of registers, variations in color schemes, and variations in minor decorative details, such as the shape of the canopic jars and the position of Nut's arms in the first register ( Figure 16).

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<sup>283</sup> Brech proposes that the plainness of the inner coffin in this case indicates that the inner coffin has taken on the symbolism previously held by the (wooden) outer coffin. I find this theory improbable, but in her argument for it, Brech notes similarities between the decoration layout of Group D coffins and that of anthropoid sarcophagi that arise in the Saite period and persist through the Ptolemaic. Due to their size, these latter sarcophagi function as outer coffins. (Brech, p 170). It therefore seems more likely to me that, because of the form and the text selection of *Gruppe D* coffins, the craftsmen who made them were attempting to imitate stone sarcophagi rather than earlier wooden coffins, despite the superficial resemblance to the Third Intermediate Period wooden outer coffins.

<sup>284</sup> Brech, pp. 276–77.

<sup>285</sup> Brech, p. 312.

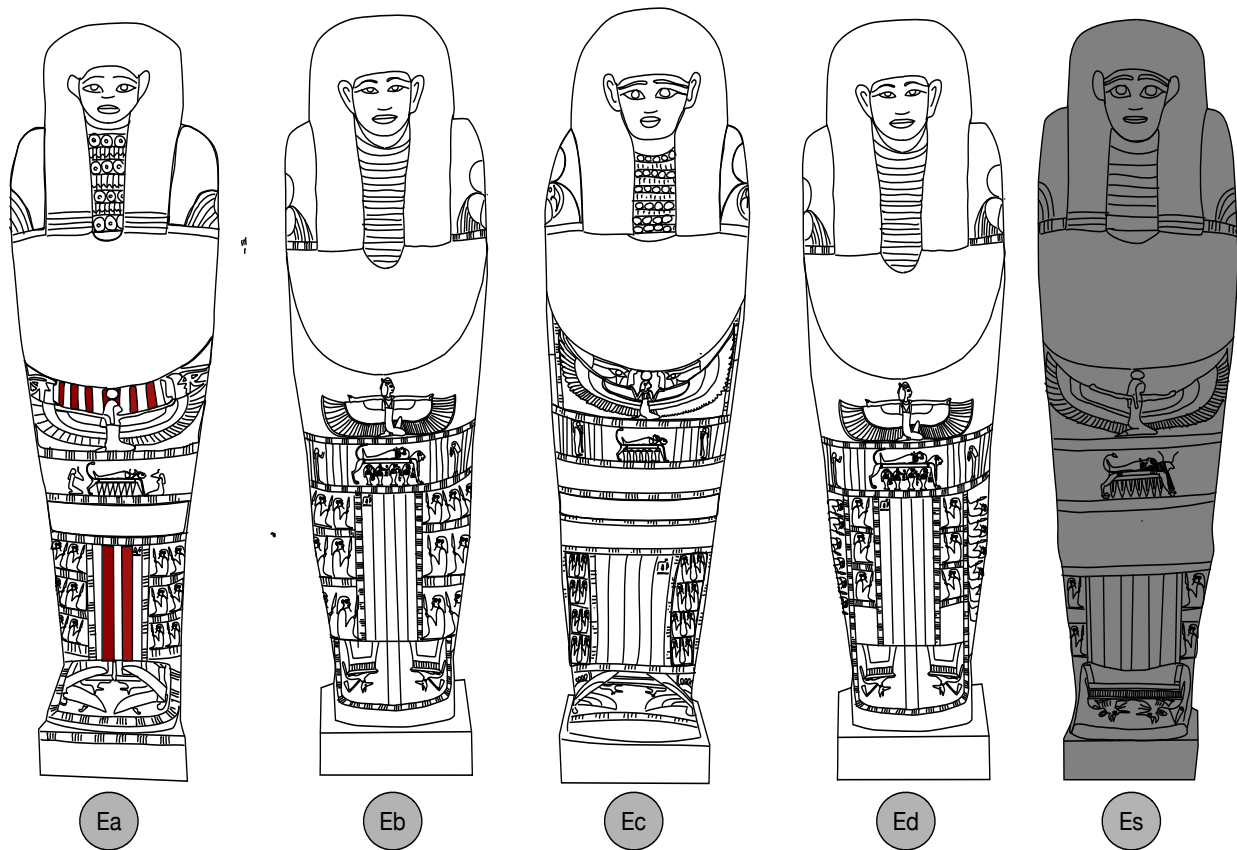


Figure 16: Brech's Group E Coffins

Finally, there are eleven coffins from Akhmim that Brech cannot assign to any of her groups. Five of these can be dated to the Ptolemaic period by comparing their overall shape—the lid to basin depth ratio and the size of the pedestal in comparison with the foot—to the other groups. She considers them to be transitional pieces between the Late Period and Ptolemaic.<sup>286</sup> The other six cannot be assigned to any group, either because they have no parallels yet recognized, like the coffin of Ertireza (MMA 81.1.51 A-B), because they are *qrsw* coffins which have few parallels from Akhmim, or because the only available pictures of them are too low quality to assign them to a particular group.<sup>287</sup>

#### Evaluation and Further Developments

Part of the task of cataloguing the coffins at Akhmim is, of course, to characterize them as a whole. Towards this end, Brech raises question of whether we can speak of a regional style for Akhmim. In summary, her conclusion is that the Third Intermediate Period coffins are derivative of Theban pieces, *Gruppe A* is a regionally specific style, *Gruppe B* is derivative of

<sup>286</sup> Brech, pp. 288–91.

<sup>287</sup> Brech, pp. 305–9.



Theban styles,<sup>288</sup> and lack of comparanda from other sites make it impossible to say one way or the other about any of the Ptolemaic Groups.<sup>289</sup>

The overarching objectives of the work are to provide a platform for future research, and to provide a mechanism through which the pieces can be dated.<sup>290</sup> The work is a resounding success with respect to the first goal but is unsatisfying with respect to the second: the Third Intermediate Period coffins don't seem to be a coherent corpus, and the later coffins are only very roughly datable, and only then with reference to the Theban model. The pillaging of the site in the 1880s is, of course, at the root of both problems.

The problem with the Third Intermediate Period pieces is rooted in a lack of clarity as to the why each coffin in the group was included. The introduction of *Spätägyptische Särge aus Akhmim* indicates that in order to be included in the study, coffins had to either belong to an owner whose titles were specific to Akhmim, or had to have been purchased at the site, according to the museum records. However, the entries for the individual coffins do not specify which of these criteria was fulfilled for a particular coffin. The reason some of the pieces are thought to come from Akhmim is unclear: especially coffins of anonymous persons or untitled women with no attached genealogy. At least one piece of the seven is probably Theban<sup>291</sup> and its inclusion in the small sample probably contributed the conclusion that while the pieces are very similar to the Theban ones, it would be impossible to build a typology for them because of how different they are amongst themselves.<sup>292</sup>

More recent studies focusing on the 21st dynasty pieces have shed a little light on the development of coffin style at Akhmim but have also run into issues of provenience and the ambiguity of Akhmim names and titles. In separate studies, Liptay<sup>293</sup> and Niwinski<sup>294</sup> show that there is a distinct group of coffins from Akhmim dating between the 20<sup>th</sup> dynasty and the mid-21<sup>st</sup> dynasty.<sup>295</sup> These have regionally specific characteristics<sup>296</sup>, though they superficially

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<sup>288</sup> Brech, p. 314.

<sup>289</sup> Brech's book predates Taylor's work on Social Patterning on coffins of this period, but one wonders if a similar relationship might have existed between the image-heavy coffins of Group A and the roughly contemporary text-heavy Group B and Taylor's lower and higher elite coffins from Thebes.

<sup>290</sup> Brech, pp. 20–21.

<sup>291</sup> This is the coffin of coffin Tha-lset-em-Neny (MMA 86.1.54) (Brech, p 42). Though it was purchased from the Egyptian Government at the same time as several Akhmim coffins in the Metropolitan Museum's collections, it can't be tied to the site via titles on the coffin. Furthermore, 1898 publication that Brech cites as the only publication for the piece says that it's Theban. Charles R. Gillet, *The Egyptian Antiquities in Hall III, Metropolitan Museum of Art Handbook*, 4 (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1898), p. 129.

<sup>292</sup> Brech, p. 48.

<sup>293</sup> Liptay, 'A Local Pattern of the Twenty-First Dynasty Theban Coffin Type from Akhmim'.

<sup>294</sup> Niwiński, 'The 21st Dynasty Coffins of a Non-Theban Origin, a "Family" for the Vatican Coffin of Anet'.

<sup>295</sup> Liptay and Niwinski disagree on the dating of these pieces. Niwinski dates the pieces to the mid 21<sup>st</sup> dynasty. Liptay agrees with van Walsem's and Cooney's dating of the coffin of Anet to the early 21<sup>st</sup> or late 20<sup>th</sup> dynasty. For more, see note 120 above.

<sup>296</sup> Coffins in this group include: the coffin of Anet (Vatican), Sesekhnofru (Copenhagen AEIN 62), Knumensanapehsu (Berlin ÄS 8505), Meretenhahet, (Vienna, ÄS 6066), Hory (Calvinistic Collections, Pápa, Hungary Inv A.1), Aaeffhor, (Paris, Louvre AF9592) and also, though it is not mentioned by either author, the coffin of Ipykhuy (San Jose, Multiple Numbers). Of these, the coffins of Aaeffhor, Hori, Khnumnaspehsu, and Ipykhuy can be associated with Akhmim via the tiles of the owners, which are specific to the Min temple. I am not completely convinced that the following coffins listed by Niwinski and Liptay belong with the others, because they seem

resemble contemporary Theban pieces. There is a general emphasis on Osirian themes in the choice of vignettes, rather than the balance between Osirian and Solar themes characteristic of contemporary Theban pieces. In the individual vignettes, the roles of Isis, Horus, and Thoth are emphasized. Horus operates the scales in the weighing scene, and Thoth presides over the separation of Nut and Geb. Horus, Isis, and Thoth, as we have seen, all had local cults at Akhmim. The vignettes on the lid and basin are separated by bands of geometric patterns, rather than columns of text.<sup>297</sup> Iconographic markers for this group include the much remarked-upon offering tables with draped greenery and the mummification scene with Osiris on a bier. In these scenes, Osiris is shown with colorful, patterned wrappings.<sup>298</sup> A proposal that the coffin of Horhotep<sup>299</sup> represents an example of an Akhmim coffin from a later part of the 21<sup>st</sup> dynasty is not convincing because the owner of the coffin is untitled, and the proposal that the coffin is from Akhmim is based on the fact that it entered the museum's collection in the same year Akhmim coffins entered other museums. The situation in the later 21<sup>st</sup> dynasty remains unclear, and we will return to it later in this work.

Brech's study was unable to date Group B any more precisely than the time between the 25<sup>th</sup> and 30<sup>th</sup> dynasties, and no more precise dating could be found for any of the Ptolemaic groups than the entire three-hundred-year timespan of the Ptolemaic period. Since we have no find context for the coffins, we are reliant on information from the coffin itself. Unfortunately, unlike the Theban coffins of the Libyan period and later, long genealogies are rare on Akhmim coffins.

Even when they are present, datable inscriptions with which to compare them are also lacking. The ancient temple is inaccessible if remains of it exist at all, and the burial goods which accompanied the coffin which might give us more information have been dispersed around the world and remain for the most part unprovenanced and unrecognized in museums.<sup>300</sup> We

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substantially stylistically different than the aforementioned pieces, and none of them have any archaeological records or titles tying their owners to the site. These are, the Anonymous coffin at the Australian Museum, Sydney, the coffin of Horhotep (Budapest 87.4E and 87.5E, and Uppsala VM 57), the coffin of Tayuheret (Uppsala VM 153).<sup>297</sup> For the geometric dividers, see Niwiński, 'The 21<sup>st</sup> Dynasty Coffins of a Non-Theban Origin, a "Family" for the Vatican Coffin of Anet'. Liptay comments on the lack of texts in comparison with the contemporary Theban pieces. I tend to see this as an illusion rising from the fact that most 21<sup>st</sup> dynasty Theban pieces don't actually have much text, but the texts they have are, for the most part, located in these prominent divider bands. On the Akhmim coffins under discussion, the text is instead placed in short columns around the vignettes.

<sup>298</sup> Niwiński, 'The 21<sup>st</sup> Dynasty Coffins of a Non-Theban Origin, a "Family" for the Vatican Coffin of Anet'.

<sup>299</sup> Horhotep (Budapest 87.4E and 87.5E, and Uppsala VM 57). Liptay argues that the same Horhotep is the High Priest of Min and Overseer of the Hunters of Amun mentioned on a statue of Maatkare A at Thebes. This suggestion is intriguing but remains speculative since the coffin fragments in question are untitled.

<sup>300</sup> An exception to this are Ptah-Sokar-Osiris statues and canopic boxes. Ptolemaic examples of both of these have been documented and published. A full prosopographical study of all of these objects re-associated with Akhmim is still lacking and would be useful. Marie-Cécile Bruwier and Tamás Mekis, 'Diversity of the Akhmimic Funerary Art in the 4<sup>th</sup> - 3<sup>rd</sup> Centuries BC, a Case Study on a Priestly Family, and a Study on Canopic Chests of Akhmim in the Graeco-Roman Period - A Survey in Antiquity Collections', in *The Book of the Dead, Saite through Ptolemaic Periods: Essays on Books of the Dead and Related Materials*, ed. by Malcolm Mosher (Prescott, AZ: SPBDStudies, 2019), pp. 3–70; Carlo Rindi Nuzzolo, 'Tradition and Transformation: Retracing Ptah-Sokar-Osiris Figures from Akhmim in Museums and Private Collections', in *(Re)Productive Traditions in Ancient Egypt: Proceedings of the Conference Held at the University of Liège, 6<sup>th</sup>-8<sup>th</sup> February 2013*, ed. by Todd Gillen, *Aegyptiaca Leodiensia*, 10 (presented at the Conference, Liège: Presses Universitaires de Liège, 2017), pp. 445–74.

might try, as Brech does, to associate the coffins with stelae belonging to the same people. There are many stelae from Akhmim, and their development has been well studied from the Saite Period to the Ptolemaic at least.<sup>301</sup> Unfortunately, here, another problem arises, which has dogged other such efforts with Akhmim funerary material: certain names are very popular at Akhmim, and certain titles are very common.<sup>302</sup> The popularity of names lasts over generations in multiple families, so one is never quite certain to which Stolist Priest Djedhor (*ḏd-ḥr*) son of Stolist Priest Irethoreru (*ir.t-ḥr-r-w*) a particular coffin or stela might belong! The consequence of this is that only a small handful of coffin owners could be connected with more datable monuments, and even some of these connections are debatable.<sup>303</sup> Brech falls back on the existing models of coffin development: the Theban model described by Taylor for the Third Intermediate Period to Dynasty 26<sup>304</sup> and scattered works dealing with aspects of coffin style in the Greco-Roman period. Thus, *Spätägyptische Särge aus Achmim* is not able to move our understanding of temporal changes in coffin design at Akhmim much beyond the general outline of First Millennium coffin development as it has been understood for decades.<sup>305</sup>

An attempt has been made by Malgora and Elias to more precisely date the “Osiris in a Tree” *Gruppe A* coffins.<sup>306</sup> Rather than the long run for these coffins envisioned by Brech, Malgora and Elias see these distinctive bivalves and cartonnages as having been manufactured between 775 and 715 BCE.<sup>307</sup> Elias also points out further distinguishing features of this group,

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<sup>301</sup> Munro, I,II, pp. 117–54.

<sup>302</sup> Mark Depauw, ‘The Late Funerary Material from Akhmim’, in *Perspectives on Panopolis*, ed. by A. Egberts, B. P. Muhs, and J. van der Vliet, *Papyrologica Lugduno-Batava*, XXXI (Boston: Brill, 2002), pp. 71–83.

<sup>303</sup> For example, Brech uses the coffin of Nespaqashuty in Detmold (Dok A1) to provide an anchor date for the entirety of *Gruppe A*. She associates the owner, Nespaqashuty, with the family of Vizier Nespaqashuty, who was active at Thebes in the reign of Psamtik I. This vizier’s descendants are thought to have moved to Akhmim. Brech notes that the use of the name at Akhmim falls out of use on the in the later Saite Period. Brech proposes that the coffin cannot antedate the vizier because its owner must belong to his family which was residing in Thebes at the beginning of the Saite period (Brech, p. 92.) She does not discuss the frequency of the name Nespaqashuty (or that of his father, Djedhor) at Akhmim outside of the family of the Vizier, or the possibility that the vizier’s family came from Akhmim to begin with. The cartonnage of the Overseer of the Singers of Min Nespaqashuty in Athens (if it is not a very late example of Taylor’s “sunrise” pattern on a cartonnage) seems to indicate that there was at least one member of the Akhmim clergy bearing this name prior to the Saite period who might be a more likely (or closer) ancestor to the Detmold Nespaqashuty than the famous vizier. If this is the case, then the earliest Group A coffins might have even been produced in the Third Intermediate Period.

<sup>304</sup> Namely in Taylor, ‘Patterns of Coloring on Ancient Egyptian Coffins from the New Kingdom to the Twenty-Sixth Dynasty: An Overview’; Taylor, ‘Theban Coffins from the Twenty-Second to the Twenty-Sixth Dynasty: Dating and Synthesis of Development’.

<sup>305</sup> For the pre-Saite period, Brech is reliant on the Theban typologies described above. For the period after, the work does not move far beyond the formal changes to pedestal and body-shape outlined in Niwiński, ‘Sarg NR-SpZt’.

<sup>306</sup> According to Elias, the coffins in this group are Brooklyn 57.50E (Lady Hor), Lisbon 217 (Iretyeru), Hildesheim 1902c (Peniu), Lisbon 136 (Pabasa), Vienna 8902 (Padiaset), Leicester (Besenmut), Buffalo 654.139 Djedhoriwefankh, Detmold (Nespaqashuty), and Asti 94A (Ankhpakhered). I am skeptical about the inclusion of the first two, who have no titles or associated provenience, and are markedly visually different than the rest.

<sup>307</sup> Elias’ attempt to date these coffins relative to each other is not entirely convincing. It relies on the pennant spelling of Osiris to date the coffin of Peniu, the tendency to use more floral decoration in the collar on later coffins, and the father-son relationship between Djedhoriwefankh and Nespaqashuty. Given the common occurrence of names at Akhmim, it’s hard to say exactly how the two men are related. The use of the pennant

including the replacement of Anubis with Horus in the bier scene, the subtle reference to apocalyptic Book of the Dead spells 175 and 71 in the judgement scene, and the tendency of the Abydos fetish on these coffins to overlap the collar.<sup>308</sup> While he does not focus on social status differences, Malgora and Elias mention that variation in the appearance of *Gruppe A* coffins may be the product of the social status of the owner: he sees the lack of blue and green pigment on the Asti coffin to be proof of its owner's relatively low status.<sup>309</sup> They also propose that the *Gruppe A* coffins come from different workshops and artists. However, Malgora and Elias do not say what they mean by workshop or attempt to specify what characteristics of the coffins lead them to propose that the coffins in question were made by different hands. The article's focus is mainly on finding decorative patterns that change over time for the purpose of using them to date pieces.

*Spätägyptische Särge aus Achmim's* laudable attempt to examine the relationship between coffin type and social strata runs into a similar problem as did the attempt to date the coffins. The same common and low-ranking titles (especially "stolist", *smꜣ.ty*) are associated with both fine and more generic coffins. This renders an attempt to link social status with style elusive. If we assume that higher rank meant more access to religious texts, then theoretically, the textually rich Group Ed coffins should belong to higher-titled owners than the similar but more formulaic Group Eb pieces. However, only two out of the five Ed coffins can be associated with higher-ranking titles.<sup>310</sup> With other groups, such as Group C, there may well be a link between title and the fine workmanship of the coffin.<sup>311</sup> Other than attributing a few pieces that don't quite fit into their assigned category to poorly trained artists,<sup>312</sup> there is no discussion of the literacy or education of the people making the coffin.

With the exception of a brief description of construction in Malgora and Elias' article on the coffin of Ankhpakhered in Asti,<sup>313</sup> none of these works pay much attention to how the coffin is constructed or painted, and all of them make fundamental assumptions about the artists and scribes who made them. An example is the assumption that deviation from a "type" is the result of poor skill and illiteracy.<sup>314</sup> I will use *Spätägyptische Särge aus Achmim* to highlight and discuss the ramifications of these assumptions, but they reflect general tendencies in the literature on Akhmim coffins.

In *Spätägyptische Särge aus Achmim*, these assumptions shape Brech's conclusions in subtle ways. Firstly, Brech assumes at the beginning of the study that all innovation in coffin design prior to the Ptolemaic period came from Thebes and radiated outward, and that any design change occurring in Akhmim coffins happens sometime after it occurs at Thebes.<sup>315</sup> Her

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spelling is problematic in that it assumes that the spelling changed everywhere at once. The floral collar observation supposes this to be a sequential development and not different artists with different preference.

<sup>308</sup> Malgora and Elias.

<sup>309</sup> See the catalogue entry for Ankhpakhered, Museo Civico Archeologico 94a for a discussion of why this assessment may be incorrect.

<sup>310</sup> Brech, pp. 256–57.

<sup>311</sup> Brech, p. 146.

<sup>312</sup> See, for example, the discussion of the Group B coffin of Nespaqashuty, Brech, p. 120.

<sup>313</sup> Malgora and Elias.

<sup>314</sup> Malgora and Elias, pp. 286–88; Brech, p. 120.

<sup>315</sup> Brech, pp. 48, 94, esp note 195.

evidence for this is that the usual dating markers for Theban coffins sometimes send mixed signals on the pre- Ptolemaic Akhmim pieces: the cartonnages should be earlier than the bivalves, but some cartonnages have the pennant spelling of the name of Osiris, and some bivalves don't.<sup>316</sup> The style of the funerary cones in depictions of the deceased, which Taylor uses to date Theban pieces is also unreliable, because on the cartonnages, which ought to be the earliest pieces, the latest form of the cone is depicted. Brech concludes that all of the Akhmim pieces are therefore later than their Theban counterparts, but this evidence may just as well mean that features that are horizon markers at Thebes (and haven't been intensely studied for other sites) happened earlier elsewhere. Indeed, since Brech's work was published, it has become accepted that at least one "Northern Style" coexisted with the Theban Style as early as the 22nd Dynasty. Innovation could have come from the north and moved southward to eventually be adopted by Thebes, as may have been the case with the full body cartonnage during the Libyan period.<sup>317</sup>

Depending on the religious and economic needs at Akhmim during the Libyan period, and the way ideas were shared between artists, some of these "Northern" stylistic changes could have been adopted at Akhmim before they were adopted at Thebes. Until we know more about how ideas were transferred between artists in different regional centers, we cannot suppose that Akhmim was only ever a consumer of Theban ideas which were adopted after a lag time.

The other major assumption pertains to the medium by which ideas were transferred between artists and perhaps between workshops in different cities: pattern books (*musterbücher*). Brech speculates that these books were distributed across the country.<sup>318</sup> In her reconstruction of the coffin buying process, buyers were presented with different pattern books with pre-drawn scenes and pre-written from which they could select scenes, texts, and layout for their coffins.<sup>319</sup> Brech proposes the existence of four such pattern books during the Ptolemaic period, used for the subtypes of Group E.<sup>320</sup> She suspects certain pattern books, such as that for Group Ed may have been used by customers of higher rank. If such pattern books existed and if Brech is correct that the subtypes of E each lasted through the Ptolemaic period, these pattern books must have been passed down through generations of artists and scribes.<sup>321</sup> Brech does not know whether all workshops had all pattern books or whether the pattern books were exclusive to workshops, though she suspects the latter.<sup>322</sup>

There are two main problems with this model of transmission through pattern books. The first is that evidence for the existence of such pattern-books is limited, and Brech doesn't explain this, or why she prefers this mode of transmission to other models. For example, coffin design could have been dictated by tradition orally or through master/apprentice training. It

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<sup>316</sup> See note 34

<sup>317</sup> Taylor, 'Theban Coffins from the Twenty-Second to the Twenty-Sixth Dynasty: Dating and Synthesis of Development', p. 104.

<sup>318</sup> Brech speculates that the same pattern books might have been distributed throughout the country. Brech, p. 315.

<sup>319</sup> Brech, p. 174.

<sup>320</sup> Brech, p. 175.

<sup>321</sup> Brech, p. 175.

<sup>322</sup> Brech, p. 315.

may have been a product of communal ideas about how a coffin was supposed to work: and expression of religious ideas which required that coffin designs filled certain parameters to function as resurrective machines for the dead. Variation within those parameters might have been the product of the preferences of individual artists and workshops. If designs were not transmitted via pattern book, this has implications for Brech's proposal that all the subtypes of Group E were created over the three-hundred-year span of the Ptolemaic period.

The second problem is that focusing on pattern books obscures the people who made the coffins. The artists and scribes are reduced to copyists who either do a good or a bad job of copying the pattern from the pattern book onto a coffin. Elias and Liptay give examples of motifs appearing on Akhmim coffins which they judge to be "wrong": Sons of Horus with unexpected names,<sup>323</sup> and cobra friezes in which the cobras<sup>324</sup> are facing the foot instead of the head. These mistakes are in turn attributed to ignorant artists who copy a learned (Theban) source without actually understanding what they are copying. Such an assumption is unfortunately common and ignores role of a scribe or artist as an agent in interpreting religious texts and motifs. In the next chapter, we will discuss what we actually know about Egyptian coffin workshops in the First Millennium BCE. The question of transmission will be visited, and the evidence for pattern books will be evaluated. The idea of the scribe and artist as an interpretive agent will also be discussed in light of scholarship on funerary papyri in which the question of author agency has been well studied.

## Coffin Workshops and Production

This section aims to represent the current state of our knowledge about how coffins were produced and the artists who created them. This includes not only questions of how coffins were made and from what materials, but our state of knowledge on where the artists worked, how they were organized, how they were trained, and how they transmitted the knowledge needed to decorate a coffin. We do not have any archaeological remains of coffin workshops, or at least any remains which are recognized as such. We have many embalmers' caches dating from the Saite Period and later, but the connection between these and coffin production, as we shall see, are unclear, and in any case have never been thoroughly investigated. Art historical evidence for coffin workshops comes in the form of wooden tomb models of workshops<sup>325</sup> and depiction of coffin production on tomb walls. However, these are also problematic, and not only because they all predate the first millennium BCE. They are basically highly stylized snapshots of anonymous men at work removed from any sense of space or time, and this is because they were not intended to be documentary: they had a purely magical function to ensure the wellbeing of the deceased in the afterlife. Detailed analysis of them (which has not been done) can be used to support theories about who these men were, where they worked, who they worked with, how they were trained, and how they produced

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<sup>323</sup> Malgora and Elias, p. 282.

<sup>324</sup> Liptay, 'A Local Pattern of the Twenty-First Dynasty Theban Coffin Type from Akhmim', pp. 15–17.

<sup>325</sup> Especially the tomb model of the carpenters' workshop (Cairo JE 46722) from the early Middle Kingdom burial of Meketre, which features an unpainted rectangular box that may be a coffin.

coffins. However, they provide few clear answers on their own. Answers about the identities of the artists, how and where they worked must come from textual evidence, which is also sparse.

These textual sources come in two forms—the Late Ramesside ostraca from Western Thebes and Deir el-Medina, and Ptolemaic archives. The former is inherently problematic for the study of First Millennium coffin production in Akhmim because it is temporally and culturally removed from most of the first millennium BCE. Secondly, the way in which this elite community of artisans functioned may represent a special case. The Ptolemaic documents are more geographically distributed and maybe more representative. However, they can only cautiously be applied to earlier times since they reference institutions that may not have existed under native rulers.

Questions about how coffins were made are much easier to tackle than questions about their makers, because while records of workshops and individual artists are rare, revealingly damaged coffins are abundant due to ancient reuse, misguided modern destruction, and the ravages of time. Excavations at Thebes and elsewhere<sup>326</sup> have discovered many fragmentary remains of coffins and cartonnages which give unique insight into how such pieces were constructed and allow for the non-destructive analysis of the “stratigraphy” of paint, plaster, and cartonnage applied to the surface of the object. A need to better conserve objects in museums has led to scientific analysis of pigments, binders, and varnishes on many items in museum collections which are otherwise unpublished. More information has been added through meticulous study of individual coffins and in studies comparing coffins in small collections.<sup>327</sup> These studies give us a good idea about the steps involved in building a coffin or cartonnage, laying out the decoration, painting the vignettes and writing the inscriptions.

### Carpentry

Because carpentry is not a focus for this work, carpentry of coffins will be treated here in terms of the different surfaces it creates for writing and drawing.<sup>328</sup> This is not to say that it is not important for the study of workshops. Throughout the first millennium BCE, and especially during the Third Intermediate Period, coffins were made from local wood, which was of highly variable quality.<sup>329</sup> The ancient craftsmen were also extremely thrifty in their use of it, pegging

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<sup>326</sup> It is hoped that similar information for later Northern style coffins can be gained from recent excavations of a large cache of Late Period coffins at Saqqara. Nevine el-Aref, ‘A Hundred Coffins Unveiled at Saqqara - Heritage - Al-Ahram Weekly’, *Ahram Online* <<https://english.ahram.org.eg/NewsContent/50/1207/394049/AlAhram-Weekly/Heritage/A-hundred-coffins-unveiled-at-Saqqara.aspx>> [accessed 8 April 2022].

<sup>327</sup> Most notably, van Walsem, I–II.

<sup>328</sup> For more detail on carpentry, see: van Walsem, I–II, pp. 98–102; Kathlyn M. Cooney, *The Cost of Death*, pp. 190–211; Giovanna Prestipinio, ‘The Vatican Coffin Project: Observations on the Construction Techniques of the Third Intermediate Period’, in *First Vatican Coffin Conference, 19-22 June 2013: Proceedings*, ed. by Alessia Amenta and H el ene Guichard (presented at the Vatican Coffin Conference, Citt a del Vaticano: Edizioni Musei Vaticani, 2017), pp. 45–50; Antjie Zygalski, ‘A Coffin Lid of an Unidentified Person from the Late Period’, in *Ancient Egyptian Coffins: Past, Present, and Future*, ed. by Helen Strudwick and Julia Dawson (London: Oxbow Books, 2019), pp. 145–56.

<sup>329</sup> Usually Sycomore Fig (*Ficus sycomorus*) for the main body, but also Acacia (several native varieties) and Tamarisk (*Tamarix nilotica*, *Tamarix aphylla*), especially for the smaller parts like faces, hands, tenons and pegs. For wood types, see: Rowena Gale and others, ‘Wood’, in *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Technology*, ed. by Paul T. Nicholson and Ian Shaw (Cambridge ; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000), pp. 334–72. For the wood on

together pieces of wood of many different sizes (and sources)<sup>330</sup> to make the surface of the coffins.<sup>331</sup> The joinery chosen to fix the pieces of wood together may be the result of certain carpenters preferring one method of joinery over another.<sup>332</sup> It may also be possible to recognize different carpenters by their approach to the areas of the coffin which posed a particular challenge given the constraints on resources: the head, shoulders, and feet.

Indeed, it is with the head, shoulders, and feet that regional difference in construction is most apparent, at least with the wooden coffins of the 21st dynasty and Libyan period.<sup>333</sup> Theban carpenters invested substantial effort in curving or carving the lid and sideboards of the basin to model the bodily contours. Their creative approaches to the vault at the top of the head included creating a vault by pegging together and carving large blocks of wood or coopering small pieces together. In some cases, the curvature was created by attaching a hollowed-out tree-trunk to the shoulder slats. The footboard was also a focus. It consisted of a long, flat board pegged at a right angle to the extremity of the lid to which smaller boards were placed at an angle, connecting it to the central structure of the lid and modeling the slope of the tops of the feet. Theban carpenters shaped the lid of the coffin to portray the lateral curvature of the front of the body. Long boards laid to the right and left of the long central planks of the lid formed an edge which was carefully carved to give depth to the figure represented by the lid.<sup>334</sup>

Northern artists seem to have been much less interested in realistic portrayals of the human form—the usual northern coffin basin viewed from the front can be as simple as an elongated hexagon.<sup>335</sup> This is evident in the drawings of coffins from the publication of the coffins from the Tomb of Iuruduf and other photographs of other coffins from Saqqara, which date between the Ramesside period and the early 22<sup>nd</sup> dynasty.<sup>336</sup> The sides of the coffin basins don't curve to evoke elbows and shoulders. They're straight slats. The top of the head may curve slightly but is often approximated with three sides: a flat top of the head, and short boards between each end of the headboard and the respective shoulder. If the foot is depicted at all—sometimes the coffin is simply squared off at the foot end—it is reduced to the

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Third Intermediate Period Coffins, see: Maria Victoria Asensi Amorós, 'The Wood of the Third Intermediate Period Coffins: The Evidence of Analysis for the Vatican Coffin Project', in *First Vatican Coffin Conference, 19-22 June 2013: Proceedings*, ed. by Alessia Amenta and Hélène Guichard (presented at the Vatican Coffin Conference, Città del Vaticano: Edizioni Musei Vaticani, 2017), pp. 45–50.

<sup>330</sup> Most notably, other coffins. For a survey, see: Kathlyn M Cooney, 'Patterns of Coffin Reuse from Dynasties 19-22', in *Ancient Egyptian Coffins: Past, Present, and Future*, ed. by Helen Strudwick and Julia Dawson (London: Oxbow Books, 2019), pp. 97–108. For a case study showing how wood was reused, see: Alessia Amenta, 'New Results from CT-Scanning of a Coffin', in *Ancient Egyptian Coffins: Craft Traditions and Functionality*, ed. by John H. Taylor and Marie Vandenbeusch, British Museum Publications on Egypt and Sudan, 4 (Leuven: Peeters, 2018), pp. 323–37.

<sup>331</sup> Prestipinio.

<sup>332</sup> See for example, van-Walsem's discussion of the foot attachment on Stola coffins, where the foot sometimes uses dovetail joints of various shapes: van Walsem, I–II, pp. 101–2.

<sup>333</sup> For the "northern style" that emerged in the Third Intermediate Period, see the above section: Regional Styles and the "North-South Divide"

<sup>334</sup> Prestipinio.

<sup>335</sup> Maarten J. Raven, pp. 8–12, Pl 11-36.

<sup>336</sup> Raven and others.



protruding footboard pegged at a right angle to the surface of the lid. The lid is also usually flat, but it may have a protruding lath around the edge to interface with the basin.

As with Theban coffins, the face, lappets of wig, and hands (if they are present) are pegged to the lid. Though the simplified form of some of the lurudef coffins may be attributed to the relative poverty of the owners,<sup>337</sup> these traits cannot all be due to social station, because they are shared with even the finest of the lurudef coffins.<sup>338</sup> These features are characteristic of Northern coffins elsewhere, and continue throughout the Third Intermediate Period,<sup>339</sup> occurring on some pieces which are not easily dismissed as products of poor or thrifty craftsmanship (Figure 17).<sup>340</sup>

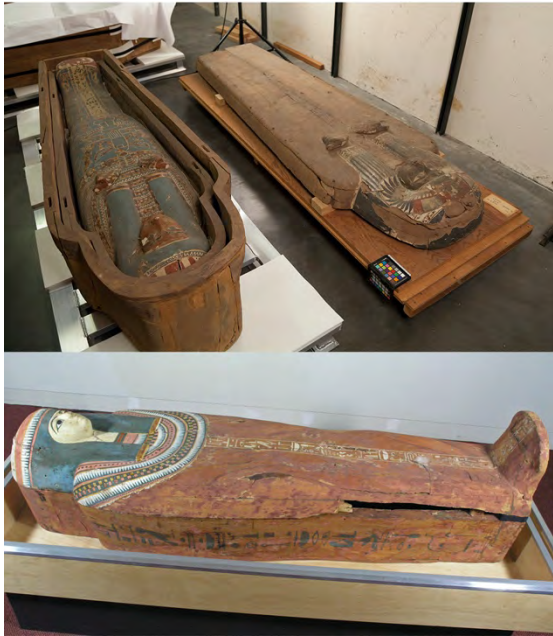


Figure 17: Coffins in the Northern Style ( PAHMA 5-1405a-I) above, and in the Southern Style, (PAHMA 6-19931) below. Picture courtesy of the Phoebe A Hearst Museum of Anthropology.

In short, ancient Egyptian carpenters had a limited amount of irregularly shaped wood with which to produce a container in the shape of a human form. Different groups of carpenters tackled this problem in different ways. The proof of this is in the difference in shape that arose between Northern and Southern coffins in the Third Intermediate Period. Whether these large groups of coffins can be divided further by region and workshop is left for another work.

What is important for the purposes of this study is that different carpentry styles could create very different surfaces for decoration. The surface of Third Intermediate Period coffins from Memphis and Middle Egypt was very flat. The sides and the lid were both level surfaces. With coffins from Thebes, attention was paid to the curvature of the body, both on the sides and on the lid, and this led to a surface that was contoured and also easily divisible into sections based on anatomical regions for the purposes of layout.

Because the wood with which coffins were pieced together was often irregular in size, shape, and quality, a wooden coffin could have a lot of holes and gaps in the surface. These were filled with a mud-paste which was sometimes mixed with straw.<sup>341</sup> This paste was also

<sup>337</sup> Kathlyn M. Cooney, *The Cost of Death*, p. 191.

<sup>338</sup> See, for example, the finest piece in the lurudef cache, #27. Maarten J. Raven, fig. 17,18.

<sup>339</sup> Taylor, 'Coffins as Evidence for a "North-South Divide" in the 22nd-25th Dynasties'.

<sup>340</sup> See for example Phoebe Apperson Hearst Museum of Anthropology 5-1405a-i, which is unprovenanced, but bears many of the hallmarks of Taylor's northern style. This nesting set of four coffins and a cartonnage is constructed of large boards, carefully pieced together. The carpenter who made it suffered for no lack of wood or skill. The straightness of the sides, flatness of the lid, and absence of a protruding footboard is especially striking when compared to roughly contemporary Theban cartonnage of Nesykhonsupakhered from the same period: PAHMA 6-19931. 'Hearst Museum Portal', Acc. No. 6-19931, 5-1405a-i <<https://portal.hearstmuseum.berkeley.edu/>> [accessed 15 September 2020].

<sup>341</sup> The composition of the filler material was probably variable over place and time. Cooney notes that a white plaster was used fill holes and also as a painting surface, while mud plaster and clay plaster are brown and pink

used to model details such as ears, earrings, and breasts, and to smooth the joints between the main lid surface and pegged-on hands and wig lappets. On some coffins, a layer of linen was stretched over the mud-paste layer on the lid.<sup>342</sup> On top of this, a layer of fine white plaster<sup>343</sup> was applied. This layer was sometimes but not always polished.<sup>344</sup> Finally, the surface was ready to be decorated.

### Cartonnage

As was the case with the wooden coffins, the challenge of creating a body-shaped container out of cartonnage was approached in different ways. Most full-body cartonnages seem to have been created around a mud core of the desired shape which was coated in finer plaster, and swathed in layers of linen and plant-based adhesive, usually gum arabic. When this shell had hardened, the mud core was scraped out through the foot, and through a slit in the rear. The form was plastered, and the wrapped body of the deceased was inserted through the back while the cartonnage was still somewhat pliable and the coffin was decorated, and the slit in the back was laced up and plastered over.<sup>345</sup>

Evidence for an alternate method has been found on one cartonnage where the inside was visible because the piece had been sawed open in the nineteenth century. With this cartonnage, a rope-imprint and fragments of bandage stuck to the mud layer on the inside of the cartonnage indicate that the cartonnage might have actually been sculpted around the wrapped body, who had been tied upright to a pole. The slit in the back of the cartonnage was cut after the shell had hardened for the purpose of removing the pole, not the body.<sup>346</sup> Both of

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respectively (Kathlyn M. Cooney, *The Cost of Death*, p. 207. van-Walsem notes that clay plaster without straw was used to fill holes, and clay plaster with straw could be used as a painting surface (van Walsem, I-II, p. 46. Zygalski and Prestipinio clearly note the use of mud-straw paste as a filler. (Zygalski; Prestipinio. The terminology used to refer to the hole-filling material in the literature is also variable. It is called mud plaster (Kathlyn M. Cooney, *The Cost of Death*, p. 207.), clay plaster (van Walsem, I-II, p. 33.), stucco plaster (Maarten J. Raven, p. 12.), brown-gray paste (Elsbeth Geldhof, 'Painting Techniques of the Leiden Coffins', in *The Coffins of the Priests of Amun: Egyptian Coffins from the 21st Dynasty in the Collection of the National Museum of Antiquities in Leiden*, ed. by Lara Weiss, PALMA : Papers on Archaeology of the Leiden Museum of Antiquities, 17 (Leiden: Sidestone Press, 2018), pp. 49–67.), and mud-straw paste (Zygalski). I follow Zygalski in her use of the term mud-paste because I find the last term most descriptive and less loaded with misleading connotations from architecture and European art history.

<sup>342</sup> van Walsem, I-II, p. 47.

<sup>343</sup> This material was also variable in composition and terminology. Van Walsem observes whiting plaster, mud-straw paste, and fine clay plaster used as a base for painting on different coffins and different parts of the same coffin. Zygalski notes a gypsum plaster and a chalk plaster used on different parts of the same coffin for different visual effects. Geldhof simply calls this material "white-paste". (Zygalski; van Walsem, I-II, pp. 48–49; Geldhof.) For the difference between them, see Barbara G. Aston, James A. Harrell, and Ian Shaw, 'Stone', in *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Technology*, ed. by Paul T. Nicholson and Ian Shaw (Cambridge ; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000), pp. 5–76 (p. 22).

<sup>344</sup> Geldhof; P. Buscaglia and others, 'Nesimenjem and the Valley of the Queens' Coffins', in *Ancient Egyptian Coffins: Past, Present, and Future*, ed. by Helen Strudwick and Julia Dawson (London: Oxbow Books, 2019), pp. 83–96. The later discusses a 25<sup>th</sup>/26<sup>th</sup> dynasty coffin on which the white layer is polished, and the former discusses a 21<sup>st</sup> dynasty piece where it is not.

<sup>345</sup> C.V. Adams, 'The Manufacture of Ancient Egyptian Cartonnage Cases', *Smithsonian Journal of History*, 1.3 (1966), 55–66; Taylor, 'Development of Cartonnage Cases'.

<sup>346</sup> Susanna Moser and Gian Luigi Nicola, 'Sharing Knowledge for Restoring Coffins: The Case of Civico Museo Di Storia e Arte of Trieste', in *First Vatican Coffin Conference, 19-22 June 2013: Proceedings*, ed. by Alessia Amenta

the processes for making full body cartonnages have been proposed based on the examination of Theban coffins. More large-scale study of cartonnage manufacture is needed to determine whether these two processes were chosen at different periods of time, in different locations, or by the preference of the artist or buyer.<sup>347</sup>

There are some noted regional differences in manufacturing techniques. These have been described in light of the “North-South Divide”, and so far, no work has been done to provide further precision as to which places and workshops used these techniques. With Northern pieces, the face is carved separately from wood and pegged to the cartonnage. It is modelled or molded from cartonnage on Theban pieces.<sup>348</sup> Taylor also observes that Northern cartonnages tend to feature heavy use of mud-paste instead of fine white plaster in their construction.<sup>349</sup>

With both Northern and Theban coffins, it seems likely that the intended owner was placed inside the cartonnage before it was decorated, and they might have even been inside the cartonnage while it was being made. This practice of decorating the coffin with the owner inside continued after the cartonnage had been replaced by the bivalve coffin: a layer of cloth and plaster covered the openings of the openings of early bivalves, sealing the deceased inside in the manner of a cartonnage.<sup>350</sup>

This has important implications for our understanding of how the decoration of the coffin was chosen, drafted, executed. Firstly, reuse of cartonnages would have been very difficult because the body could not be removed from a dried cartonnage without damaging it. Hence, we should probably look for other explanations for anomalous iconographic features which we would otherwise attribute to reuse,<sup>351</sup> such as depiction of the deceased with features of the wrong gender, or the use of masculine pronouns in the texts for a female owner. Similarly, claims that the pieces were premade or bought “off the shelf” should be viewed critically because we don’t know whether this would have even been possible to do.<sup>352</sup>

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and H  l  ne Guichard (presented at the Vatican Coffin Conference, Citt   del Vaticano: Edizioni Musei Vaticani, 2017), pp. 317–26.

<sup>347</sup> Moser and Nicola propose that the choice of method might be a workshop preference. Moser and Nicola, p. 325.

<sup>348</sup> For a description on how this might have been done, see: Julie Dawson, Jennifer Marchant, and Eleanor von Anderkas, ‘Egyptian Coffins: Materials, Construction, and Decoration’, in *Death on the Nile: Uncovering the Afterlife of Ancient Egypt*, ed. by Helen Strudwick and Julie Dawson (Cambridge: The Fitzwilliam Museum, 2016).

<sup>349</sup> Taylor, ‘Coffins as Evidence for a “North-South Divide” in the 22nd-25th Dynasties’, p. 387.

<sup>350</sup> Charlotte Hunkeler, ‘A Closer Look at Inner Coffins Dating to the Transitional Period between the 22nd and the 25th Dynasties: Iconography, Epigraphy, and Manufacture’ (presented at the International Congress of Egyptologists XII, Cairo, 2019); Enrichetta Leospo, *Museo Archeologico di Asti, la collezione egizia*, Collana musei e gallerie (Torino: Regione Piemonte, Soprintendenza per il Museo delle Antichit   Egizie, 1986), pp. 32–33.

<sup>351</sup> One case of possible reuse is the cartonnage of Tahai in Basel. Charlotte Hunkeler, ‘Tahai’s Secret: A Closer Look at the Coffin Ensemble of the Lady Tahai from the Museum of Antiquities in Basel, Switzerland’, in *Current Research in Egyptology: Proceedings of the Eighteenth Annual Symposium, University of Naples, ‘L’Orientale’ 3-6 May 2017*, 2017, ed. by Ilaria Incordino and Universit   di Napoli, Access Archaeology (presented at the Current Research in Egyptology Symposium, Summertown, Oxford: Archeopress Publishing Ltd, 2018). For more on this piece, see the catalogue entry for Tahai in this work: Antikenmuseum Basel BSE III 129 a, b, and c

<sup>352</sup> Elias, for example, observes that some cartonnages are anonymous and proposes that these pieces were bought off the shelf and must have been completely decorated before the deceased was inserted. Elias, ‘Coffin

While Ramesside and 21<sup>st</sup> dynasty coffins may very well have been purchased by a person for later use by themselves or their living family members,<sup>353</sup> and while this may have been the case with the wooden outer coffins in an ensemble during the later Third Intermediate Period, it was not the case with the cartonnage or innermost bivalve coffin. These were bought at least partially unfinished. Decisions about the decoration and inscription of the cartonnage or bivalve would have been made by the artists and the family of the deceased. Furthermore, since the decoration (and perhaps construction) had to take place after the completion of mummification and before the funeral, the artists and scribes were working on a tight schedule.

#### Layout

So far, the only in-depth study of how the draftsman planned out coffin decoration has been done by van Walsem<sup>354</sup> and focuses on late 21<sup>st</sup> dynasty stola coffins which would have posed a special challenge to the draftsman because of the tendency towards *horror vacui* which necessitated that every square centimeter of negative space needed to be filled with iconography. Cooney has also studied draftsmanship for Ramesside pieces towards the end of evaluating its quality and impact on the coffin's cost.<sup>355</sup>

The draftsman seems to have laid out the lid first, followed by the exterior of the basin.<sup>356</sup> The layout of the decoration of these was influenced by two main considerations: the anatomy of coffin and the orientation at which the decoration was meant to be viewed. Lids and basin interiors were laid out vertically, and the sides of the basin were laid out horizontally. This orientation would have remained standard with wooden coffins (but not cartonnages, which are meant to be viewed standing upright) up until the Ptolemaic period. Van Walsem concludes that the draftsman did not draw a center line of symmetry down the lid to use as a guideline for positioning decorative elements. Instead, they divided the surface of the coffin into horizontal "decorative sections" based on the anatomical cues left by the carpenter: the curve at the shoulder marked the line between the face and chest. The notch of the elbow and curve of the waist were part of the abdomen section. The swell of the knees and the footbox were the last decorative section.<sup>357</sup>

The first things that the draftsman drew were the "central attention markers." These are elements placed in the center of the lid which transcend borders and vignettes. These were used to relatively place other decorative elements, starting with the smaller "lateral attention markers" to each side. After these were drawn, these "attention markers" would have been used to relatively position ground lines, borders, and text columns. These would have been drawn freehand or with the aid of stencils, compasses, and straight-edges. On coffins where

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Inscription in Egypt after the New Kingdom: A Study of Text Production and Use in Elite Mortuary Preparation', p. 333. As noted here, this would have been difficult to do without damaging the cartonnage.

<sup>353</sup> Cooney, for example, feels that coffins were bought long before burial in the Ramesside Period. Kathlyn M. Cooney, *The Cost of Death*, p. 219.

<sup>354</sup> van Walsem, I-II.

<sup>355</sup> Kathlyn M. Cooney, *The Cost of Death*.

<sup>356</sup> Kathlyn M. Cooney, *The Cost of Death*, p. 194.

<sup>357</sup> van Walsem, I-II, pp. 65-70.

these guidelines are still visible, it is clear they were drawn with a reed pen dipped in red or black ink depending on the ultimate background color and the draftsman's preference.<sup>358</sup>

The basin was conceived primarily as consisting of horizontal zones. On the 21<sup>st</sup> dynasty coffins, there are three: the top border usually consisted of a cobra frieze and horizontal text bands. The middle one contained vignettes, divided by vertical columns of text, and the bottom contained the groundline and further horizontal text bands. Anatomy may have been used to position vertical bands of text at the shoulders and elbows but was only of secondary consideration on the basin sides because it was intended to be viewed from the side where its silhouette was rectangular and not from the front where its silhouette was human-shaped. The last parts of the sides to receive decoration were the head and foot areas.<sup>359</sup>

At this point, the draftsman might have drawn the figural decoration within the vignettes and in the interstitial spaces between the attention markers. On many coffins, the underdrawings for the vignettes are apparent. If the text was intended to be polychrome, or a central focus of the decoration, it was also drawn out at this stage, to be colored and outlined later. Sometimes, when drawing monumental hieroglyphs, the draftsman carefully spaced the characters and marked their intended position, leaving dots of ink on the guidelines to denote the planned width and height of the finished character.<sup>360</sup> However, on many coffins, the text was apparently added freehand as a last step after the drafting and coloring had taken place.<sup>361</sup>

In the words of Cooney, *"...the makers of Egyptian coffins cared little about true and measured precision of symmetry, only the appearance of symmetry."*<sup>362</sup> It is more accurate to say that they didn't care about *layout symmetry*—the precise measurement of symmetry. They did care about other kinds of symmetry, such as content symmetry, which is the presentation of equivalent content and identical shapes on two sides of an axis of symmetry.<sup>363</sup> They also cared, as van Walsem notes, about the balance and harmony between horizontal and vertical spaces.<sup>364</sup> If a space has a large length relative to its height and relative to the length of the spaces around it, the draftsman's instinct is to subdivide it into smaller spaces with vertical lines. A similar subdivision occurs on spaces that are tall relative to their width. A third thing that the draftsman seems very concerned with is balance between positive and negative space within an area. Negative space should be evenly distributed around figures. This balance is achieved by adding detail to negative space.

If balance, harmony, and content symmetry were more important to the religious function of the coffin than layout symmetry, the reasons for this layout process become clearer. The draftsman worked from large objects to small objects, placing smaller objects relative to larger ones in the interstitial spaces between them, carefully judging the balance between

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<sup>358</sup> Dawson, Marchant, and von Anderkas.

<sup>359</sup> van Walsem, I–II, pp. 65–73.

<sup>360</sup> Dawson, Marchant, and von Anderkas.

<sup>361</sup> A good example is seen on the coffin of Iwefaa at the Phoebe Hearst Museum of Anthropology, Berkeley. See Kea Johnston, 'Spells in the Margins', *Göttinger Miszellen*, 259 (2019), 133–42.

<sup>362</sup> Kathlyn M. Cooney, *The Cost of Death*, p. 227.

<sup>363</sup> This is defined by van Walsem the balance of the contents of vignettes and text. (van Walsem, I–II, p. 67). For example, around an axis of symmetry, opposing roughly square vignettes might contain an image of the deceased offering to Osiris and an image of the deceased offering to Re-Harakhty respectively.

<sup>364</sup> van Walsem, I–II, pp. 76–81.

positive and negative space in each small area between figures. He selected vignettes with related themes to place on either side of an axis of symmetry down the center of the lid. He balanced vertical and horizontal elements subdividing spaces that were predominantly long or predominantly tall to give an impression of balance. In this way, the rounded, human-shaped decorative surface, and a desire to use that surface to create a balanced composition were determining factors in the draftsman's decisions about how to layout the vignettes and protective symbols on coffin.

This raises the question of whether the same technique was used to draft decoration on coffin lids which were not so clearly divided into anatomical areas for reference, such as the straight-sided northern type coffins and cartonages. In later periods, the decorative emphasis on the most elite coffins was the division of the surface of the coffin into tall columns for text. Can we expect the draftsman to have laid out the design in the same way as he did when elite Theban taste focused on horizontal/vertical harmony and dense but evenly spaced figural decoration? Can we expect these aesthetic requirements to have been the same outside of Thebes? These are questions that for the time remain unanswered.

#### Pattern Books

It is generally assumed in the literature that artists and scribes who painted coffins copied their vignettes and texts from models.<sup>365</sup> The form such models took, the types of patterns they contained, and the way scribes approached the task of copying is not usually explored in literature on coffins, though it has been discussed in literature on Book of the Dead Papyri and is often mentioned in passing when discussing tomb painting.<sup>366</sup>

Though the use of these models or patterns for coffins is accepted, an actual example of one has never been found. What such a theoretical pattern book looked like and how the artist used it is actually a complicated question, because coffin decoration has several layers of complexity, and each layer might have its own type of model. First, there is an overall layout which sometimes conveys meaning in and of itself. The deceased is equated with a *s<sup>c</sup>h* or *ꜥh*, for example. However, two coffins with roughly identical lid layout can have variation in the selection and themes of the vignettes and texts placed in corresponding spaces, and so there is another layer of complexity: a set of rules which dictates the placement of vignettes and texts of certain themes, which is dictated by religious beliefs about how the coffin functions for the deceased. Finally, we have complexity at the level of the individual texts and vignettes themselves. Two coffins might have the same layout and the same rules governing the choice of the appropriate theme for vignettes, but different selections of vignettes and texts, and different compositions within individual vignettes. Thus, if we are to discuss the process by

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<sup>365</sup> Brech, p. 175; John H. Taylor, 'The Development of Theban Coffins during the Third Intermediate Period: A Typological Study' (University of Birmingham, 1985), p. 490; Elias, 'Coffin Inscription in Egypt after the New Kingdom: A Study of Text Production and Use in Elite Mortuary Preparation', p. 7.

<sup>366</sup> For text, see For Papyri, see Ogden Jr. Goelet, 'Observations on Copying and the Hieroglyphic Tradition in the Production of the Book of the Dead', in *Offerings to the Discerning Eye: An Egyptological Medley in Honor of Jack A. Josephson*, ed. by Sue D'Auria, Culture and History of the Ancient Near East, v. 38 (Leiden ; Boston: Brill, 2010), pp. 121–32; Barbara Lüscher, *Die Vorlagen-Ostraka aus dem Grab des Nachtmin (TT 87)*, Beiträge zum Alten Ägypten, 4 (Basel: Orientverlag, 2013); Lucarelli, *The Book of the Dead of Gatseshen*, pp. 28-40, 255-256; Jean Capart, 'Cahiers de Modèles', *Chronique d'Égypte*, 31. January (1941), 43–45.

which a buyer chose the decoration for their coffin and artist executed that choice by copying a model, we need to consider these layers of complexity individually. To do so, it is helpful to think as the different aspects of coffin decoration, layout, vignette selection, text selection, vignette and text placement, and the details of the vignettes, as parts of a Design Pattern used to solve the problem of the rebirth of the deceased.<sup>367</sup>

The highest level of the Design Pattern is the overall layout. Components of the layout include the manner of the division of the surface into vignette registers, the distribution of texts, and the length and shape of the collar. The choice of layout would have also been the easiest point of involvement for the buyer since layouts could simply be sketched in an abbreviated fashion. Additionally, a given layout might imply the use of a specific mechanism for the rebirth of the deceased. A customer who bought cartonnage with the "Sunrise" layout would have a good idea of what the final product would look like, and which vignettes would be included. We can imagine a situation where a coffin buyer might approach a representative of a workshop and be presented with a selection of such sketches from which to choose. In fact, we do have several sketches of coffins on ostraca from Deir el-Medina, though the purpose of all figural ostraca is a subject of debate, as is the question of whether practices at Deir el-Medina apply elsewhere.<sup>368</sup> Alternatively, a customer might even have been presented with simplified model coffins like those described by Herodotus when he discussed the way in which relatives of a deceased person used wooden model corpses to choose a method of mummification.<sup>369</sup>

We now come to the question of pattern books for the vignettes and texts themselves. It is important to note that coffins share a large part of their repertoire of images and texts with funerary books on papyrus,<sup>370</sup> tomb chapel decoration,<sup>371</sup> and stelae.<sup>372</sup> Collectively, we can refer to the aforementioned material culture bearing these images as mass media – they were a vehicle for the communication of information, whether economic, social, or religious, between buyer and client and to a potentially large audience of funeral observers and tomb visitors.<sup>373</sup> These items were purchased by the same buyers, were intended for the same

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<sup>367</sup> For the definition and reasoning behind the use of the term Design Pattern, See above, note 6

<sup>368</sup> These are briefly discussed in Kathlyn M. Cooney, *The Cost of Death*, n. 88. They are: MMA 29.2.24, MMA 23.7.1, and Turin S.6306. As with most figural ostraca which may be models, the question with these objects is whether they acted as draft sketches or as depictions of already-existing objects.

<sup>369</sup> Herodotus, *Herodotus I: Books I-II*, trans. by A. D. Godley, The Loeb Classical Library, 117–120, V vols (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1990), 1981), I, p. 375. Model coffins do exist, though to my knowledge, they are generally inscribed with names and interpreted as votive objects or as part of the tomb furniture. It may be worth revisiting these as prototypes, especially those without names inscribed.

<sup>370</sup> Niwiński, *Studies on the Illustrated Funerary Papyri of the 11th and 12th Centuries B. C.*, pp. 219–31.

<sup>371</sup> See above on page 18 for a discussion of the relationship between Ramesside tomb chapels and coffins. For the continuing interplay between coffin iconography and funerary architecture in the 25<sup>th</sup> and 26<sup>th</sup> dynasties, see: Edna R. Russmann, 'The Motif of the Bound Papyrus Plants and the Decorative Program in Mentuemhat's First Court (Further Remarks on the Decoration of the Tomb of Mentuemhat)', *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt*, 32 (1995), 117–26.

<sup>372</sup> Hisham el-Leithy, 'Iconography and Function of Stelae and Coffins in Dynasties 25-26', in *Ancient Egyptian Coffins: Craft Traditions and Functionality*, ed. by John H. Taylor and Marie Vandenberg, British Museum Publications on Egypt and Sudan, 4 (Leuven: Peeters, 2018), pp. 61–76.

<sup>373</sup> Christoph Uehlinger, 'Introduction', in *Images as Media: Sources for the Cultural History of the Near East and the Eastern Mediterranean: 1st Millennium BCE*, ed. by Christoph Uehlinger, Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis, 175 (Fribourg, Switzerland: University Press, 2000), p. XV.

audience (funeral-goers and the gods) and might have been made by the same people.<sup>374</sup> It follows that if these vignettes and texts were copied from pattern books, then they were copied from a different source than that which contained design patterns for whole coffins. Pattern books for individual vignettes would have been used as guides for individual vignettes and texts on for stelae, tomb paintings, coffins, and papyri.<sup>375</sup> Therefore, observations pertaining to sources for the imagery and text on these other burial goods may apply to coffins as well.

Book of the Dead texts and vignettes are thought to have been copied from model papyri. During the Third Intermediate Period in Thebes, these models might have consisted of archives of short papyri, each inscribed with spells related to a central theme.<sup>376</sup> Standard sequences and versions of spells were adopted on a local basis in the Saite period, and these continued to develop through the Ptolemaic period.<sup>377</sup> The selection and placement of texts on coffins became more standardized at this time, as the layout of the coffin began to be focused on the arrangement of the text and the text became essential to the mechanism of the coffin's function.<sup>378</sup> However, there was still always an amount of leeway in choosing which spells and vignettes filled the thematic requirements of a given space on a coffin. This might have been a choice made by a knowledgeable buyer or determined through a process of feedback between a buyer and the artists. Then again, the thematic requirements of each space may have been pre-determined, either by the layout of the coffin or the social station of the owner. Some layouts allowed for more variation in vignette selection than others. The surface of a "Sunrise" cartonnage, featured a fairly fixed set of elements, while registered cartonnages can have much more thematic variation in the choice for vignettes in the registers. In some periods, the beliefs about how the coffin functioned might have varied by social station, and thus, the social identity of the buyer might have pre-determined the layout, selection, and placement of vignettes.<sup>379</sup>

It is also possible that decisions about the order and selection of texts and vignettes was a matter of artist preference. Vignettes and texts might have been individually selected from a temple or workshop archive and copied onto the coffin. These may have been copied from a master coffin or from a written master plan where the sequence of images was chosen by a religious or design specialist in a way analogous to the way in which Book of the Dead papyri were copied.<sup>380</sup>

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<sup>374</sup> For the makers of coffins, see below. Coffin-Makers and their Workshops

<sup>375</sup> For examples of motifs copied on tombs, coffins, and papyri which must have been copied from the same source, see: Éva Liptay, 'From Funerary Papyrus to Tomb Wall and Vice-Versa: Innovation and Tradition in Early Third Intermediate Period Funerary Art', in *(Re)Productive Traditions in Ancient Egypt: Proceedings of the Conference Held at the University of Liège, 6th-8th February 2013*, ed. by Todd Gillen, Aegyptiaca Leodiensia, 10 (presented at the Conference, Liège: Presses Universitaires de Liège, 2017), pp. 563–92.

<sup>376</sup> Niwiński, *Studies on the Illustrated Funerary Papyri of the 11th and 12th Centuries B. C.*, pp. 23–26.

<sup>377</sup> 'Transmission of Funerary Literature: Saite Through Ptolemaic Periods', p. 85.

<sup>378</sup> An example is Spell 89, which has a variable location on the coffin until it is standardized in the Saite period and begins to appear exclusively in the central column. Taylor, 'The Coffin of Padiashaikhet', p. 275. This placement is probably part of the coffin's function because this is the area of the corpse where the ba is pictured as perching in some vignettes for the spell.

<sup>379</sup> Taylor, 'Evidence for Social Patterning on Theban Coffins of Dynasty 25', p. 382.

<sup>380</sup> Lucarelli, *The Book of the Dead of Gatseshen*, pp. 38–40.



The artists and scribes certainly exercise agency in how the individual texts and vignettes are executed. Even on coffins which use the same design pattern and where the selection and order of vignettes and spells is fixed, there can be a high level of variability in the contents and composition of the individual vignettes. The same phenomenon can be seen with the texts—though the same Book of the Dead spell might be written in the same way on many coffins, the amount of the spell excerpted, the addition or omission of headings, and the orthographies of the words are never quite the same. Sometimes, these details are significant, altering the meaning of a scene or spell (or at least our interpretation of it) between one coffin and another. The reason for this variance within individual vignettes and texts may be in part practical. Since we know that the draftsmen didn't use grids or precisely drawn center lines, the relative proportions of the various figures in a scene had to be estimated. This may have been very difficult for the draftsman, and the mistakes would have resulted in extra negative space in the scene, creating a visual imbalance which the draftsman would have had to mitigate by adding detail.<sup>381</sup>

In general, however, we should not consider variation in coffin decoration to be the result of ignorance or error. Such variation is common in Book of the Dead papyri,<sup>382</sup> and in figural tomb decoration, where a scene that is a known copy might have added details, either new or copied from other locations.<sup>383</sup> While the functionality of funerary art depended on the use of particular motifs, and the functionality of a motif depended on the presence of key elements, creating exact copies of existing sources does not seem to have been the goal of the Ancient Egyptian artist or scribe. Creative quoting of other sources or reinterpretation of a model is common in the written and pictorial tradition. Variation should be seen as evidence of the creativity of the artist or scribe, who reinterpreted while he copied.

In summary, the process of designing a coffin remains enigmatic since there is little archaeological evidence pertaining to it, and that which exists is ambiguous. The problem of ritually resurrecting the deceased was solved through a design pattern, which required a certain layout and sometimes mandated that vignettes in certain areas conform to specific themes. The choice of design pattern seems to have relied on the beliefs, preferences, and social situation of the coffin buyer. The sequence and choice of vignettes, when there was a choice, may have been made by the buyer and artist working together, or by a religious specialist who designed a master copy for the artists and scribes to copy. However, the scribe

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<sup>381</sup> In my experiment with recreating a scene from a coffin with approximations of original materials, I found that the laying out of individual figures within a scene was the hardest part of the process. This was especially true since erasing mistakes was also difficult. Mistakes involving a large quantity of paint smeared when plastered over because both paint and plaster were water soluble. Furthermore, there isn't much evidence for the use of plaster to erase drafting mistakes. It seems like in most cases, the painter simply corrected their mistakes, leaving the old lines in place and painting over them with subsequent layers. For my own experiments with this, see below:

<sup>382</sup> Lucarelli, *The Book of the Dead of Gatseshen*, pp. 254–56; Chloe Ragazzoli, 'The Book of the Dead of Ankhnesenaset (P. BNF Egyptien 62-88) Traces of Workshop Production or Scribal Experiments', *British Museum Studies in Ancient Egypt and Sudan*, 17 (2010), 225–48.

<sup>383</sup> Dimitri Laboury, 'Tradition and Creativity: Toward a Study of Intericonicity in Ancient Egyptian Art', in *(Re)Productive Traditions in Ancient Egypt: Proceedings of the Conference Held at the University of Liège, 6th-8th February 2013*, ed. by Todd Gillen, *Aegyptiaca Leodiensia*, 10 (presented at the Conference, Liège: Presses Universitaires de Liège, 2017).

and artist could and did exercise agency in the act of interpreting the texts and images to be copied. Their choices thus impacted the final result in subtle and surprising ways.

Thus, we may not be able to talk about copying a coffin from a single model or pattern book. Some elements of design may have been dictated in the design pattern; The coffin manufacturers may not have needed a model to know that if the coffin needed to place the deceased in the center of a nightly vigil tableau, a mourning goddess must be drawn on the head. For elements which were copied, there may have been multiple pattern books used for different phases of decoration.

#### Coloring

After the designs on the coffin were selected and planned, and underdrawings were executed, the craftsmen could add gilding to the coffin, or relief by adding and sculpting more white plaster, or carving the existing white plaster preparation layer.<sup>384</sup>

Paints consisted of inorganic pigments mixed with Gum Arabic,<sup>385</sup> and they were applied with plant-fiber brushes and pens.<sup>386</sup> The paints used by the ancient artists consisted of an inorganic pigment mixed with a binder of variable composition. The ancient Egyptian palette

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<sup>384</sup> Dawson, Marchant, and von Anderkas.

<sup>385</sup> This is usually gum Arabic (acacia gum), but a large variety of other substances have been found on coffins such as beeswax, resin, honey, egg yolk, and egg white. Richard Newman and Susana M. Halpine, 'The Binding Media of Ancient Egyptian Painting', in *Color and Painting in Ancient Egypt*, ed. by W. V. Davies (London: The British Museum Press, 2001), pp. 22–33.

<sup>386</sup> Geldhof; Nour Mohamed Badr and others, 'Further Investigation of a Ptolemaic Wooden Coffin Lid from Abusir El-Meleq in the Egyptian Museum, Cairo', in *Ancient Egyptian Coffins: Past, Present, and Future*, ed. by Helen Strudwick and Julia Dawson (London: Oxbow Books, 2019), pp. 185–93. The later source shows a picture of brush marks on a coffin on p. 192.

consisted of red,<sup>387</sup> blue,<sup>388</sup> green,<sup>389</sup> yellow,<sup>390</sup> black,<sup>391</sup> and white.<sup>392</sup> Egyptian artists worked one color at a time, applying each color individually to every place on the coffin where it was required before mixing another color.<sup>393</sup> Effects were sometimes achieved by mixing pigments, but more often, variations in hue, saturation, and brightness were achieved by layering colors with each other and with other media such as varnish.

In cases where the background color was white, yellow, or black, it was the first layer to be applied. The last colors to be applied were usually green and blue. On most coffins, black and white contour lines and details were drawn last. The application order of the colors was otherwise variable based on the artist's preference and the effects they were trying to achieve.<sup>394</sup> Pinks could be created by painting a thin layer of white over a layer of red. Grays could be obtained by painting a thin layer of black over a layer of white. Layering could also be used to achieve other effects. Shimmering yellows could be created by layering orpiment over yellow ochre (or mixing them together). Colors could be juxtaposed with bright white by

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<sup>387</sup> This were usually red ochre/hematite. (David A. Scott, 'A Review of Ancient Egyptian Pigments and Cosmetics', *Studies in Conservation*, 61.4 (2016), 185–202 <<https://doi.org/10.1179/2047058414Y.0000000162>>; Stephen Quirke and Lorna Lee, 'Painting Materials', in *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Technology*, ed. by Paul T. Nicholson and Ian Shaw (Cambridge ; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000), pp. 104–21; Joanna Trabska and Barbara Trybalska, 'Aset-Iri-Khet-Es' Mummy Mask: Pigments, Their Preparation and Corrosion Phenomena', in *Mummy: Results of Interdisciplinary Examination of the Egyptian Mummy of Aset-Iri-Khet-Es from the Archaeological Museum in Cracow*, ed. by Hanna Szymańska and Krzysztof Babraj (Kraków: Polish Academy of Sciences, 2001), pp. 201–25.) More rarely, organic compounds like madder have also been observed. (Trabska and Trybalska.) Arsenic-based realgar was known to the Egyptians (Quirke and Lee; Scott, 'A Review of Ancient Egyptian Pigments and Cosmetics'.), but to my knowledge it hasn't (yet) been documented on coffins. Cinnabar has been noted on a northern-style piece from the Saite period . L. Bonizzoni and others, 'Field and Laboratory Multi-Technique Analysis of Pigments and Organic Painting Media from an Egyptian Coffin (26th Dynasty)', *Archaeometry*, 53.6 (2011), 1212–30 <<https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1475-4754.2011.00592.x>>.

<sup>388</sup> Egyptian Blue, a synthesized pigment. Scott, 'A Review of Ancient Egyptian Pigments and Cosmetics'.

<sup>389</sup> Green was usually Egyptian Green prior to and during dynasty 21. However, celadonite or green earth replaces Egyptian Green in the later Third Intermediate Period . (David A. Scott, 'Egyptian Sarcophagi and Mummies in the San Diego Museum of Man: Some Technical Studies', *Studies in Conservation*, 63.4 (2018), 215–35 <<https://doi.org/10.1080/00393630.2017.1331549>>; Dawson, Marchant, and von Anderkas.) Malachite and copper chlorides have also been noted though it's often difficult to tell whether they were used intentionally or are natural degradation products of Egyptian Green. Trabska and Trybalska; Lorna Green, 'Color Transformations of Ancient Egyptian Pigments', in *Color and Painting in Ancient Egypt*, ed. by W. V. Davies (London: The British Museum Press, 2001), pp. 43–47; Scott, 'Egyptian Sarcophagi and Mummies in the San Diego Museum of Man'; Scott, 'A Review of Ancient Egyptian Pigments and Cosmetics'.

<sup>390</sup> Usually yellow ochre, but also orpiment, an arsenic-based compound which could be mined or (less likely) synthesized. See Sylvie Colinart, 'Analysis of Inorganic Yellow Colour in Ancient Egyptian Painting', in *Color and Painting in Ancient Egypt*, ed. by W. V. Davies (London: The British Museum Press, 2001), pp. 1–9; Scott, 'A Review of Ancient Egyptian Pigments and Cosmetics'; Trabska and Trybalska; Quirke and Lee.

<sup>391</sup> Usually carbon black. The exception is the coffins with a black ground, in which case the background may be some combination of resin and bitumen. ( Scott, 'A Review of Ancient Egyptian Pigments and Cosmetics'; Quirke and Lee.)

<sup>392</sup> The plaster and white pigment used as paint could vary in composition and anhydrite, calcite, and gypsum were all used. Scott, 'A Review of Ancient Egyptian Pigments and Cosmetics'.

<sup>393</sup> Dawson, Marchant, and von Anderkas; Geldhof.

<sup>394</sup> For the order of color application, see Geldhof. van Walsem, I–II, pp. 59–64. Kathlyn M. Cooney, *The Cost of Death*, p. 217. Dawson, Marchant, and von Anderkas.

layering them over a Huntite-based white layer.<sup>395</sup> Layers of darker pigment could even be scraped away with a knife in a design, revealing the lighter pigment underneath.<sup>396</sup>

The final step in decoration often involved a layer of varnish. There are actually two substances that are called varnish in the scholarly literature. Both are glossy, but one is yellow and transparent,<sup>397</sup> and the other is opaque black. The black varnish used as a ground for coffin decoration contained bitumen and was similar in composition to the glossy black anointing liquid poured over wrapped bodies and cartonnages in the Third Intermediate Period.<sup>398</sup>

Like the black resin, the yellow resin probably also had religious significance.<sup>399</sup> Applied to a decorated surface, it added a glossy shine and a yellow to orange tint which both protected and altered the appearance of the colors underneath. White and yellow became a vivid yellow or even orange, and reds also become a reddish orange. Light greens and blues became yellower shades of green, and dark blues and greens became almost black.<sup>400</sup> This effect was intended by the ancient artists, since they often applied the varnish selectively to texts and figures on the insides of coffins.<sup>401</sup> They also sometimes left bright white areas unvarnished or applied the varnish to them in a very thin layer.<sup>402</sup>

It's important to understand the materials at the artist's disposal and their properties because they placed constraints on how he worked and the appearance of the final product. They also affect our interpretation of the quality of his work. For example, some scholars have commented on the sloppiness with which varnish was applied.<sup>403</sup> Cooney, citing the difference between the quality of varnish application and decoration even proposes that varnish was applied by different people than those who painted the coffin.<sup>404</sup> However, the picture becomes more complex when we think about how the varnish was handled and manufactured. Pistacia resins used in varnish could be obtained from multiple species of bush, only one of which grows in Egypt.<sup>405</sup> It was easiest to harvest, store and transport in its solid state, but

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<sup>395</sup> For the use and composition of Huntite, see: Ann Heywood, 'The Use of Huntite as a White Pigment in Ancient Egypt', in *Color and Painting in Ancient Egypt*, ed. by W. V. Davies (London: The British Museum Press, 2001), pp. 5–9. For an example of its use as the background color on a 21<sup>st</sup> dynasty coffin see Geldhof.

<sup>396</sup> The technique is called Sgraffito. For an example, see Geldhof.

<sup>397</sup> This usually consisted of Pistacia resin, which could come from multiple species of Pistacia. It was mixed with a variety of other things, including animal fat and pine resin. Margaret Serpico and Raymond White, 'The Use and Identification of Varnish on New Kingdom Funerary Equipment', in *Color and Painting in Ancient Egypt*, ed. by W. V. Davies (London: The British Museum Press, 2001).

<sup>398</sup> Kate Fulcher and others, 'Molecular Analysis of Black Coatings and Anointing Fluids from Ancient Egyptian Coffins, Mummy Cases, and Funerary Objects', *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences*, 118.18 (2021), e2100885118 <<https://doi.org/10.1073/pnas.2100885118>>.

<sup>399</sup> Moser and Nicola; Serpico and White; Kathlyn M. Cooney, *The Cost of Death*, p. 219.

<sup>400</sup> See VAN WALSEM, I–II, p. 51.

<sup>401</sup> van Walsem, I–II, p. 58.

<sup>402</sup> Buscaglia and others.

<sup>403</sup> Kathlyn M. Cooney, *The Cost of Death*, pp. 219–20; van Walsem, I–II, p. 56.

<sup>404</sup> Kathlyn M. Cooney, *The Cost of Death*, pp. 219–20.

<sup>405</sup> Margaret Serpico, 'Resins, Amber, and Bitumen', in *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Technology*, ed. by Paul T. Nicholson and Ian Shaw (Cambridge ; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000), pp. 431–74; Christian Tutundjian de Vartavan, 'Pistacia Species in Relation to Their Use as Varnish and "Incense"(Sntr) in Pharaonic Egypt', *Bulletin of Parthian and Mixed Oriental Studies*, 2 (2007), 63–92.

there is a small possibility that it was stored in liquid form.<sup>406</sup> In order to render solid resin into a liquid in order to apply it to a coffin, it would have had to either be dissolved in turpentine or heated.<sup>407</sup> Regardless, it would have been some combination of sticky and hot, and therefore very difficult to apply in an even and controlled fashion. Variation in color and sloppy application might have been the norm, and not so much a reflection on the skill of the artist as on the difficulty of the medium.

Though we have a general picture of how coffins were painted, we are limited in what we can say about the practices of individual workshops and the development of techniques over time and place. This is because the large systematic studies of coffin manufacture are limited to Ramesside Saqqara and Thebes,<sup>408</sup> and late 21<sup>st</sup> dynasty Thebes.<sup>409</sup> For later periods, we are left with a series of studies of individual coffins from different times and places for which there is not yet a published meta-analysis or systematic study.<sup>410</sup> However, we can gather from these individual publications that there was a high level of variation in composition and manufacturing technique of pigments, binders, and varnishes. These probably varied based on place, time, cost of resources, and of course, workshop. For this reason, when information is available, the materials used on a particular coffin will be taken into account in this work. However, a systematic study is beyond the scope of this project. It suffices to say that when it comes to characterizing individual workshops, paleography, orthography and art style of decoration and texts are the tip of the proverbial iceberg.

#### Coffin-Makers and their Workshops

Coffins are often compared and attributed to the same “workshop” by scholars, but this ambiguous term is hardly ever defined. As mentioned previously, no archaeological evidence for coffin workshops has been found to date. We are reliant on epigraphic and textual sources, which are ambiguous, especially about where coffins were made and who made them. It seems

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<sup>406</sup> Newman and Halpine think that if it could have been harvested from the tree while wet and immediately sealed, it could have been stored wet. This liquid state would have been due to its dissolution in natural turpentine. Newman and Halpine.

<sup>407</sup> How the Egyptians made this viscous substance spreadable is a source of debate. A solvent would have helped, but we don't know if the Egyptians had access to turpentine prior to the Ptolemaic period, and scientific analyses have been inconclusive. Experimental archaeology has shown that even with heating, the substance is very hard to work with. Caroline Arbuckle MacLeod and Marissa Stevens, 'The Life of the Egyptian Coffin: Preliminary Report', *Backdirt: Annual Review of the Cotsen Institute of Archaeology at UCLA*, 2016, 32–37.

<sup>408</sup> Maarten J. Raven; Kathlyn M. Cooney, *The Cost of Death*.

<sup>409</sup> van Walsem, I–II; *The Coffins of the Priests of Amun: Egyptian Coffins from the 21st Dynasty in the Collection of the National Museum of Antiquities in Leiden*, ed. by Lara Weiss and Rijksmuseum van Oudheden te Leiden, PALMA : Papers on Archaeology of the Leiden Museum of Antiquities, 17 (Leiden: Sidestone Press, 2018); Prestipinio.

<sup>410</sup> Among many such analyses, the following studies consulted in this work provide a good sample. Badr and others; Buscaglia and others; Trabska and Trybalska; Patricia Rigault, 'The Rediscovery and Conservation Treatment of Tanetmit's Outer Coffin', in *Ancient Egyptian Coffins: Past, Present, and Future*, ed. by Helen Strudwick and Julia Dawson (London: Oxbow Books, 2019), pp. 129–34; Scott, 'Egyptian Sarcophagi and Mummies in the San Diego Museum of Man'; Bonizzoni and others.

certain, however, from texts and depictions of coffin workshops, that the same artisans who made coffins also produced other goods, both quotidian and funerary.<sup>411</sup>

There may not have been one specific area dedicated to making and decorating coffins. Studying the work orders and receipts written on ostraca at Deir el-Medina, Cooney concludes that in Ramesside Thebes, coffins were made via informal arrangements between clients and artists adjacent to their social circles. Well-heeled clients, for example, would have had chances to meet a highly placed artisan, usually a scribe, at Deir el-Medina and commission a coffin from them. These artisans would accept the payment, managing the manufacture and painting of the coffin within their own circle of acquaintances, or with their underlings.<sup>412</sup> The coffin would have been passed between the artists until complete.<sup>413</sup>

At Deir el-Medina, the artists known to have worked on coffins were draftsmen, (*sš.w qd.w*), scribes (*sš.w*), carpenters (*ḥmw.w*) and various other workmen.<sup>414</sup> Their role in coffin construction was not limited to the specialization denoted by their title, and Cooney notes several instances where carpenters painted coffins. The higher-ranked scribes and draftsmen, however, seem to limit themselves to decoration and inscription. These workers were part of the Theban royal workshop and were paid and organized to work on the royal tombs in the Valley of the Kings and presumably on the funerary furniture of the royal family. Other workshops existed, but these were also attached to state institutions and temples. The work of the artisans for the god or for the royal family might have given them renown, access to commissions, and access to sources where they could procure supplies.<sup>415</sup> However, when these artists built funerary furniture for private citizens, they worked in “informal workshops”, outside of the official channels of the state or temple hierarchy.<sup>416</sup> They built the coffin with their own pooled resources, which were supplemented by materials provided by the buyer. Occasionally, they may have built generic coffins for sale on the open market, perhaps with leftover materials.<sup>417</sup>

The workers of Deir el-Medina must have been highly sought-after because they were the artists who produced furniture, funerary equipment, and tombs for the royal family. This exclusivity, however, raises the question of whether their “informal workshops” might have been a special case. Hence, uniquely high demand for their labor might have forced these

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<sup>411</sup> For a discussion of this and a list of tomb scenes showing the construction of funerary goods, see Maria Cannata, *Three Hundred Years of Death: The Egyptian Funerary Industry in the Ptolemaic Period*, Culture and History of the Ancient Near East, volume 110 (Boston: Brill, 2020), pp. 279, especially note 4., Her conclusion that there was probably not an industry devoted exclusively to funerary furniture is supported by the Deir el-Medina ostraca. One Deir el-Medina ostrakon (O. Varille 13) tallies the cost for work on house alongside a line-item for a coffin. Another (O. DeM 146) notes the amount owed for the construction of a bed and a statue as well as a coffin (Kathlyn M. Cooney, *The Cost of Death*, pp. 144–45.)

<sup>412</sup> Kathlyn M. Cooney, *The Cost of Death*, pp. 161–62.

<sup>413</sup> Kathlyn M. Cooney, *The Cost of Death*, pp. 149–51.

<sup>414</sup> Cooney also mentions head foremen (*ḥ.w m is.t*), and generic “crew members” (*ḥmṯ is.t*). These titles are specific to Deir el-Medina, so will not be discussed further here. For the titles and functions of coffin craftsmen as revealed by the textual evidence from Deir el-Medina, see Kathlyn M. Cooney, *The Cost of Death*, pp. 134–41.

<sup>415</sup> Kathlyn M. Cooney, *The Cost of Death*, p. 134,147-149.

<sup>416</sup> Cooney uses the term “informal workshops” on the basis that referring to it this unofficial work as moonlighting minimizes the amount of wealth it generated for the workers in comparison with their official work. Kathlyn M. Cooney, *The Cost of Death*, p. 144.

<sup>417</sup> Kathlyn M. Cooney, *The Cost of Death*, pp. 172–73.

particular artisans into these "informal workshops." The Deir el-Medina archives hint at the existence of other workshops by not mentioning them--there are large groups of funerary equipment such as stelae and faience and these had to have been created somewhere.<sup>418</sup> Since we don't have any comparable corpuses of texts dealing with other workshops, not much can be said about them except to suppose their existence. We are also frustratingly in the dark as to what happened to state run workshops after the collapse of the New Kingdom state and its subsequent fragmentation.

Taylor suggests that a similar system of informal workshops might have been in place in Thebes in the 25<sup>th</sup> and 26<sup>th</sup> dynasties. He bases this assertion on the observation of paleographical similarities between the coffins belonging to people from the highly ranked families of the Priests of Montu and those belonging to lower-ranking temple staff. Though these similarities are not elaborated upon, he proposes that the same scribes and artists worked for a range of customers. He also argues that there is no evidence that generic, unsold coffins were produced.<sup>419</sup>

A system like Cooney's where a coffin was created by artists who came together on the commission of the coffin, and who executed their parts of the decoration independently and sequentially might explain the similarities in these coffins from disparate social groups. However, most of the coffins discussed still belong to members of the Theban priesthood and their families. Taylor's observations do not exclude the existence of an official workshop catering to the disparate ranks of this clergy. There is nothing that would have prevented artists in such an official workshop from working sequentially and independently on a coffin. Furthermore, we have no additional textual or archaeological evidence pertaining to Theban coffin workshops in Thebes during the Nubian or Saite periods which might bolster evidence obtained through art historical analysis of the coffins themselves. So, how much the system that created these Nubian and Saite period pieces actually resembled the system in Ramesside Deir el-Medina is a subject upon which we can only speculate.

There is also little evidence for coffin workshops, or workshops for the production of any funerary goods, during the Ptolemaic period. Drawing from administrative and legal documents in which Choacytes (*wšḥ.w-mw*) and Ritualists (*ḥry.w-ḥb*) receive payments and raw materials for the embalming of the dead, Cannata proposes a system of distributed work similar to Cooney's but with different actors. In her understanding, the Choacyte or Ritualist assumed the role of the family's agent on behalf of the deceased, and the goods from the burial were fabricated through his or her network of contacts. The family of the deceased and the institutions to which that family belonged paid for the good burial of the dead and provided some of the raw materials needed. The rest were sourced by the agent or the artisans with the resulting expenses being billed back to the family.<sup>420</sup> The cartonnages and coffins were probably fabricated in the home workshops of the plasterers and carpenters. Though we have few records of either of these types of artisans, it's likely that neither of them would have

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<sup>418</sup> Kathlyn M. Cooney, *The Cost of Death*, pp. 153–54.

<sup>419</sup> Taylor, 'Evidence for Social Patterning on Theban Coffins of Dynasty 25'.

<sup>420</sup> Cannata, *Three Hundred Years of Death*, pp. 292–95.

specialized in funerary goods.<sup>421</sup> The coffins and cartonnages they created were then taken elsewhere for decoration.

Some coffins and cartonnages may have been painted in temple workshops.<sup>422</sup> There is also some evidence for travelling painters and gilders who set up temporary workshops. The tax documents from two of these artists are known and attest that they were given permission to work on funerary objects.<sup>423</sup> However, Cannata proposes that most funerary items, including coffins, cartonnages overlays and masks, were actually taken to the place of embalming in the necropolis to be decorated. We know from contemporary instructions for the wrapping of the mummy that the ritualist drew figures and inscribed texts on the bandages during the wrapping process. Perhaps these ritualists were involved in coffin decoration, or perhaps painters attached to other institutions supplemented their income through temporary work in the necropoleis, decorating coffins and cartonnage overlays.<sup>424</sup>

In summary, there is little that can be said with certainty about the identity, whereabouts, and organization of coffin and cartonnage manufacturers at any point in the first millennium BCE. It seems that there were no specialized funerary workshops, but instead *ad-hoc* “informal workshops” which came into being on the commission of a coffin. Coffin fabrication and decoration took place sequentially and independently, probably in different places. Sometimes the intended owner, but usually the family of the deceased, would arrange for the manufacture of burial equipment through an agent, whom they would pay and perhaps provision with raw materials for construction. In the Third Intermediate Period, this agent may have been an artisan with whom the elite owner had contact, as was the case in Deir el-Medina in the late New Kingdom. In the Saite and Late Periods, this role may have been assumed by Choacytes or Lector Priests as it apparently was in the Ptolemaic period.

Wooden coffins and the cartonnage overlays popular in the Ptolemaic period might have been created in household workshops by carpenters and plasterers. Third Intermediate Period cartonnages, as well as some mud coffins made for the lower strata of society<sup>425</sup> may have been manufactured with the deceased inside. These, as well as the wooden bivalve coffins that followed them in the Nubian and Saite Periods were at least partially painted with the deceased inside. It seems likely that they were decorated either in the temple or in the place of embalming since it probably would not have been practical or desirable (from the point of view of the family of the deceased) to transport a body between household workshops of various artisans. Thus, long before the Ptolemaic period, the artists who decorated and inscribed

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<sup>421</sup> Cannata, *Three Hundred Years of Death*, pp. 281–82.

<sup>422</sup> For a proposal that a workshop attached to a temple at Tebtunis and dating to the Ptolemaic period might have created funerary goods, see Maria Cannata, ‘Funerary Artists: The Textual Evidence’, in *The Oxford Handbook of Roman Egypt*, ed. by Christina Riggs, Oxford Handbooks in Archaeology, 1st ed (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), pp. 597–612 (p. 601). Elias also proposes that all coffins were painted in the temple. As evidence, he cites the fact that holders of the title “craftsman” (*hmmw.w*) in the genealogies of several Theban coffin owners also had low-ranking priestly titles such as *it-ntr* and *w<sup>c</sup>b*. Elias, ‘Coffin Inscription in Egypt After the New Kingdom: A Study of Text Production and Use’, pp. 852–59. However, in my view, this in itself says little about the place of coffin production.

<sup>423</sup> Cannata, *Three Hundred Years of Death*, pp. 287–92.

<sup>424</sup> Cannata, *Three Hundred Years of Death*, pp. 287–92.

<sup>425</sup> Lisa L. Giddy, *The Anubieion of Saqqara II: The Cemeteries*, Excavation Memoirs, 56 (London: Egyptian Exploration Society, 1997), p. 89.



cartonnages and coffins may have worked in the necropolis for the duration of their commission,<sup>426</sup> after which, they may have returned to their official jobs as craftsmen in temple or state workshops, or, in the Ptolemaic period, as itinerant artists for hire. They probably did not limit themselves to decorating or manufacturing funerary goods, but instead applied their skills to goods for the temple and for the everyday use of the elite.

Though the idea that the coffin painters and scribes might have worked in the necropolis is tantalizing, there is little archaeological evidence for it. Part of the problem is that the evidence that exists is very fragmentary and ambiguous. Coffin fragments at the newly discovered embalming facility among the Sarcophagus-Tombs at Saqqara might be considered evidence that coffins were painted at the site. Then again, perhaps they were simply the by-products of looting in the associated catacombs below.<sup>427</sup> If they do represent artifacts originating at the embalming facility, they could be evidence that coffins were painted there, or that the pieces were brought there from elsewhere.

Evidence from embalming caches is also ambiguous. Embalming caches sometimes contain coffins but are conspicuously free of painting material.<sup>428</sup> Some of the coffins often seem to have been made explicitly for the purpose of burying material made sacred by contact with the effluence from the mummification of an important person, and it may simply not have been considered appropriate to include painting material in the ensemble. The necropoleis were not only places of the dead, but also of the living—this much is clear from the aforementioned Saqqara mummification workshop, with its associated in-house catacomb. It is also clear from the textual records of choacyles fighting over necropolis real-estate. Whether it might also have been a place where objects for burial were decorated remains speculative.<sup>429</sup>

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<sup>426</sup>This is contra Elias, who uses the following passage in Herodotus' Persian Wars 2.86 to argue that the coffin was manufactured outside of the place of embalming. "[The embalmers, after embalming the body] give the dead man back to his friends. These make a hollow wooden figure, like a man, in which they enclose the corpse, shut it up, and preserve it safe in a coffin-chamber, placed erect against a wall". Neither Herodotus or Elias comments on the probable division of labor between manufacturing the coffin and decorating it, which could have taken place in different places. Elias, 'Coffin Inscription in Egypt after the New Kingdom: A Study of Text Production and Use in Elite Mortuary Preparation', n. 14; Herodotus, I, p. 373.

<sup>427</sup>Ramadan B Hussein, 'The Saqqara Saite Tombs Project', in *Guardian of Ancient Egypt: Studies in Honor of Zahi Hawass*, ed. by Janice Kamrin and others, 2 vols (Prague: Charles University, 2020), II, 627–82 (p. 650).

<sup>428</sup>David Aston and others, 'The Saqqara Embalmers' Caches Reconsidered: Typology and Chronology', in *Under the Potter's Tree: Studies on Ancient Egypt Presented to Janine Bourriau on Her 70th Birthday*, *Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta (OLA)*, 204 (2011: Peeters, Leuven), pp. 45–74; Julia Budka, 'Deponierungen von Balsamierungsmaterial und Topfnester in spätzeitlichen Theben (Ägypten)', in *Archäologie und Ritual. Auf der Suche nach der rituellen Handlung in den antiken Kulturen Ägyptens und Griechenlands*, ed. by Joannis Mylonopoulos and Hubert Roeder (Wien, 2006).

<sup>429</sup>For the sake of completeness, I should mention that a deliberate burial of painter's tools was found in association with a chapel with an embedded stela dating to the 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty. Daniel Polz, 'An Egyptian Painter's Utensils from Dra' Abu El-Naga', *Egyptian Archaeology*, 10 (1997), 34–35. Polz feels that this is proof that the stela was painted on site and that the tools were considered sacred and had to be respectfully interned in a manner analogous to the way embalming materials were buried in embalming caches. The author mentioned that this find was not unique but gave no bibliography. It is, anyway, too early to be of much use here. The coffins found in the KV63 embalming cache are intriguing because some are unfinished, and they show that those making the cache had access to both embalming material and unfinished coffins. They are, however, problematic because of their association with the Amarna period and they also predate the material for this study by several hundred years. Rogério Sousa, 'Coffins without Mummies: The Tomb KV63 in the Valley of the Kings', in *Body, Cosmos and*

Regardless of where they actually painted funerary goods, the funerary artists of Akhmim may have been associated with the Min temple since the elite of the city would have derived their authority from this temple rather than any royal presence. In the following chapters, coffins which can be tied to Akhmim and dated between the 21<sup>st</sup> dynasty and the 30th will be examined with the purpose of isolating and characterizing the work of scribes and draftsmen. Whether these craftsmen worked together in a formal or informal basis will be examined, along with which artists worked together and how they might have copied from source material.

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*Eternity: New Research Trends in the Iconography and Symbolism of Ancient Egyptian Coffins ; [in February 2013, the Symposium Body, Cosmos and Eternity: The Symbolism of Coffins in Ancient Egypt Convened at the Historical Building of the University of Porto ...],* ed. by Rogério Sousa, *Archaeopress Egyptology*, 3 (presented at the Symposium Body, Cosmos and Eternity: the Symbolism of Coffins in Ancient Egypt, Oxford: Archaeopress, 2014), pp. 197–203.

## Part II

### Yellow-Type Coffins

Yellow coffins from Akhmim probably represent a continuation of the New Kingdom tradition, though no examples of New Kingdom coffins from Akhmim have survived (or been recognized as such). Akhmim coffins from the early Third Intermediate Period look very much like their Theban counterparts and have often been mistaken for them.<sup>430</sup> Both coffins feature decoration on a yellow ground, and a layout with a central column of text. The sides of the lid are divided into roughly square cells containing vignettes. The collar gets larger and the decoration gets busier over the course of the dynasty.

However, when viewed side by side, Akhmim coffins look subtly different than their Theban counterparts. The goal of this section is to examine these pieces in detail ascertain how many artists and scribes worked on each piece, group pieces by like artists, and to define design patterns for similar-appearing coffins. The result will not only be that we can clarify and enumerate the differences between Akhmim and Theban styles of the early Third Intermediate Period, but that we will have an idea of which artists were producing like products--ie, were part of the same workshop.

The section begins with detailed analysis of those coffins with the most certain provenience. These are supplemented in the concluding analysis brief discussions of unprovenienced pieces that can be assigned to the same artists and design patterns.

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<sup>430</sup> See above, p 40

## Coffin of Khui-Ipuy

### Overview

The coffin of Khuy-ipuy is located in the Rosicrucian Egyptian Museum in San Jose California. In modern times, it was cut into at least twelve pieces along the decorative borders and inscriptions that separate the vignettes painted on its surface. The lid, which was made from various small pieces of wood pegged together, has since fallen into more pieces along the lines of construction. Some of the pieces have accession numbers: RC 609, RC 599, RC 612, RC 613, RC 614, RC 616. No number is provided for the remaining 6 pieces, and so I've assigned numbers to them for ease of reference, and these are shown in Figure 18.<sup>431</sup> The Rosicrucian museum has most of the body of the coffin, but the head and foot of both the lid and basin are not on display and may be in museum storage.

The piece was originally collected by Rev. Dr. Charles Edward Moldenke, an Egyptologist and Lutheran minister who lived in New York in the last decades of the 19th century. Where and when he obtained the coffin fragments is unknown, though he was in Strassbourg earning his PhD in 1884, the year when several similar coffins were apparently found at Akhmim and subsequently entered the European art market.<sup>432</sup> Upon his death, his collection was dispersed to several institutions by his son.<sup>433</sup> The material in the Rosicrucian Museum was donated in 1940. Aside from a brief mention in the Rosicrucian Museum's catalogue,<sup>434</sup> the coffin is unpublished, and the texts are fully translated here in Appendix 3.

The owner of the coffin was a Draftsman of the House of Min (*sš-*qd.w n pr Mnw**)<sup>435</sup> named Khui-ipuy (*ḥw-wi-*ipw.y**)<sup>436</sup>. The damaged central inscription of the coffin names his father (*[.]s.t*) who was a scribe in the House of Life (*sš pr *cnḥ**), and his grandfather, whose

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<sup>431</sup> Note that the numbers in the display labels, the numbers on the museum website, and the numbers in the internal museum database do not always correspond with each other. For example, Fragment 2 is given the number RC 612 on the website of the museum, but this number is given to Fragment 5 in the internal database record. Furthermore, there did not seem to be an internal database record for all of the fragments on display. Because of this, I've assigned numbers to the pieces, providing where possible, the correspondence between my number and the number from the internal database.

<sup>432</sup> Péter László, Petronella Kovács, and Edith Varga, 'Le Cercueil d'un Prêtre d'Isis Dans Une Collection d'antiques En Hongrie', *Bulletin de Musee Hongrois Des Beaux Arts*, 68–69 (1987).

<sup>433</sup> Some of the manuscripts from his collection went to the OIM: Foy Scalf, 'What Is the Book of the Dead', in *Book of the Dead: Becoming a God in Ancient Egypt*, ed. by Foy Scalf, Oriental Institute Museum Publications, 39 (Chicago: Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 2017), p. 24.

<sup>434</sup> Lisa Schwappach-Schirriff, *Treasures of the Rosicrucian Egyptian Museum: A Catalogue* (San Jose: Grand Lodge of the English Language Jurisdiction, AMORC Inc., 2003).

<sup>435</sup> The title "Draftsman" is not attested in Gauthier, though other artisans were: Henri Gauthier, *Le Personnel du Dieu Min*, *Recherches d'Archéologie de Philologie et d'Histoire*, 3 (Cairo: Imprimerie de L'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, 1931), pp. 103–4. For the title "Scribe in the House of Life" appearing at Akhmim in the Ptolemaic period, see: Gauthier, *Le Personnel du Dieu Min*, pp. 99–100.

<sup>436</sup> The name is difficult to parse because of possible honorific transposition and because it is written in an abbreviated fashion. It could be either *ḥw-(wi)-ipw.y* or *ipw.y-ḥw*z*i*, "The one of Ipu (ie, Min) protects me" or "The one of Ipu is my protection". Neither name is in PN, but parallels exist for the former. See especially, the name Khui-Psamtik, Hermann Ranke, *Die Ägyptische Personennamen*, 3 vols (Glückstadt: J. J. Augustin, 1935), I, pp. 266, No. 5. For the use of the epithet *ipw.y* (The one of Ipu) to describe Min, see Christian Leitz, *Lexikon Der Ägyptischen Götter unter Götterbezeichnungen*, *Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta (OLA)*, 110–116 (Leuven: Peeters, 2002), I–VII, vol. 1, p. 221.

name is lost, but who was also a scribe (*sš [...]*). Fragment 7 of the coffin also depicts Khui-ipuy's wife, who was the Lady of the House Nedjem-aset (*nb.t pr ndm.t-3s.t*). Khui-ipuy and his wife probably lived and died in the first half of the 21st dynasty, with their ancestors serving in the Akhmim temples under the last kings of the New Kingdom.<sup>437</sup>

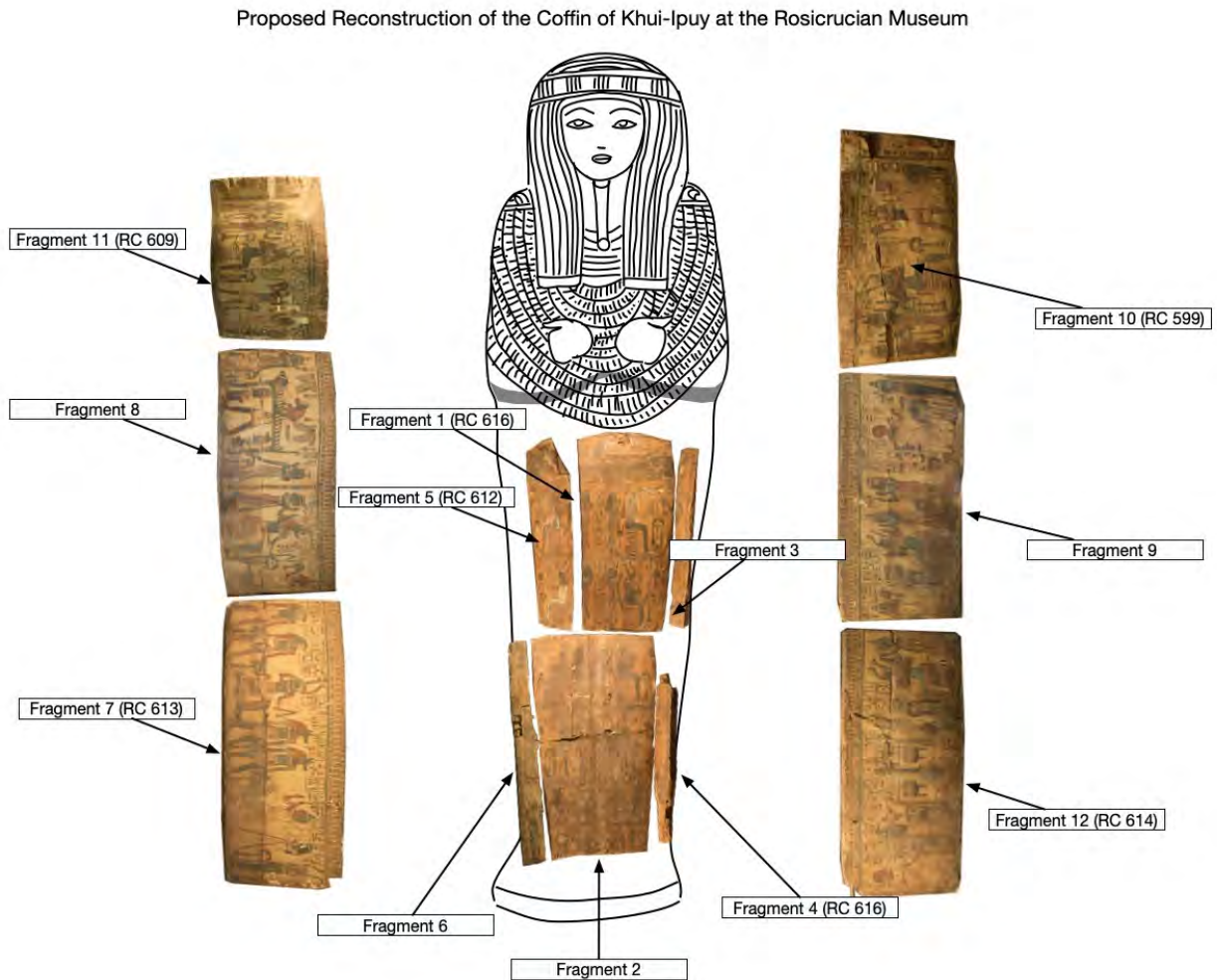


Figure 18: Reconstruction of the coffin of Khui-Ipuy at the Rosicrucian Museum

<sup>437</sup> This dating is based on the similarity with the coffin of Sesekhnofru, which has been carbon-dated to the beginning of Dynasty 21, and the very close similarity with the coffin of Knumsanapehsu, (Berlin ÄS 8505), which Bettum dates stylistically to the mid 21st. Mogens Jørgensen, *Egypt III: Coffins, Mummy Adornments and Mummies from the Third Intermediate, Late, Ptolemaic and the Roman Periods (1080 BC - AD 400)*, Catalogue / Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek (Copenhagen: Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, 2001), p. 56; Bettum, 'Faces Within Faces: The Symbolic Function of Nested Yellow Coffins in Ancient Egypt', p. 189.





Figure 19: Vignette regions on the lid and basin of the coffin of Khui-Ipuy. Photographs by author and used courtesy of the Rosicrucian Egyptian Museum.

## Description of the Iconography

The vignettes on the coffin are laid out according to the design pattern prevalent at Thebes in the first half of the 21st dynasty, that is, the coffin depicts the deceased as a divinized mummy (*s<sup>c</sup>h*), and the vignettes on the sides have architectonic elements (See above, p 9). These last are understated on this coffin, consisting primarily of the frieze of cobras running along the perimeter of the lip of the basin, which indicate that the vignettes on the sides should be interpreted as taking place in a sacred building. While the coffin resembles Theban pieces in its layout, a closer look reveals that an important symbolic element is missing here. On Theban pieces, bands of text separate the vignettes on the basin and the sides. Historically, the vignette spaces 'evolved' from the squares created between painted crisscrossing wrappings on the lid. Here, that link with the coffins of the New Kingdom is severed. The result is that the symbolism of painted mummy-bandages on the lid, which invoke the idea of the deceased as a divinized mummy is lost. The vignettes on the lid and basin are divided by simple strips of block pattern, and these strips do not extend onto the basin from the lid as the bands of text on early 21st Dynasty Theban pieces often do.

Most of the vignettes fall into three broad categories. The first category focuses on the relationship between Horus and his father as expressed in scenes where Horus pours libations before his Osiris and Isis while the deceased looks on in reverence. This scene occurs at the level of the shoulders on both sides of the basin (Scenes O and K), and on the first register of vignettes mirrored around the central column of the lid (Register A). These scenes are similar in focus but have small differences and additions, especially at the peripheries of the scene. In Scene K, for example, a mummiform jackal-headed deity stands behind the deceased. In scene O, this space is occupied by a mummiform falcon headed deity. These are likely sons of Horus, but their presence in such a scene is unparalleled.

The second set of scenes involves the relationship between the deceased and various deities and their spouses. In these scenes, the deceased, usually shaven and in the garb of a priest<sup>438</sup> pours a libation from a spouted *nms.t* vase over an offering table loaded with greenery for the benefit of a seated god and his spouse. In most scenes, the deities are Osiris and Isis (Scenes M and B) but other recipients of the attentions of the deceased are interesting: In the mirrored register E, the recipients are Ptah and the Lady of the Sycamore, with Anubis and Nephthys in the opposing image. A heavily decorated, crowned Abydos fetish is the object of the libation in both scenes of register F on the lid--Isis and Nephthys stand behind the mirrored fetishes, holding their hands to their mouths in gestures of mourning.

A third category of vignettes deals with the funeral of the deceased. A scene at the level of the waist on the right side depicts the mummification of the deceased as Osiris (Scene J). He lays on an animal-legged bier, wrapped in striped blue and white bandages as Anubis leans over him in care. Canopic jars are positioned next to each other beneath the bier, and Isis and Nephthys stand to each side in gestures of mourning. Scene N would have occupied the same spot on the opposite side of the basin. In it, the head lector priest reads a condensed Opening of the Mouth formula from a papyrus in his hands before a standing coffin and two loaded

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<sup>438</sup> The exception is scene M on Fragment 9 of the left side of the basin, where the deceased pours libation before Osiris, Isis, and Neith while wearing his wig and funerary cone.

offering tables. The damaged narrow striped building behind the deceased may be either the tomb or the place of embalming.

In Scene L, on the left lower legs of the basin, the heart of the deceased is weighed against a small crouching figure of the goddess Maat. Crouching beneath the scale, operating it is a crouching falcon-headed figure named "Horus, the Keeper of the Scales" in the accompanying texts. A tiny, crouched baboon perches atop the scales, and Thoth in his ibis-headed form records the results, standing between the deceased and the scale. The timeline of events is condensed into one scene here as is usual for this scene on coffins from Thebes: while Horus seems busy with the weighing, the text announces that the deceased has passed the judgement and proclaims that his heart ought to be returned to him and his offerings doubled. Indeed, he seems both to anticipate the judgement and to have already passed it, with his offering table already placed before him and his heart hanging from his neck by a necklace chain. The dog-like Ammit with a protruding tongue who crouches before the throne of Osiris is frozen in both anticipation and disappointment.

Two scenes do not fit into any of the above categories. The first is the mirrored register G at the shins of the coffin on the lid. This is a complex scene involving mirrored images of a crowned ram with a collar, cloak, and flail, walking away from the central column upon a large red standard. This ram is probably the Ba of Osiris and occurs on many Theban coffins.<sup>439</sup> Beneath him on both sides are two mummiform, animal headed deities and their respective offering stands. These are the sons of Horus. At the edge of each of the mirrored scene, looking inward, is mummiform figure of Osiris, who looks towards the center of the scene.

The other scene, H, features a falcon-headed deity being carried in a sedan chair by two falcon-headed and two jackal-headed deities. The deceased and his wife watch and make gestures of reverence. Behind them is a mummiform falcon-headed deity wearing an *Atef* crown. The significance of this scene, or the ritual is a mystery because I was unable to find any parallels for it. The text is an offering formula to Geb, the sovereign of the gods, and presumably the figure in the sedan chair is Geb. Because the parallel vignette on the other side of the basin deals with the weighing of the heart, it is possible that this scene is related to the funerary ritual, but it is to be hoped that future research will find parallels and illuminate the specific function of this scene.

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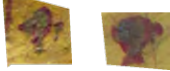




























<sup>439</sup> For example, Mummy cover C4771c in Oslo, described by Anders Bettum, 'Death as an Eternal Process: A Case Study of a 21st Dynasty at the University Museum of Cultural Heritage in Oslo' (University of Oslo, 2004), p. 84.






































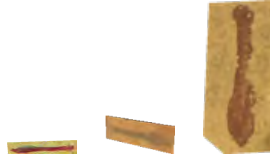








Register A	Register B	Register C	Register E
Horus son of Isis pours libations for Isis and Osiris on both sides of the central column.	Left side and Right side: the deceased pours libations in front of Isis and Osiris.	Top register, Crouching, right facing Nut spreads her wings out and holds an ankh in one hand and a plume in the other. Under each wing is a snake with an atef crown, moving outwards.	On the left side of the central column, the deceased pours libations before an enthroned Ptah and the Lady of the Sycamore. On the right side, he pours libations before Anubis and Nephthys.
Register F	Register G	Vignette H	Vignette I
On the right, the deceased pours libations before an Abydos fetish. Behind it is Nephthys. On the left, the deceased pours libations before another Abydos Fetish. This one has Isis behind it.	On the left and right sides of the central column is a striding ram on a standard with a plumed crown, crook and flail, and patterned saddle-blanket. He walks away from the column. Under his standard on each side are two different sons of Horus, mummiform, before an offering tables. On the far edge of both sides is a mummiform figure of Osiris, who faces the ram.	Four jackal and falcon headed deity carry a falcon headed deity wearing an Atef crown in a sedan chair. The deceased and his wife stand in adoration. Behind them is a falcon-headed mummiform deity.	Deceased pours libations before Anubis and an unnamed goddess.
Vignette J	Vignette K	Vignette L	Vignette M
Anubis wraps the mummy of the deceased, who lies on a lion-shaped bed. Beneath the bed are four canopic jars with animal-headed stoppers. To the right and the left of the bier stand Isis and Nephthys, mourning. Overhead are winged wedjat eyes.	Horus who protects his father pours libations before Osiris, Neith, and Isis. The deceased looks on in adoration behind Horus. A standing mummiform jackal figure is behind him.	The deceased stands on the far left with his heart in his hand. In front of him is Thoth, writing the result of the weighing, which is done by Horus. Ammit looks on from the other side of the scale. Osiris is enthroned on a dais with an offering table. Isis is behind him.	Deceased pours libations in front of Osiris, Isis, and Neith.
Vignette N	Vignette O		
The Chief Ritualist reads a scroll before the coffined mummy of Khuy-Ipuy. A pile of offerings is between them. The text is an abridged Opening of the Mouth formula. A striped tomb or tent stands behind the coffin.	Horus who Protects his Father pours a libation for Osiris, Isis, and Nephthys. The deceased looks on in adoration.		



















# Paleography

## Paleography:RC:RosicrucianFragments

GardinerSign	Sample	GardinerSign	Sample
			
A1		A2	
			
A23		A3	
			
A4		A52	
			
B1		C6	
			
D1		D2	
			
D4		D28	
			
D36		D37	
			
D4		D43	
			
D46		D5	
			
D58		D6	
			
E1		F1	
			
F4		F13	

GardinerSign	Sample	GardinerSign	Sample
F18		F23	
F34		F35	
G1		G5	
G6		G14	
G28		G38	
G4		G42	
G43		G45	
H6		H8	
I9		I11	
M2		M3	
M12		M17	

GardinerSign	Sample	GardinerSign	Sample
			
			
			
			
			
			
			
			
			
			
			

GardinerSign	Sample	GardinerSign	Sample
𐎠		𐎡	
R7		R8	
𐎢		𐎣	
R24		S29	
𐎤		𐎥	
S34		S37	
𐎦		𐎧	
S38		S43	
𐎩		𐎪	
T1		T12	
𐎬		𐎭	
T19		T22	
𐎮		𐎯	
T28		U21	
𐎱		𐎲	
U28		U33	
𐎴𐎵		𐎶	
U38		V25	

## Number of Draftsmen

All the vignettes on the coffin of Khui-ipyu were probably drafted and outlined by the same artist. This is most clearly demonstrated by the animal headed deities, specifically the falcon and jackal-headed deities. The jackal-headed deities have slightly upturned noses, and their muzzles are held high. They stretch their necks, which sometimes form a concave arc from bottom of the chin to the base of the neck. The chin is often indicated by a slight corner. Their mouths are turned downward and almost bisect the muzzle. Their eyes are large and widely opened, with a small, thin cosmetic line. Their ears are short and conical, with only a slight curve at in the base of the ear at the far edge. The line of the ear continues behind the eye, sometimes ending on the animal's cheek. The curve of the god's wig is continued in a separate line.



Vignette H

Vignette J

Vignette E

Vignette K

*Figure 20 Assorted Jackals from the coffin of Khui-ipyu*

As Figure 20 shows, these features are carried across vignettes on the basin and the lid. The mummiform jackal-headed deity in Vignette K might seem the odd one out because his left ear is drawn as if it is on the far side of his head, and his muzzle is not tilted upward, but he shares the upturned nose, chin-line, large eye, and downturned mouth as the others, so we may assume that the artist made a mistake when applying colour to this figure and when drawing the final black outline.

The falcon headed deities are carefully drawn, with a long, slightly swollen neckline running from the collar to the bottom of the beak, which has a sharp end. There is a slight notch above the beak for a nose hole. The eyes are solid black circles, and the distinctive eye-markings run almost completely around the eye in a C-shape. The long 'eyelash' runs around the back of the cheek, and the slanted ticks on its upper surface are carefully rendered. Though the artist outlining the beak in vignette H used a little too much water in his black ink, the vignette shares the above features with that in Vignette K, indicating that the two vignettes were probably drafted by the same person, despite the odd appearance of vignette K's mummiform jackal (Figure 21).



Vignette K



Vignette H

Figure 21 Assorted falcon-headed deities from the coffin of Khui-ipy

The animal headed deities are consistently drawn in almost all of the vignettes, though smaller renditions lose some detail--the canopic jar lid representing Duamutef, (Figure 22) for example lacks a mouth but has the same head-shape as the other jackal-headed figures. These similarities tie together the vignettes, and unless we want to consider that different figures in a single vignette might be drafted by a different artist, which seems unlikely, we must conclude that all of the vignettes on the coffin were drafted by the same person.



Figure 22

Duamutef canopic jar

How then to characterize this person's work? Aside from the above-mentioned jackal and falcon-headed figures, the faces of the human figures seem to be drawn differently based on what type of figure is being portrayed.

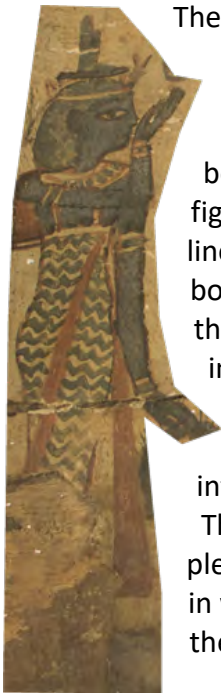


Figure 23 Isis, from vignette J

The deceased as a priest and the chief lector priest both have the characteristic shaven head, but, like the jackal-headed deity, they have large, widely opened eyes. The chin is pointed at a right angle, and the nose only protrudes a little from the line of the face. It is slightly upturned. The line between the tip of the nose and the philtrum is rendered differently on different figures. On the goddesses, the line is almost perpendicular to the bridge, and the line between the chin and the philtrum is long, giving the faces of the goddesses a boxy appearance (Figure 23). On the figures of the priests, the line is drawn straight to the opening of the mouth, and there is no philtrum at all. The mouth is often indicated by a short, straight line, and in the elegantly drawn figure of the deceased's wife, as a dot. Excepting the figure of this lady whose ears are covered by her wig, the ears are large relative to the face, and tall, and their interior lines are drawn.

The human figures wear the expected Ramesside festal garments, with billowing pleated sleeves. The male gods wear the usual kilts unless they are mummiform, in which case

they have a colored sash tied around their waist and hanging to their ankles.

These are all appropriate styles for the depictions of gods and humans in the late Ramesside period and the 21st dynasty and appear on contemporary Theban coffins as well. The following details, however, seem unusual. All the



male gods have a blue ornament hanging from their belts, and this ornament is shaped like an upside down "T" or a partial *Tjet* sign.

The drawing of the goddesses is distinctive. The insides of their sheath dresses are sometimes filled with red paint, but more often, they are intricately patterned, with red hatching and dots representing beads. Some goddesses have dresses filled with a pattern of wavy blue lines (Figure 23). The goddesses generally have long flowing red or blue sashes, which flutter out from their bodies on both sides. They wear tripartite or bag wigs with fillets and an uraeus at the brow. The uraeus always has horns and a sun-disk.

A few other elements of iconography seem unusual and deserve comment (Figure 24). The representations of the Abydos fetish in Vignette F have a long beaded fringe along the bottom. The offering tables have the much-discussed "greenery and tips"<sup>440</sup> design, where greenery is draped over jars on the table, and its tips fall off of the edges of the table, forming dangling points. The funerary cones worn by the deceased and his wife are also distinctive.<sup>441</sup> They are stylized with green tops and bases, and a ground-colored stripe on the bottom third. Number of Scribes

The inscription also seems to have been drafted by one person. The Inscription on this



Figure 24: Distinctive iconographical elements: a) Abydos Fetish, b) Offering Table, c) Funerary cone

coffin is polychrome, drawn in red, with details in green, and blue. The forms of the glyphs are uniform in all the colored inscriptions on the coffin. There are a few variations in sign form, mostly strikingly, the scribal palette (Y3) which can be drawn with either a diagonal strap connecting the pen and the water-pot, or two horizontal ones. The hand-sign (D46) can be drawn as a hand with a short thumb or as a straight line with a long parallel line forking from it

<sup>440</sup> van Walsem; Niwiński, 'The 21st Dynasty Coffins of a Non-Theban Origin, a "Family" for the Vatican Coffin of Anet'. Niwinski uses the term "greenery with tips" to describe the way the offering table is drawn, and I follow that here.

<sup>441</sup> The cones are significantly different than those in Taylor's typology of funerary cones. Taylor, 'Theban Coffins from the Twenty-Second to the Twenty-Sixth Dynasty: Dating and Synthesis of Development', p. 101.



at one end. Finally, the seated man glyph (A40) sometimes has a distinct head and beard, and sometimes has the head and beard drawn as one long curving stroke.

There is an area where the second variant of each of these signs occur together. This area, at the periphery of Register B on the lid is distinctive, because it contains the only captions on the coffin that are not written in polychrome glyphs, but simply drawn in black paint. The fact that the variants occur together here and the color of the writing changes might be an indicator that here we are dealing with a second scribe, and indeed, the *mdw* sign (S43) in this inscription, which is drawn with a long teardrop shape, is unique over the whole coffin.

However, each of the variants, the palette with two straps, the sketchy hand formed from two lines, and the long-bearded man occur elsewhere on the coffin in the polychrome inscription. In fact, in the polychrome inscription, they are coincident with one of the other variants of the abovementioned signs. For example, the two-line hand occurs next to the scribal palette with the diagonal line in vignette I, and the long-bearded deity occurs in one of the captions in vignette H. A line away, in the next caption, we again see the palette with the diagonal strap.

The conclusion that must be drawn here is that the black inscription was written by the same scribe who drafted the polychrome inscriptions, and that the coincidence of these variants is just that--a coincidence. As for the *mdw* staff sign, a comparison between the variant in the black caption and the ones on the rest of the coffin reveal that the difference between them is two dots on either side of the thick bottom, which the scribe seems to have forgotten in the black caption.

We can characterize the work of this scribe as being very careful, with fine detail in the human and animal figures, most notably in the bull figure (E1) which occurs both in the central inscription and in Vignette H. There are several word and sign forms that are unusual and even creative. The word "bread" for example, is spelled with a form of the loaf glyph (X2) which recalls to mind the glyph for the incense burner (R7). The word *psd.t* (ennead) is spelled with a sun disk encircled by a snake (N6)--it's usually spelled with a glyph representing a half-moon (N10). Most intriguing are two signs that seem unique. In the phrase "*rdi dw3.t*" (giving praise), the triangular loaf (X8) has been altered to form the roof of a tomb-chapel before which a man raises his arms in praise (A30). The word *3b.t* (to offer) incorporates the foot glyph (D58) into (M19) instead of the standard scepter (U36). This substitution might have simply made more sense phonetically to the scribe since the foot glyph is the sound "b", and the word was abbreviated to a single character.

This particular scribe seems to have had a fondness for abbreviation, sometimes perhaps as a tool for saving space. The Opening of the Mouth formula on Fragment 9 has several words (including the aforementioned *3b.t*) that have been abbreviated with a single character. The scribe finished with space to spare. Perhaps he truncated the text or underestimated how much space he had left. He also seems to have had a knowledge of different spellings of words

In short, the coffin seems to have been the work of one scribe and one artist. We cannot conclusively tell whether this scribe and artist were the same person. Both seem to have had an eye for detail--the artist lingering especially on the dresses and headdresses of the goddesses and on the lavish accoutrements of the Abydos fetish. The scribe took particular care on the limbs of animals and people the tail-feathers of the birds. The scribe seems to have had a

creative streak in his choice of hieroglyphs, and some of his choices were made for reasons of saving space, but some, such as the spelling of *dw3-ntr* seem to have been playful.

## Coffin of Knumsanapehsu (Berlin ÄS 8505)

### Overview

The *Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung of the Staatliche Museen zu Berlin* purchased the coffin of Knumensanapehsu from Émile Brugsch in 1884, apparently with the information that it had come from Akhmim.<sup>442</sup> Its owner was an overseer of the cattle of the temple of Min (*imy-r k3.w n pr mnw*)<sup>443</sup> named Knumensanapehsu (*hnmw-n-s3-n3-ph-sw*)<sup>444</sup>--a man of 40-60 years of age who still rests in his coffin today.<sup>445</sup>

The coffin has never been fully published, but it is discussed extensively in several broader studies,<sup>446</sup> including Brech's typology of Akhmim coffins, which provides a verbal sketch of the piece's iconography.<sup>447</sup> Its texts have been transcribed in modern hieroglyphic handwriting, but not translated by Roedder.<sup>448</sup> A full translation, using Roedder to fill in passages that have become damaged since his transcription, has been included in Appendix III.

### Description of the Iconography

The coffin has a similar layout as that of Khui-ipuy (Figure 25). Like many Theban Coffins of the time, the lid depicts the deceased as a divinized mummified being, with crossed arms, clenched fists, and a large collar, upon which rests a pectoral of a winged scarab. Below the arms, a crouching figure of Nut stretches her wings over the belly of the deceased. The area below this is bisected by a vertical column, around which are reflected vignettes. Like the previously discussed coffin of Khui-ipuy, the lateral inscribed bands which are reminiscent of mummy wrappings are missing, and instead, the vignettes are bordered on the top and bottom by thin bands of block pattern which do not continue onto the basin. All architectonic elements disappear from the basin. The cobra frieze present on the coffin of Khui-ipuy is gone here, and a block pattern runs around the perimeter of the lid and the basin.

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<sup>442</sup> Adolph Erman, *Ausführliches Verzeichnis Der Ägyptischen Altertümer Und Gipsabgüsse* (Königliche Museen zu Berlin, 1899), p. 134. Erman notes that the coffin came from Akhmim despite translating the owner's titles as the overseer of the cattle of Min of Coptos. The inscriptions on the coffin don't mention Coptos, and there is no reason the Temple of Min should not be the Akhmim temple. For more information on the antics of Brugsch regarding Akhmim, see Chapter 2.

<sup>443</sup> Gauthier, *Le Personnel du Dieu Min*, p. 54. Our few examples of this title other than this one come from the New Kingdom. Notice also that Gauthier transcribes the title incorrectly, including part of Knumsanapehsu's name, thus the translation "*prépose aux boeufs du temple de Min, Osiris, et Knoumou*".

<sup>444</sup> Ranke, I, vol. I p 275 no 17, vol. II p 383.

<sup>445</sup> Renate Germer, Hannelore Kischkewitz, and Meinhard Lüning, 'Die Gräberfelder von Achmim — eine sprudelnde Geldquelle für Einheimische und Antikenhändler', in *Berliner Mumiengeschichten* (Berlin: Schnell Steiner, 2009), pp. 113–38.

<sup>446</sup> For a general catalogue entry and a discussion of the mummified body, see Germer, Kischkewitz, and Lüning, pp. 115–19. For a discussion of the dating of the piece, see Bettum, 'Faces Within Faces: The Symbolic Function of Nested Yellow Coffins in Ancient Egypt', pp. 187–91. For a discussion of the owner's social status and the origin of the piece, see above in Chapter 2, notes 120, 121

<sup>447</sup> Brech, pp. 27–29. The piece is Brech's Dok S1.

<sup>448</sup> Günther Roeder, *Ägyptische Inschriften Aus Den Staatlichen Museen Zu Berlin* (J. C. Hinrich'sche Buchshandlung, 1924), II, pp. 444–54.

The themes present in the vignettes of Khui-ipuy are present here, too. Register C on the lid and K on the basin deal with the relationship between the deceased and the god Osiris. In both scenes, the deceased raises his hands in reverence before the god, who sits before an offering table piled with jars, bread, and greens. Perhaps due to the non-priestly nature of his titles, he never actually pours libations for the god as does Khui-ipuy.



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Photographers: Sandra SteiB and Neil Crawford

Figure 25 Vignettes on the coffin of Knumsanapehsu, Berlin ÄS 8505

Instead, in vignettes he looks on in adoration or is completely absent as other gods pour the libations. "Horus who Protects his Father" pours the libation before Isis or Nephthys and Osiris in register B, and the deceased raises his hands in adoration. When "Horus son of Isis" pours water in Scene L, the deceased is completely absent. Anubis and "Horus son of Isis" in pour water before the Abydos fetish in each of the mirrored scenes in Register D. The fetish is guarded by Nephthys and Isis in the scene on the mummy's right and left respectively.<sup>449</sup>

A new officiant appears in Vignette P on the (occupant's) left hand side of the basin. Here, the deceased watches as a man with a sidelock holds out his pinky finger towards Osiris in an anointing gesture. His other hand grasps the paw of his panther-skin cloak. Though the

<sup>449</sup> The tendency to pair Nephthys and Anubis on this coffin and that of Khui-ipuy is interesting and merits further study.

caption is mostly destroyed, remnants of the title make clear that he is "Horus the lunmutef priest, son of Isis, Protector of his Father". The deceased stands separated from the triad, by a column of text, though still apparently in the same scene. He too has a table of offerings and raises his hands in reverence.

The basin of the coffin has two scenes pertaining to the funeral of the deceased. Scene Q shows the judgement of the deceased. Here as on the coffin of Khui-ipyu, the scales are balanced by "Horus, Keeper of the Scales", and the multiple time points are captured in one image. The deceased both awaits his judgement and clutches his newly restored heart. Thoth stands by to record the results, and Osiris and Isis receive the announcement that Knumsanapehsu has passed the judgement. Ammit, with her lolling tongue and bushy tail sits on her haunches before the great throne. The vignette in roughly the same place on the opposite side deals with the mummification of the deceased. Here Anubis stands in front of a bier with lion's paws and a long tail. He tends to a mummy wrapped in bandages which are striped in green and the yellow ground color, beneath which animal and human headed canopic jars stand in a row. Isis and Nephthys stand to the right and left respectively, holding both hands to their faces in a gesture of mourning. Winged wadjet eyes hover in the air. Their eyes are partially covered by their wings.

In vignette R, we have a nod to the Solar-Osirian mythology that dominates the decoration of Theban pieces--a group of two grayish jackals standing side-by-side tow the solar barque with a rope.<sup>450</sup> Three baboons, their arms raised in praise stand above the jackals, while Isis stands on the prow of the boat pouring a libation over an offering table for the "Lord of All, Father of the Gods". This falcon-headed deity sits at the center of the boat, the largest figure in the scene. Atop his head is the great red solar disk. Behind him, hand on the rudder, stands a striding falcon-headed god. He is unlabeled, but perhaps he is Horus. Emerging from the back of the boat is an undulating snake, above which is another snake, perched on a papyrus stalk. This snake is partly destroyed, but perhaps the two snakes are a separate vignette.

Aside from the solar barque scene, the coffin features several other scenes that do not appear on the coffin of Khui-ipyu. One is the aforementioned scene with the Horus, the lunmutef priest. The other is a scene at the height of the occupant's right ankle on the basin (Scene I) in which the four mummiform, animal-headed sons of Horus stand in a line, each with his own offering table.

The sons also appear in mirrored scenes in register E of the lid, here, they are placed above a register with mirrored images of a deity in a tripartite wig with an uraeus seated before an offering table. The deity is unlabeled, but it is tempting to see here a variant of the scene at the bottom of the lid of Khui-ipyu's coffin in which the four sons are compressed beneath mirrored images of a ram on a standard. The ram is likely the Ba of Osiris, and so the figure here may also be a form of Osiris. The footbox of the coffin is decorated with mourning goddesses, Isis and Nephthys, mirrored around the central column. They kneel on the sign for gold and are flipped relative to the rest of the vignettes on the lid, so that they would appear right-side up if the deceased in the coffin were to look down at his feet. Similar scenes occur on the lids of 21st

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<sup>450</sup> The jackals who tow the solar barque through the Duat are known from the Third Hour of the Amduat and from the 12th hour of the Book of the Night. Gilles Roulin, *Le Livre de La Nuit: Une Composition Égyptienne de l'au-Delà*, OBO, 147 (Friburg, 1996), pp. 331–33. .

dynasty coffins from Thebes, and the grouping of the striding ram, the four sons, and the mourning goddess on the shin and foot area of the lid seems to be traditional there, too.<sup>451</sup>

Over the head of the coffin, in Vignette N, a standing goddess with a sun-disk and a feather on her head spreads her wings. She is "Maat, the Daughter of Re who is United with Amun." She is flanked on either side by crouching jackals on shrines who face outward, clutching sekhem scepters and flails in their paws. She appears again on the right and left sides of the head on the basin of the coffin, this time spreading her wings protectively around a *djed* pillar.

On the bottom of the foot, only the lid is decorated (Vignette S) Another jackal appears, this time on a standard, He holds a flail and a sekhem scepter. Under him are more canopic jars, and before him are loaded offering tables.

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<sup>451</sup> For good examples, see the inner coffin of Nany 30.3.24a, b at the Metropolitan Museum in New York and the mummy-board of Nespawershefyt at the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge E.1.1882.















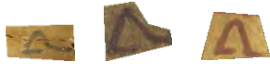







Register A	Register B	Register C	Register D	Register E
The goddess Nut spreads her wings over K.'s chest holding an ankh and a plume. Under her wings are undulating winged cobras snakes. On each side of her wings are two mummiform sons of Horus.	Viewer's left: Deceased looks on as Horus who Protects his Father pours libations to Osiris and Nephthys. Viewer's right: Horus son of Isis pours water for Osiris and Isis while deceased looks on.	Both Sides: Deceased adores Osiris and Isis.	Viewer's left: Horus son of Isis pours libations to an Abydos Fetish protected by Isis. Viewer's right: Same scene, but Anubis pours the libation and Nephthys guards the fetish.	Three sons of horus on each side, facing outward. Each faces an offering table. Imiut fetishes on the edge of each scene. Identities from center column out are: On the left, Duamutef, Hapy, Imsety. On the right: Qebehseneuf, Duamutef, and an anonymous human-headed figure with atef crown.
Register F	Register G	Vignette I	Vignette J	Vignette K
Same scene on both sides: Bearded mummiform deity enthroned carrying crook and flail. Faces center column. Behind him is a large Imiut fetish. In front of his him is an offering table.	Nephthys (viewer's left) and Isis (right) face center column and kneel on <i>nbw</i> necklaces. They hold a Shen sign in one hand raise the other in a gesture of mourning. The scene is flipped 180 degrees relative to other vignettes on lid.	The four mummiform sons of Horus with animal heads stand facing the foot end. Each has its own offering table. They are: Imsety, Hapy, Duamutef and Qebehseneuf.	Anubis mummifies the deceased standing in front of the bed on which he lies. Under the bed are canopic jars. To the left and right respectively are Nephthys and Isis. Overhead are winged wadjet eyes.	The deceased stands in adoration before Osiris. Nephthys stands behind the God of the Dead.
Vignette L	Vignette M	Vignette N	Vignette O	Vignette P
Deceased looks on in adoration as Horus, son of Isis	Maat spreads her wings protectively around a crowned <i>Djed</i> pillar.	Standing figure of Maat the daughter of Re, united with Amun, spreads her	Maat, daughter of Re, united with Amun	Iunmutef priest stands before enthroned Osiris


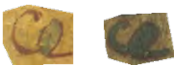






















pours libation for Osiris and Isis.		wings. She wears a horned solar disk with a plume inside on a modius. Beneath her wings on each side, facing outward are two crouching jackals on shrines. Each holds a sekhem scepter and a flail in its front and back paws.	spreads her wings around a crowned <i>djed</i> pillar.	and Isis, holding his finger out in an anointing gesture. The deceased looks on in adoration.
Vignette Q	Vignette R	Vignette S	Area on forearms under collar	Above crossed arms
Judgement scene. Deceased holds his heart on a necklace in his hand while Horus operates the scales and Ammit and Thoth look on from the other side of the scale. To the far right are Osiris wearing the "F22" glyph on a standard on his head. Behind him is Isis.	Solar barque scene. Isis pours libation before the "Lord of All". Horus stands behind him on the barque. The barque is towed by two or three dogs or jackals shown walking side by side. Three baboons raise their hands in praise above this. On the far right of the scene, a cobra on a papyrus stalk wearing the white crown, above another cobra wearing the atef crown.	Crouching Jackal on a standard. Below his standard are three canopic jars: Imsety, Qebehsenuf, and Duamutef. There are two offering stands in front of him and a set of <i>wesekh</i> signs, <i>nefer</i> signs, <i>neb</i> signs and wadjet eyes in a small register above.	Mummiform figure before offering table.	Winged Scarab

























Paleography

































Paleography:SMB:AE8505 Knumsanapehsu

GardinerSign	Sample	GardinerSign	Sample
A4		A42	
A52		C4	
C6		D2	
D4		D21	
D28		D36	
D37		D45	
D5		D52	
D55		D56	
D58		D6	
E1		F1	
F1		F4	

GardinerSign	Sample	GardinerSign	Sample
F2		F22	
F31		F34	
F35		F47	
F51		G1	
G5		G6	
G14		G15	
G28		G36	
G38		G39	
G43		H1	
H6		H8	
I9		I1	
M2		M12	

GardinerSign	Sample	GardinerSign	Sample
M17		M18	
M23		M3	
M36		N1	
N5		N14	
N16		N18	
N25		N26	
N29		N35	
O1		O9	
O22		O28	
O29		O34	
O49		P8	

GardinerSign	Sample	GardinerSign	Sample
Q1		Q2	
Q3		R4	
R7		R8	
R14		R17	
S29		S34	
S38		S43	
T22		T28	
U1		U28	
U38		V28	
V3		W9	

GardinerSign	Sample	GardinerSign	Sample
∇		𐀀	
W1		W11	
𐀄		𐀇	
W14		W17	
𐀈		○	 
W22		W24	
∩	  	𐀌	
X1		X4	
△	  	𐀍	 
X8		Y1	
𐀎		𐀐	
Y5		Z1	
𐀑		𐀒	
Z2		Z4	
𐀓		𐀔	
Z7		Z11	
⊙		𐀕	
AA1		AA2	
𐀖	 	𐀗	
AA5		AA11	
𐀘	 	𐀙	
AA15		AA18	
𐀚		𐀛	
O1 F35		R22 R12	

Number of Draftsmen



Vignette R



Vignette I



Vignette E

Figure 26: Baboon figures from the coffin of Knumsanapehsu

This piece seems to have been drafted entirely by one person as well. This can be seen most readily by comparing the faces of the animals and animal-headed deities between the vignettes, most specifically the baboons and canids. Baboons appear in three scenes, vignettes R, I, and the viewer's right side of register E (Figure 26).

The baboons have ruffs around their necks at the base of the jaw. They have chins that have a slight ball at the end, and they have pointed noses. Their mouths are slightly downturned, and their eyes are large in their faces. They have pronounced brows, and their hairline or ear tufts occur directly behind their eyes. The same artist probably drew all these primates.

The same artist probably drew all the canids as well. Jackals, dogs, and jackal-headed deities appear in Vignette A, E, I, J, K, N, and S (**Error! Reference source not found.**). Almost all have short, conical ears. The back edge of the ear curves at the bottom, rejoining the cheek of the animal right behind the eye.

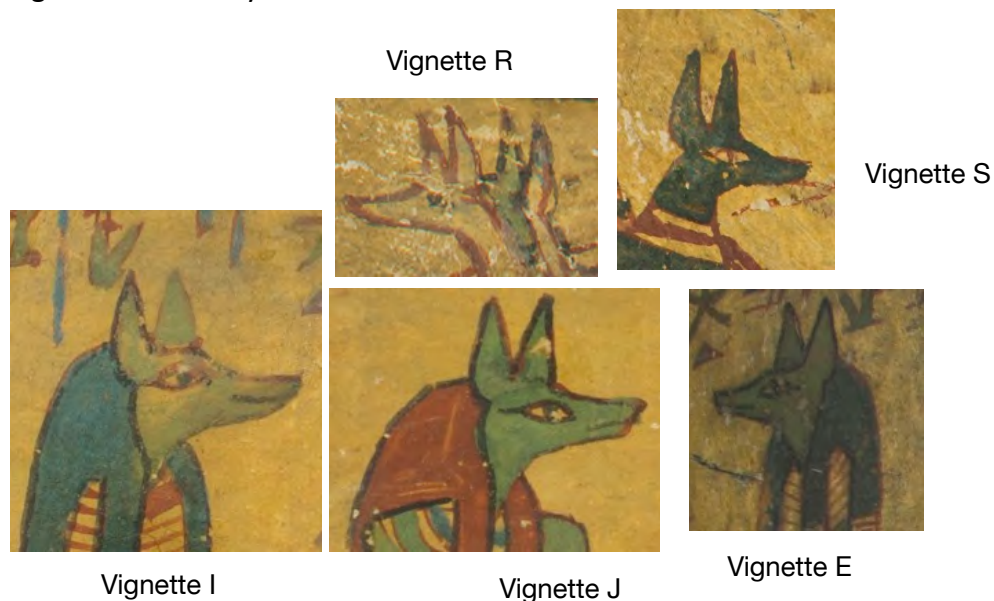


Figure 27: Selection of canids from the coffin of Knumensanapehsu

The eye is usually large, oval-shaped, and widely opened. The muzzle is long and ends in a pointed nose, sometimes curving upwards slightly at the end. The neck is stretched out in a long arc with a slight corner under the chin, and the chin is tilted upwards. The mouth is a straight line, normally downturned, though the jackal in Vignette I seems to be smiling. The one jackal that seems slightly out of place is the jackal in Vignette S on the bottom of the foot. It is hard to compare this jackal to the others, because it seems unfinished, only some parts of this scene have been completely colored, and the final black outline has not been added. The original draftlines are visible in vignette S, and the artist seems to have changed his mind and redrawn the jackal with a blunter nose. His neck is not stretched out like that of the other jackals. The baboon-headed canopic jar in the same scene seems similar to the other baboons, though it too is unfinished. While the possibility that the bottom of the foot was drawn by a different artist cannot be eliminated, it seems more logical to attribute the appearance of this jackal to its unfinished state than to the hand of a second artist who worked on just the foot.

The rest of the scenes on the coffin have no canids or baboons. Goddesses, however, appear in nearly every vignette on the coffin. The problem with the human-headed figures, though, is that their faces are all slightly different in appearance, and a lot of this depends on the outline and the application of color, which is variable, and the clothing and headgear which is also variable.<sup>452</sup> Having compared the animal figures, however, we can answer the question of whether the variation in the faces of the goddesses is the natural variation in the hand of the artist or due to a second artistic hand.

All of the goddesses represented on the coffin have large ears, with attention paid to the inner lines of the ear. They have sharp chins, the jawline sometimes slopes downward very gently towards the neck, rather than being at a right angle to the line between the chin and the bottom of the nose. However, because the plane of the front of the face is rather flat and the angle between it and the chin is so sharp, the faces have a boxy, angular appearance. The eyes are large and oval shaped. The bridge of the nose is located slightly above the canthus of the eye, though the nose ends up being rather small and flat in all cases.

The main difference between the representations of goddesses (Figure 28) is in the treatment of the bottom of the nose and the philtrum. Sometimes the front of the face is drawn in one stroke down the forehead, curving slightly at the canthus, turning at the point of the nose, and ending at the tip of the chin, as occurs with Isis in vignette J. In other representations, the line from the forehead ends at the nose, and a second line begins under the nose and descends vertically to the chin, leaving a very tall philtrum, as in Vignette R. However, both types occur together in vignette J, which also contains a canid. This indicates that the same artist not only drew both goddesses in J, he also drew all of the canid and baboon scenes. Likewise, canids and baboons also occur in R. If the same artist is responsible for the goddesses in J and R, the same artist is probably responsible for all the vignettes on the coffin, because all of them have goddesses that fit the above descriptions.

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<sup>452</sup> For example, if an artist is drawing a figure who is required to have a long divine beard, the artist might be tempted to draw the face as one stroke from the mouth all the way down to the tip of the beard, forcing the chin to jut forward in a way that would differentiate this figure from other representations of the same deity or person.



Vignette R



Vignette J

Figure 28: Goddesses in vignettes R and J demonstrating two types of noses.

Characterizing the style of this artist results in a very similar description as was already given for Khui-ipuy. Goddesses tend to have hatching, red fill, or blue zig-zag lines on their dresses, and special attention is paid to their garments and headdresses--most of them have uraei with horns and solar disks. They have long, fluttering sashes which stream to either side of the body.

Male figures wearing pleated kilts sometimes have striped belts and have an ornament hanging from their belt shaped like an upside-down T, painted blue. When he is not depicted in his mummy form, completely in profile, Osiris usually wears a red cloak and his bare, green, crossed arms are shown frontally. His atef crown often has a horizontal fillet and blue stripes and is sometimes topped with a small red sun-disk. Falcon-headed deities have large, black, circular eyes and elaborate eye markings which surround the eye almost completely.



Figure 29: Collar terminal on right shoulder of the coffin of Knumensanapehsu

The offering tables conform to the "greenery and tips" design, and the Abydos Fetish has a beaded fringe along its bottom. Wedjat eyes can have zero, one or two wings. When the eye is winged, one wing partially covers the eye. The funerary cones have large green areas at the top, and a band of green at the bottom, with a band of ground-color on the bottom third, like those on the coffin of Khui-ipuy.

The offering tables conform to the "greenery and tips" design, and the Abydos Fetish has a beaded fringe along its bottom. Wedjat eyes can have zero, one or two wings. When the eye is winged, one wing partially covers the eye. The funerary cones have large green areas at the top, and a band of green at the bottom, with a band of ground-color on the bottom third, like those on the coffin of Khui-ipuy.



Finally, the terminals on the collar of this coffin are slightly unusual (Figure 29). They consist, as expected, of a falcon head, but this one is smaller than usual and a lotus flower springs up before its face.



*Figure 30: Black passage in inscription on the coffin of Knumensanapehsu.*

#### Number of Scribes

The inscriptions on the coffin of Knumensapehsu are written in polychrome glyphs. These polychrome glyphs are uniform in form over the surface of the lid and the basin. These are drafted in red, and details are added in red, green, and blue. In one area on the coffin, the two texts to the viewer's right side of Vignette I on the basin, the glyphs are written in black.<sup>453</sup> Interestingly, the second of these inscriptions begins in color and is finished in black, as if the scribe was in a hurry to finish.

As was the case with the analogous black caption on the coffin of Khui-Ipuy, it's hard to tell if this inscription is by the same scribe as the polychrome parts, in part because the black inscription is slightly more cursive. Note, for example, the difference between the two seated man determinatives in Figure 30--the second is much closer to the hieratic version of the glyph. The inscription is also difficult to compare with the rest of the coffin because the color on the polychrome glyphs isn't applied consistently to every instance of a particular glyph.

However, every distinctive-looking variant in the black inscription is echoed elsewhere on the coffin. The stool (Q3) with the line through the center also occurs in the central inscription on the lid. Parallels to the uppermost seated man, with his curling beard, his collar, which is represented by a tick that protrudes from the front of his chest, and the baseline that extends from the front can be seen in most of the captions on the coffin.

Because the variants in glyphs visible in the paleography either involve variable coloring, or slight variations that are evenly dispersed across the coffin and not coincident with each other, we can assume that the inscription here is also the work of one hand, even the black inscription.

The paleography and orthography have some of the same interesting quirks that are also present on the coffin of Khui-ipuy, including the writing of the word "bread" with a loaf sign (X2) that looks like an incense burner, and the attention to the detail of ducks, cattle, and human figures, though there is not so wide a selection of the later this coffin as there is on the coffin of Khui-ipuy. As on the coffin of Khui-ipuy, the sign for the pavilion (O22) is narrow and has a pointed roof, and the beer jar sign (W22) has three horizontal strokes through it rather than two.

Particularly distinctive on this coffin is the writing of the sign for *s* (Aa18). It does not appear like traditional hieroglyphic renderings of the sign and has no parallels in paleographies of contemporary hieratic either. It only appears in the name of the deceased and is drawn in the same way in every occurrence.

In conclusion, this coffin seems to again be the product of a single scribe and a single artist. The art and text are well executed, and the scribe has managed to fit the text around the

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<sup>453</sup> These are inscriptions I1 and I2 in Appendix III.

vignettes. Once again, the scribe uses multiple spellings for words, using them to fit the text to the available space, and perhaps for extra effect in some captions.

Coffin of Hory, Pannonia Reformata, Pápa, Hungary

#### Overview

The coffin of Hory was purchased in 1884 by Hungarian businessman Károly Markstein, who wished to donate an Egyptian collection to his alma mater--the Reformed Primary and Secondary School in Pápa. Hori's coffin and mummy, and the cartonnage overlays which came with them are all that now survives of the collection, which was scattered in the Second World War. The coffin might have been acquired through the Cairo Egyptian Museum's sale room. It arrived in Pápa with a document written by Émile Brugsch, who described and translated the piece and said that it had been discovered in the 1884 excavations by Maspero at Akhmim.<sup>454</sup>

All we know about Hori (*ḥry*) as a person is that he was a Wab priest of Isis and of Horus Son of Isis (*w<sup>c</sup>b n ʒs.t, w<sup>c</sup>b n ḥr sʒ ʒs.t*). His father Payefiri (*pꜣyꜣf-iry*)<sup>455</sup> was also a Wab priest of Horus Son of Isis. While the mummy within the coffin has been studied,<sup>456</sup> it has Ptolemaic cartonnage mummy overlays, which means that it is probably not that of Hory himself. The coffin has been well published with a detailed description of the iconography by László, Kovács, and Varga which includes a transcription and translation of the captions and central column of the lid.<sup>457</sup> Liptay further commented on the similarity between the coffin of Hory and those of Sesekhnofru in Copenhagen and the coffin of Knumensanapehsu in Berlin.<sup>458</sup> Her conclusions

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<sup>454</sup> László, Kovács, and Varga, pp. 3–4.

<sup>455</sup> The name as spelled is not in Ranke, but the similar name pꜣ-iry is: Ranke, I, pp. 101, # 17, 18.

<sup>456</sup> Éva Liptay, Erzsébet Fóthi, and Zsófia Komáry, 'The Joint Mummy Research Project of the Museum of Fine Arts and the Hungarian Natural History Museum', *Hungarian Archaeology E-Journal*, Autumn (2012) <[http://files.archaeolingua.hu/20120/Upload/cikk\\_Liptai\\_EN.pdf](http://files.archaeolingua.hu/20120/Upload/cikk_Liptai_EN.pdf)>. At the time of writing, I was unable to obtain a copy of the preliminary publication of this study, which is published in Petrik, M. (ed.), *Múmiák testközelben* [Mummies uncovered], Museum of Fine Arts, Budapest 2011.

<sup>457</sup> László, Kovács, and Varga.

<sup>458</sup> Liptay, 'A Local Pattern of the Twenty-First Dynasty Theban Coffin Type from Akhmim', pp. 9–12.

will be revisited later. Here, I will limit myself to general comments on the iconography, focusing on overall themes and unique scenes.



The Coffin of Hory, Copyright (c) of D.R.E.T.G.Y - Panonia Reformatata Múzeum, Pápa (Hungary)  
 Photographer Róbert Kecskés

Figure 31 Vignettes on the coffin of Hory

### Description of Iconography

The lid of the coffin of Hory has a familiar layout. Like the other Akhmim coffins of the early 21st dynasty, the first register is occupied by the goddess Nut, who spreads her wings over the breast of the deceased. The remainder of the body is bisected by the central column, with smaller register being formed by lateral decorative bands. The architectonic elements which were absent on the basin of the coffin of Khui-ipy and Knumensanapehsu are present on Hory's coffin, though not in the form of the cobra frieze around the lip of the basin. A close examination of some of the vignettes on the basin show that they are divided from each other

by depictions of architectural columns rather than bands of block-pattern.<sup>459</sup> Thus, the lid of the coffin once again becomes a roof for these scenes on the basin.

It is striking how simple the vignettes on the lid of Hory's coffin are when compared to those on the coffin of Knumensanspehsu. The scenes are less cluttered and have much more negative space, especially at the top of each scene. This is in part due to a simplification of the composition in the vignettes themselves. Aside from those in the vignettes on the chest and footbox, all the deities are mummiform. Each scene is composed of a mummiform figure, an offering table, another mummiform figure who might represent the deceased, an Imiut fetish, or another mummiform deity. Another reason for the spare appearance of the vignettes is the lack of captions.<sup>460</sup> Coupled with the scarcity of identifying features such as emblems, this makes the mummiform figures hard for the modern viewer to identify. We can only assume that they were much more recognizable to ancient viewers.

However, the few identifying features present indicate that the scenes have some analogues in the other early 21st dynasty pieces from Akhmim. The animal-headed deities in scene D are the four sons of Horus, and the bearded mummiform deity in the register below (F) is probably Osiris, who appeared on the ankles of the coffin of Knumensanspehsu and Khui-ipyu as well.

The examination of the mummiform figures on the lid is our first introduction to the main theme of the iconography of this piece differentiating it from the previous two pieces. While "Horus, son of Isis" still appears on the coffin basin (Vignette Q), his role and the emphasis on his relationship with Osiris are not as important on this coffin they were on the other two. Instead, Isis features prominently, both as a recipient of praise and in her role as mourner. The unnamed female mummiform deities in the second register (B) have large earrings which is unusual for representations of goddesses (Figure 32), and we might expect them to be deceased humans. However, identical female mummiform gods appear in vignette K on the basin, at both ends of a scene where the deceased offers to Osiris. These are therefore Isis and perhaps also Nephthys.

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<sup>459</sup> This is most clear in registers Q, R, and S, where the columns end in a finial. However, the columns are not block-patterned but simply given black/blue and red stripes. Even the dividers that do not have the finials on top are decorated with this pattern, so perhaps all of the dividers are to be interpreted as columns.


<sup>460</sup> There are glyphs in the scenes, but these are partly decorative and partly stereotypical descriptions of what is being done for the gods in each scene. do not translate these glyphs in the translation, because they are really part of the iconography more than a part of the text. However, as an example, the wedjat eyes that appear in Scene A (Figure 15) are a stand-in for any offering which makes the god whole, while the glyphs in register D say  nfr.w nb(.w) "all perfection", probably describing the contents of the offering table below.



Figure 32 Female mummiform deities in register A.

That the two goddesses may both be Isis is intimated by the two goddesses on the feet. These kneel on mats making mirrored gestures of mourning. They are, as usual on coffins from Thebes and Akhmim, rotated to 180 degrees relative to the other vignettes. They are both labeled as Isis. In fact, in the embalming scene on

the basin (Vignette K), both mourners who accompany the deceased wear the emblems of Isis! The scene is especially animated as Anubis grasps the bandages of the mummy in both fists, his toes curling upwards as if he was straining to pull them tight. The two Isises appear on the same side of the bier, their hands raised in mourning.

Isis plays a starring role in other vignettes on the coffin. On either side of the head, she takes the place occupied by Maat on the coffin of Knumensanapehsu, spreading her wings protectively around a smaller figure, who is Horus as a falcon (Vignettes G, N). In vignette H on the basin, in a scene which doesn't occur on either of the previous coffins, the deceased pays homage to Isis alone without her husband or son.

The coffin has no vignette dedicated to the sun-barque. Re-Harakhte appears for the first time in vignette O, where Isis pours a libation for him. This same motif occurred on the prow of the sunboat on the coffin of Knumensanapehsu. Another god who makes an appearance on the coffin of Hory who is not named on the coffins of Knumensanapehsu is Ptah-Sokar-Osiris, who sits enthroned in Vignette L, wearing a feathered shroud. He has a solar disk and two Maat feathers on his head.

Many of the vignettes, though not identical, are placed in the same locations on the three coffins. The goddess Maat spreads her wings over the head over the deceased on the top of both the coffins of Knumensanapehsu and Hory (the analogous scene is missing on the coffin of Khui-ipuy). On the sides of the head, a goddess in profile spreads her wings. The pose and composition are the same, even if the goddesses are not. On the coffin of Knumensanapehsu, the Four Sons of Horus appear at the level of the ankle on both the lid and the basin. On the coffin of Hory, the sons appear on both ankles on the basin and on the lid. Finally, the top half of the vignette on the bottom of the foot of the coffins of Knumensanapehsu and Hory are very similar, with Anubis crouching on a shrine and holding both a Sekhem-scepter and a flail. While the basin section of this vignette was unfinished on the Knumensanapehsu's coffin, here it is fully decorated, with an anthropomorphic *djed*-pillar who "stands" on the hieroglyph for gold and grasps the hieroglyph meaning "West" in both hands.

In summary, the coffin of Hory has many vignettes in common with the coffins in San Jose and Berlin. These vignettes are often located in similar places on the coffin. However, Hory's coffin is notable because of the central role played by Isis in its iconographic program--

she occupies spaces occupied by Horus or Nephthys on the other two coffins. This may relate to a change in local belief in Akhmim in general. It may be a nod to Hory's personal devotion to the goddess, or it could reflect a subtle difference in the afterlife beliefs between the clergy of Isis versus those of Min.

Register A	Register B	Register C	Register D	Register E
Winged figure of Nut spreads her wings. She has an ankh in one hand and a plume in the other. A reclining jackal with a sekhem scepter and a flail is above her left arm. To her right and left are mummiform deities before offering tables.	To each side of the central column, mummiform female figures (Isis and Nephthys?) and imiut fetishes stand on either side of an offering table.	On either side of the central column, the deceased raises his hands in adoration before a mummiform male figure. The one on the viewer's left has a white crown, the one on the right a funerary cone. There is an offering table between them.	On either side of the central column are scenes that each feature two mummiform figures, facing each other with an offering table between. The left column has a falcon-headed figure and a female figure, and the right has a jackal-headed figure and an unknown mummiform figure.	On either side of the central column are scenes that each feature a mummiform male deity with a beard, facing an offering table and imiut fetish.
Register F	Vignette G	Vignette H	Vignette I	Vignette J
Two figures identified as Isis face kneel on mats and touch shen signs with one hand while holding the other up in a gesture of mourning.	Isis raises her wings in protection around a small figure of a falcon carrying a flail and wearing the white crown. In one hand she has a flail and the other has a plume.	The Deceased praises Isis, who stands facing him.	Nephthys praises Osiris, who stands, mummiform.	The deceased adores Anubis, who strides towards him.
Vignette K	Vignette L	Vignette M	Vignette N	Vignette O





































































Anubis mummifies the deceased, grasping his bandages in his hands. Two mourners identified as Isis stand at the deceased's head. Winged Wadjet eyes fly overhead. Canopic jars are placed beneath the bed.	The deceased raises his hands in praise to Ptah-Sokar-Osiris, who wears a disk and two plumes on his head.	The deceased raises hands in praise to the four sons of Horus, mummiform with animal heads. In front of each is an offering table. They are, from the viewer's right: Imsety, Hapy, Duamutef, Qebehsenuf.	Isis holds plumes in her hands and raises her wings in protection around a small figure of a falcon with a flail and an atef crown.	Isis pours libations for Re-Harakhte, who strides towards her.
Vignette P	Vignette Q	Vignette R	Vignette S	Vignette T
The deceased raises his hands in praise of Osiris.	Horus, Son of Isis. libates before Osiris and Isis.	The deceased praises Osiris enthroned. Between them is a cobra wearing the white crown atop a papyrus stalk. to the far left and right of the scene are mummiform female figures. Isis and Nephthys?	The deceased praises Osiris, enthroned.	The four sons of Horus, mummiform with animal heads, facing the foot. From viewer's left to right: Duamutef, Qebehsenuf, Hapy, Imsety.
Vignette U	Vignette V	Vignette W	Under the collar on the forearms to the right and left	Above crossed arms
Crouching jackal on a shrine with a sekhem sign and a flail. In the small register above are wedjat eyes, <i>nefer</i> signs, and a <i>neb</i> sign.	A <i>Djed</i> pillar on a nebu necklace. It has an elaborate crown and human arms, with which it clutches the sign for "west."	Maat, daughter of Re, United with Amun spreads her wings downward. She holds plumes in each hand and has one on her head.	Outwards facing undulating winged cobras wearing atef crowns.	Heart Amulet



# Paleography



























## Paleography:PannoniaReformata:CoffinofHori

GardinerSign	Sample	GardinerSign	Sample
			
A4		A41	
			
A42		A52	
			
C1		D4	
			
D21		D28	
			
D36		D37	
			
D45		D58	
			
D6		E34	
			
F1		F35	
			
G5		G6	
			
G9		G14	
			
G17		G39	

GardinerSign	Sample	GardinerSign	Sample
G4		G43	
H1		H6	
H8		I9	
I1		M17	
M23		N1	
N5		N14	
N16		N21	
N25		N26	
N29		N35	
N37		O1	
O9		O34	

GardinerSign	Sample	GardinerSign	Sample
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⊗ O49		∩ P8	
∩ Q1		∩ Q2	
∩ Q3		∩ R4	
∩ R7		∩ R8	
∩ R14		∩ R17	
∩ S3		∩ S34	
∩ S38		∩ S43	
∩ T22		∩ T28	
∩ U5		∩ U3	

GardinerSign	Sample	GardinerSign	Sample
			
			
			
			
			
			
			
			
			
			

## Number of Draftsmen

A comparison of canid and falcon faces makes it again apparent that one person was responsible for all the vignettes on the basin of the coffin. Whether that person was also responsible for the lid poses a problem. A comparison of the figures on the lid reveals that they seem less fine than those on the basin, which is exactly the opposite of what one might expect given the supposed visibility of the lid during the Opening of the Mouth ceremony.

This difference is attributable not to a different hand, but to the unfinished state of the vignettes on the lid and to modern conservation. The coloring of the figures of Isis and Osiris in registers A and B of the lid was never finished (Figure 33). The streamer hanging down Osiris' back and was never colored, and neither was his collar. The artist never completed the final black outline phase for either figure, though he seems to have started--a black line shows the



Figure 33 Figures of Osiris and Isis on the basin (I and R) and lid (A and B) of the coffin of Hory, showing the unfinished state of the figures on the lid.

contour of Isis' back.

Adding to the rough appearance to the figures is the state of the varnish, which was apparently thicker on the basin than on the lid. The varnish on the lid was applied in a thin layer which was poorly preserved and was ultimately removed by conservators. The state of the

varnish and its removal both might have contributed to the appearance of the figures on the lid.<sup>461</sup>

The figures on the lid are almost identical with counterparts on the basin and give a glimpse of the underdrawings beneath the thick layers of green and blue. A comparison of the figures highlights how carefully these colors were applied preserving the shapes underneath. This is no small feat given that the shade of blue and green pigments were products of the fineness of the pigment. Dark greens and blues would have been coarse and harder to control with a stiff plant-based brush than red or yellow. The care and skill with which the colors were applied sets this piece apart from the others in the group.

The figures on this coffin are very similar to those on the coffins of Knumensanapehsu and Khui-ipuy. The jackal-headed gods all have slightly upturned noses and tilt their heads gently upwards. Their ears are conical, short, and have a short curve at the back where the base of the ear meets the wig. Their mouths consist of short lines which turn downward. While the representation of Re-Harakhte in vignette O and the tiny figures of Horus vignettes N and G have finely drawn eye-markings around a solid black round eye, the faces of the other falcons are simpler--they have simple dots for eyes and high beaks with no interior detail. This distinction does not seem to be based on the size of the figure as it was on the previous two coffins. The baboons have large, oval eyes with no cosmetic line. They have rounded chins, pronounced brows, and slightly upturned noses. Their mouths arc downward, giving them a haughty appearance.

The male gods in kilts have a small ornament hanging from their belt--it is shaped like an upside-down T. Their belts are usually striped. Many of the male deities on this coffin have ornately decorated costumes. Several of the mummiform deities wear meticulously painted feathered shrouds and the artist attempted a stippling pattern of short lines on the green shirt of "Horus, son of Isis" in vignette Q. Osiris often has a striped horizontal band around his atef crown. The goddesses, however, all wear sheath dresses with a plain fill of red or blue rather than a patterned fill. Some but not all the goddesses have the crowned Uraei at their brow familiar from the other coffins. Most of the goddesses lack the fluttering sash tied under the breast that was ubiquitous on the coffins of Knumensanapehsu and Khui-ipuy.

The faces of most of the humans have sharp, or very subtly rounded chins. Their mouths are a short line--a dot delineates the corner. The noses are very flat, but the artist carefully delineates the bottom of the nose and the philtrum. Their eyes are large and sometimes have very short cosmetic lines, and the ears are always carefully outlined with interior detail. Some of the figures with smaller faces have faces which are drawn with two slightly convex lines coming to a point at the nose.

The smaller elements of the scenes also show a high affinity with those on the two previously discussed coffins. Once again, we see the offering tables drawn with "Greenery and tips" and the lotus flower motif on the pole supporting the stand. Wedjat eyes are often drawn with two wings, and the foremost wing partially covers the eye. Funerary cones are triangular with green stripes at the top and bottom. On this coffin, the central stripe is sometimes blue as opposed to ground-colored.

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<sup>461</sup> László, Kovács, and Varga, p. 52.

The figure drawing on this coffin is very similar to that on the coffins of Knumensanapehsu and Khui-ipuy, but is set apart by the careful treatment of the nose on most of the human figures, and by the coloring, which is done with exceptional skill.

#### Number of Scribes

Most of glyphs on the coffin of Hory are drawn in the same way over the surface of the basin and coffin indicating that one scribe responsible for all the inscriptions. Some of the glyphs are uncolored, adding to the impression that the piece was not completely finished.

Other variants owe their appearances to way the color was applied. The variants of the Horus glyphs (G6) are a good example of this. In two of the three, green is applied to the legs, and in the third, the legs are left red, but the flail has blue stripes. One offering table (R4) in the inscription next to the embalming scene looks like a heart glyph (F34) is sitting on top of the table instead of the usual diamond-shaped loaf of bread. It is hard to say whether this was a mistake or intentional. The eye glyph also has several variants, but with these, the variations seem to stem from differences in the application of color.

There are several distinctive orthographies which invite comparison to the coffins of Knumensanapehsu and Khui-ipuy. The beer jar glyph (W22) has three horizontal lines through it, and the jar on the *w<sup>c</sup>b* glyph (D60) is flat and long and has a stripe down the middle. On several examples, the original red sketch shows the water streaming directly out of the jar. The color has been applied only to the bottom part of the stream of water, leaving a distinctive red cross at the mouth of the jar. The butcher's block glyph (T28) is drawn in a fashion which makes it easy to confuse with the pot stand glyph (W11). Both are drawn as a red trapezoid with a curved bottom and an X in the middle. This is a similarity with the paleography on the coffin of Knumensanapehsu, where the two glyphs were used interchangeably.

However, on this coffin both vertical elements on the sign for "west"(R14) are of equal length while on the other coffins, one end is shorter. One unique glyph which appears here but not on the previous two coffins, is the kiln glyph (U30) from the word "Shetayt-shrine" (*šty.t*). This probably has to do with the fact that the shrine is associated with Ptah-Sokar-Osiris, who doesn't appear on the other two coffins. The glyph is distinctive because it has two diagonal ticks in it, which are present on some variants of hieratic form of the glyph but are not present in the hieroglyphic form.<sup>462</sup>

The coffin of Hori was probably inscribed by one scribe. As with the drawings, the colorist (if he was different from the scribe) took great pains in coloring the glyphs, especially those depicting birds. The glyphs are also carefully drafted, and the figures of humans and deities have a lot of detail, as was the case on the two previously discussed pieces. There are a few small differences in paleography, the clearest being the drawing of the sign for the West (R14). Also, the scribe uses a hieratic form of the kiln glyph (U30). The orthographies of common words are the same on all three coffins.

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<sup>462</sup> Ursula Verhoeven, *Untersuchungen Zur Späthieratischen Buchschrift*, *Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta*, 99 (Leuven: Peeters, 2001), p. 190. Note especially the example from the papyrus of Nḥ, which is 21st dynasty.

## The Coffin of Aafenhor, Louvre AF9592

### Overview

The coffin of Aafenhor (*ḳꜣꜣꜣ-n-ḥr*) can be linked with Akhmim because two inscriptions on the fragmentary basin of the coffin<sup>463</sup> describe the owner as "Wab priest in front of Horus and Isis, Aafenhor, in the Temple of Min" (*wꜥb n ḥꜣ.t ḥr ꜣs.t ḳꜣꜣꜣ-n-ḥr m pr mnw*).<sup>464</sup> The piece has been mentioned in several publications, but how the Louvre came into possession of it is not mentioned.<sup>465</sup> It is to be hoped that the forthcoming publication of yellow coffins in the Louvre by Patricia Regault-Déon and Andrzej Niwiński will shed further light on the matter.<sup>466</sup>

The coffin lid and basin are in poor condition. The lid is broken off at the feet, which are missing. The right hand is also gone. Large fragments of the side walls of the basin are also missing, and significant pieces of painted decoration have fallen off in multiple locations. Because the piece is under publication elsewhere, remarks on the iconography here are limited to overarching themes and a characterization of the work of the artist. The texts are also not translated here, but the reader is directed to refer to the translation of the texts from the coffin of an Anonymous Woman at the Australian museum in Appendix III. Its textual and iconographic programs are nearly identical.

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<sup>463</sup> These are the texts associated with Vignettes Q and J.

<sup>464</sup> This writing of the name is unusual. Not only is the name of the deceased not in Ranke's PN, but the writing of the name with no "Osiris" title and no "Justified" status makes it difficult to know when the name starts and ends. Happily the name is clarified in a shorter form on the lid in register C, where the deceased is simply *wꜥb wsꜣr ḳꜣꜣꜣ-[ḥr]* (Wab priest, the Osiris, Aaef[enhor]). The writing of the location of the cult after the name of the deceased is unusual but is known to occur on other pieces as well. See, for example the coffin of Khui-Ipuy, inscription B2 in Appendix III. Theoretically, the temple of Min in question might be in Coptos, but the presence of Isis and Horus in the title as well point to Akhmim as the origin.

<sup>465</sup> Alain Dautant, 'Cercueils jauns des XXle et XXIIe dynasties dans les collections Françaises', in *Body, cosmos and eternity: new research trends in the iconography and symbolism of ancient Egyptian coffins*; [in February 2013, the Symposium Body, Cosmos and Eternity: the Symbolism of Coffins in Ancient Egypt convened at the historical building of the University of Porto ...], ed. by Rogério Sousa and Symposium Body, *Body, Cosmos and Eternity: the Symbolism of Coffins in Ancient Egypt*, Archaeopress egyptology, 3 (presented at the Symposium Body, Cosmos and Eternity: the Symbolism of Coffins in Ancient Egypt, Oxford: Archaeopress, 2014), pp. 149–66; Niwiński, 'The 21st Dynasty Coffins of a Non-Theban Origin, a "Family" for the Vatican Coffin of Anet'; Taylor, 'Coffins as Evidence for a "North-South Divide" in the 22nd-25th Dynasties'. Dautant.

<sup>466</sup> According to a personal communication with the Louvre, the pieces will be published in 2022.



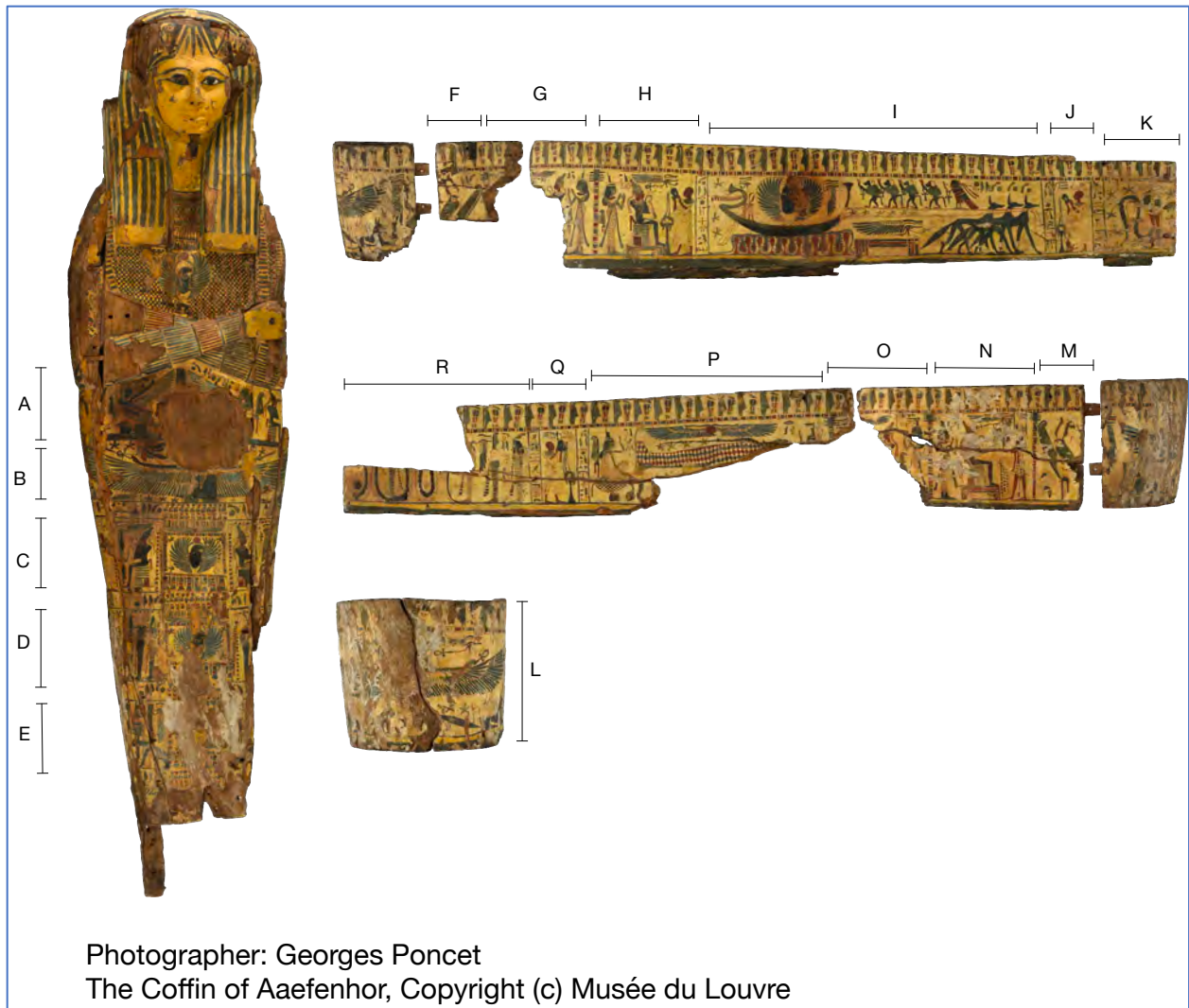


Figure 34: Layout of the vignettes on the coffin of Aefenhor. Reconstruction by author from pictures provided by the Louvre.

#### Description of Iconography

This design of the lid of this coffin appears more stereotypically "Theban" than the other 21st Dynasty pieces from Akhmim examined so far. It fits comfortably into Niwinski's Type IIc with its lateral bands of text which are meant to be read while the coffin stands upright (though the line of text around the perimeter of the lid is absent).<sup>467</sup> The decoration of the lid is much more dense than that on the other coffins, giving a sense of *horror vacui*. Instead of the central column of text, the coffin is bisected by a long narrow strip of square vignettes depicting winged scarabs in shrines topped by friezes of cobras. The basin completely regains its architectonic function. The cobra frieze returns, with alternating cobras and feathers facing in opposite directions. The "roof" of this shrine is supported by columns shaped like *djed*-pillars which also serve as scene dividers for those vignettes depicting the deceased revering Osiris. These vignettes are clearly meant to take place inside (H, G, O, and N). Other scenes (which presumably do not take place inside columned halls) take are divided by columns of text.

<sup>467</sup> Niwiński, *21st Dynasty Coffins from Thebes: Chronological and Typological Studies*, pp. 74–75. No. 348.

In a departure from the strikingly Osirian iconography of the previously discussed pieces, the themes engaged by the lid of this coffin tend to be both solar and Osirian. The deceased raises his hands to Osiris in register C of the lid, and a jackal runs beside the Abydos fetish in Register E.<sup>468</sup> The fetish occurs again on a partially destroyed vignette beneath the collar (A), in which kneeling goddesses raise their wings to protect the fetish (which is recognizable from the plumes of its crown peeking up above the damaged area). The solar themes are evident in the scarabs that occur in their repeating squares in the center column, and in the winged scarab pectoral on the breast of the coffin.

This scarab is in the place occupied by a heart pendant on the coffin of Hory, and so it is probably meant to remind the viewer of the heart which is returned to the deceased after he has passed the judgement. Here, however, the heart has a ram-head and wings, which are symbolic of the rising sun. Hence the worlds of the sky and the underworld are married in this one small vignette.

Despite looking very different, the basin vignettes deal with similar themes as those on the coffins of Knumensapehsu, Hory, and Kui-ipuy. The registers towards the head are occupied by scenes of praise to Osiris, including one in which Horus as a lunmutef priest ministers to his father (Vignette N). Horus as a falcon perches on the sign for "west" on the sides of the head shoulders, perhaps analogous to the scene where Isis spreads her wings around Horus on coffin of Hory.

The long area between the waist and shins are occupied by one long scene on both sides. Again, the left side (Vignette P) shows the deceased on a bier with Isis and Nephthys mourning to either side. This vignette is separated by a column of text from the deceased who pours libations over an offering stand. On the right side (Vignette I), a team of muscular jackals tows the sun-boat over the body of a giant undulating snake. The interior of the boat is filled by a large, winged scarab who grasps the solar disk between his forelegs. His back legs hold a semicircular object, probably a slightly squashed shen-ring. His entourage is reduced to a single anthropomorphized glyph for the word "*Smsw*" (companion), which mans the rudder. The deceased is once again present to pour libations over his offering table, and though separated from this solar scene by another line of text, he faces this scene and so is perhaps part of it.

The Four Sons are absent from the decoration of the coffin basin. The shin area is here occupied on both sides by different large snakes. The one on the left side of the basin undulates (Vignette R), carrying one mummiform deity within his coils as three others look on. The onlooking deities have different heads: the first has the Maat feather and is probably an abstract representation of this goddess. The second is a two-headed goose. His name appears on this coffin's sister in the Australian Museum. There, he is "The great god whose faces are many".<sup>469</sup> The third is a cobra headed deity wearing the Atef crown. The right shin (vignette K) depicts a cobra surrounded by a field of stars.

Register A	Register B	Register C	Register D	Register E
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<sup>468</sup> Though only the rather burly back leg of the jackal is visible in the vignette on the coffin of Aaefenhor, the same vignette appears on the coffins of Tayuherit in Uppsalla and on Isisnefret in Davenport, and on these examples, the figure is certainly a jackal.









































<sup>469</sup> See Inscription E.1 for the Anonymous Woman, Australian Museum E 19466 in Appendix III.

Two protective goddesses spread their wings around an Abydos fetish, now missing. To either side of this vignette are the sign for "west" and figures of Osiris enthroned facing outwards.	Nut kneels and spreads her wings. Beneath her wings on either side are large-tailed crouching jackals and stars. Above her wings are winged undulating snakes and stars. She holds ankh signs.	Around the central column, occupied with a square vignette of a winged, ram-headed scarab in a shrine, are two mirrored scenes of the deceased before Osiris. The deity sits in a roofed kiosk with a winged wadjet eye flying towards him.	Around the central column, which is occupied by another square vignette of a winged, ram-headed scarab, are two scenes featuring mummiform deities which stand in a kiosk. Discernable are the two-headed goose, and a snake wearing a plume on its head.	Mirrored around the central column, which is occupied by a square vignette now destroyed are two scenes. Each figures a jackal running in the foreground and an Abydos fetish in the background.
Vignette F	Vignette G	Vignette H	Vignette I	Vignette J
A falcon with an Atef crown perched on top of the sign for "west."	Partially destroyed scene. The remaining right side of the scene featured Isis standing behind Osiris, enthroned.	The deceased libates before Osiris and Isis.	A winged scarab on the solar barque floats(?) on the body of an undulating snake. The <i>smsw</i> sign is next to the rudder. The boat is towed by three jackals. Atop the ropes are four praising baboons followed by the ba bird of the deceased. Behind the jackals and in front of the boat is a wedjat eye atop a block decorated with the palace facade motif.	The deceased faces the previous scene and pours out a libation. J should probably be considered part of I.
Vignette K	Vignette L	Vignette M	Vignette N	Vignette O
A cobra in a field of stars.	A winged goddess spreads her wings. She is probably Maat, though her body is destroyed. Large-tailed jackals crouch below her wings, along with stars. Winged wedjat eyes fly to either side of her face, holding Ankh signs.	A falcon with an atef crown on the sign for "west."	The lunmufef priest stands before Osiris and a goddess, whose crown is damaged.	Partly destroyed scene. To the viewer's right in the part that remains, are Osiris with a goddess behind him.

Vignette P	Vignette Q	Vignette R	Area above crossed arms	
<p>The deceased on a bed. His wrappings have a blue and red checker pattern. Above him are stars and a winged sun disk. To the right and left are Isis and Nephthys, who squat on a neb-necklace, and hold a shen sign in one hand, while placing the other before their faces. Behind Isis on the right is the sign for "west." Nephthys' body is destroyed</p>	<p>The deceased pours a libation. He faces Scene P, so this is probably part of Scene P.</p>	<p>An undulating snake with a mummiform deity in its coils. It is facing away from three mummiform deities with different heads. From left to right: a two-headed goose, a plume, and a bearded snake with a plume on its head.</p>	<p>A winged, ram-headed scarab beetle.</p>	

# Paleography

Paleography:Louvre:AF9592Aaefenhor

GardinerSign	Sample	GardinerSign	Sample
			
A4		D4	
			
D21		D36	
			
D37		D6	
			
E34		F4	
			
F13		F3I	
			
F35		F39	
			
G6		G14	
			
G36		H8	
			
I9		M17	
			
N1		N25	

GardinerSign	Sample	GardinerSign	Sample
N35		O1	
O9		O28	
O29		Q1	
R8		R14	
S3		S34	
S38		T22	
W1		W15	
W24		X1	
Y1		Z4	
Z11		AA1	

GardinerSign	Sample	GardinerSign	Sample
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𐎠

AA15



𐎢𐎠

R22 R12



### Number of Draftsmen

As far as can be discerned from the poor state of this coffin, the whole surface was drafted by a single artist. This is most clear in the representations of Osiris and once again in the canines who appear in multiple places on the basin and lid of the coffin.

A peculiarity of the representations of Osiris on this coffin is that when he is shown with his arms crossed, his chest is drawn in three quarters profile! His right shoulder tilts forward and reaches across his chest for his flail, and his elbow would be in the middle of his torso if it was visible (Figure 35). His right hand is obscured by his left arm and the left hand crosses over



*Figure 35: Osiris with rotated torso and a long ribbon on his crown. From a Photo by Andrzej Niwinski*

to the middle of his body to grasp the crook. His white (*ḥd.t*) crown, which he always wears on this coffin, has a red ribbon tied around it, which cascades down on his shoulders and then down his back, curving with the contour of his body. These peculiarities occur in all instances when Osiris is depicted: Vignettes N,A,C,H, and G).

As for the jackals, there are no jackal-headed deities on this coffin. Jackals in their animal form appear in register B, I, L, and E, though the last is heavily damaged. They always have somewhat sharp noses, tapering muzzles, and thick, bushy tails that are as long as their very slender bodies. Their ears are long and crescent shaped, with the concave surface facing forward, as if they are listening intently. Smaller representations of jackals under the wings of the winged goddess in register B have the same distinctive tail, but perhaps because of their smaller size, their ears are drawn as long thick lines which have a slight curve.

Both the draftsmanship and coloring on this coffin give the impression that the artist was not fully in control of the medium. The line-thickness of the red outlines runs from very thick to very thin, and the color of the line can vary from very light to very dark in a short segment. Additionally, there are several large blots and smudges where too much paint flowed out of the brush or the surface was smudged before it had dried. There are several areas on the coffin where the outline was drawn and redrawn multiple times, and no attempt was made to cover up the error.

While the figures are well formed and proportional, and the curves of the bodies can be quite elegant, the lines tend to be short, giving the work a sketchy feel. The artist uses hatching to fill many areas of the design: the forewings of the winged figures, the bellies of the snakes, and the dresses of the goddesses are all hatched. Stripes of blue or green are used on the bodies of all mummiform deities, probably to give the impression of wrapping, but the striping tends to escape the outline of the figure giving it a sloppy but not unappealing appearance.

### Number of Scribes

The description of the draftsmanship as "sketchy" applies to the inscription as well. It is drawn in red on the ground, and additional red and blue coloring was added sparingly to some of the glyphs. Some of the glyphs were redrawn several times. One Mut-Vulture (G14) in



vignette H has a ghostly second pair of legs visible, shorter than those the scribe eventually finished with.

Because most of the texts on the lid and basin consist of the formula: "Revered one before [God's name NN]" ( *imḥw hr [NN]* ), we can use idiosyncrasies in the paleography and orthography of this formula to show this that the inscription also was written by one person.

The word "Revered one" (*imḥw*) appears in most of the inscriptions on the coffin, and the glyph which begins it (F39), is always drawn in the same distinctive way on this coffin: with three vertical ticks and a thick curving line emerging from the ticks. The height of the ticks is roughly the same as the thickness of this descending line, which would seem (and is) and odd way to depict vertebrae with a spinal cord. Additionally, this scribe consistently misspells the preposition *hr* (before), which follows in the formula, spelling the word *rh* instead. This later is not an uncommon error but combined with the orthography of F39 shows that the same person inscribed each column. Other paleographical peculiarities further define the hand of this scribe: the long "tail" on the red crown glyph (S3), the particularly pointy knees of the seated man (A40), the short end of character (Aa11) which extends just a little too far.

One of the most revealing of the paleographic idiosyncrasies is the glyph for Nephthys (O9). This glyph is a composite glyph consisting of a basket (*nb(.t)*) (V30) sitting atop the glyph of a floorplan for an enclosure (*hw.t*) (O6). Together they spell the goddesses name (*nb(.t)-hw.t*). On this coffin, the glyph appears in the inscription under the arm in Register A, and it's written unusually. The basket is sunk into the top of the floorplan so that it is contained in the other glyph rather than sitting on top of it. Only its front corner pokes out of the top of the floor plan. In Vignette P, the mummification scene, the glyph is again drawn on Nephthys' head, and it's drawn the same way it is in the inscription. Combined with the similar "sketchy" quality of the lines (their variable thickness and color, and frequent mistakes) the similarity between the Nephthys sign in the vignettes and that in the inscription is enough to show that the same person drew the vignettes and wrote the inscription.

## Workshops Producing Yellow-Type Coffins at Akhmim

The coffins discussed in the previous catalogue entries have long been associated with each other stylistically,<sup>470</sup> and with a several pieces which have no collection history or titles connecting them with Akhmim. Liptay, who does not consider the coffin of Aaefenhör, proposes the coffins of Knumensanapehsu and Hory were made by an Akhmim atelier producing low quality coffins based on models from Deir el-Medina in the early 21st dynasty.<sup>471</sup> Niwinski includes the coffin of Aaefenhör in his discussion, and while he also compares the iconography on the coffins with Theban models, he comes to a different conclusion: the pieces were made in the same Akhmim workshop in the middle of the 21st dynasty.<sup>472</sup>

A close examination of the decoration of these four coffins which have proveniences based on titles and documentary evidence, allows us to untangle the mystery of how these coffins relate to each other. To start, the four coffins discussed fall into two groups, one group contains the coffins of Hory, Khui-ipuy, and Knumensanapehsu. The other group contains the coffin of Aaefenhör.

The coffins of Khui-ipuy at the Rosicrucian Museum in San Jose and the coffin of Knumensanapehsu in Berlin were drafted by the same person, and the inscriptions were the work of the same scribe. The work of the artist is characterized by canids with faces that are tilted slightly upwards and small, triangular ears which curve at the back where the ear meets the head. The necks of the canids and the figures of Osiris are stretched forward and form an arc. The male figures have hanging ornaments on their kilts. The goddesses have dresses patterned with wave patterns, hatching, or bead networks, and their foreheads are adorned with uraei that have horns and sun-disks. The goddesses tend to have tall rectangular faces with angular chins and flat facial profiles. As for the scribe, his writing is characterized by the special care taken to render the figures of animals, especially cattle and ducks. He manages to render the hooves and musculature of the bull (E1) in miniature using simple strokes of a red brush. The way he draws the *mdw* staff with two small dots on either side of the bottom is distinctive, as is the slight fork at the top of the spear glyph (T23). This scribe always spells the word for "bread" with a loaf glyph (X2) that looks like the incense burner glyph (R7). He consistently spells the title of Osiris "ruler of linear time" with the land glyph so that it might be read in two ways: "Ruler of linear time" and "Ruler of linear time and the land" (*ḥqꜣ d.t vs ḥqꜣ d.t t*).

The coffin of Hory shares most of these characteristics and may be by the same artist and scribe as the other two coffins. On the coffin of Hory costumes of the goddesses lose their interior patterns, and in most instances, the long sashes are gone as well. On the coffin of Hory, mouths and noses of the figures are, on the whole, more carefully drawn: they have rounded chins and well delineated noses (Figure 36).

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<sup>470</sup> This is with the exception of the coffin of Khui-ipuy, which has only been mentioned in footnotes in a few publications, as pictures have not been easily available.

<sup>471</sup> Éva Liptay, *Coffins and Coffin Fragments of the Third Intermediate Period*, Catalogues of the Egyptian Collection, 1 (Budapest: Museum of Fine Arts, 2011).

<sup>472</sup> Niwiński, 'The 21st Dynasty Coffins of a Non-Theban Origin, a "Family" for the Vatican Coffin of Anet'.



Figure 36: Instances of the goddess Isis on the coffin of a) Khui-  
ipuy, b) Knumensanapehsu, and c) Hory

The glyphs exhibit most of the same orthographic and spelling peculiarities on all three coffins. However, some of the characters are drawn differently on the coffin of Hory: some examples of the offering tray glyph (R4) seem to have a heart-shape on them rather than a diamond shape as is the case with the other coffins, for example. However, the three coffins are otherwise so similar in paleography, spelling, and art style, that if they aren't by the same person, they must have been painted by scribes and artists who were working extremely closely together and consciously trying to create products that looked the same: perhaps an experienced draftsman and apprentice. Given that the quality of the draftsmanship is slightly finer

on the coffin of Hory, the pieces may just be the products of the same people at different phases of their careers.

While the elements of the vignettes are very similar between the coffins of Hory, Knumensanapehsu and Khui-*Ipuy*, the layout of the coffin of Hory is noticeably different. This is because the lid of the coffin of Hory has a much simpler design. All the deities in the vignettes reflected around the central column are mummiform, meaning that they take up less space. The scenes are very formulaic, featuring a mummiform deity, an offering table, and a third entity which is sometimes the deceased, but otherwise another mummiform deity or the *Imiut* fetish. There are hardly any captions.

These design decisions leave a lot of negative space, and Hory's coffin appears less cluttered and chaotic than the other two. On the other hand, the basin of Hory's coffin has more vignettes on either side than do the others. Some of the differences may stem from the fact that he worked in the cult of Isis and Horus-Son-of-Isis rather than the cult of Min. Perhaps the clergy of this cult preferred a more abbreviated style or perhaps its members had fewer resources to spend on coffins. The goddess plays a larger role in the vignettes on the coffin of Hory than she does on the other coffins, appearing in most scenes, and replacing Nephthys so that there are two Isis figures on the foot of the coffin and in the embalming scene on the side. Hory's relatively low rank may have also influenced the complexity of the design on the lid, and we might have in the coffin of Hory an example of a "lower elite" design.

Now, we turn to the coffin of Aaefenhor, which is substantially different than the other three pieces in terms of art style, paleography, and orthography. The same artist was responsible for the entire surface decoration because of several distinctive features which repeat across its surface, namely the bushy-tailed muscular jackals and Osiris with a twisted torso and a long ribbon on his crown (Figure 35). The art has a "sketchy" quality. The draftsman was capable of creating elegant well-proportioned figures but was not good at controlling his medium resulting in variable linewidth and length. The same scribe was shown to be

responsible for all the inscriptions, and furthermore, the unusual way the Nephthys sign was drawn both in the inscription and on the goddess' head shows that the scribe and the artist were the same person.

Looking at a higher level, the lid corresponds more closely with the Theban models than do the other coffins in the catalogue, specifically, the coffin of Aefenhor fits into Niwinski's group II-c. This means that decoration is dense, but not as dense as that of some Theban pieces from the end of the dynasty, and that lateral inscriptions are present on the lid and are meant to be read from the front when the coffin is standing.<sup>473</sup> Like many Theban pieces the central column of this coffin is replaced by a long strip of square vignettes which represent shrines containing ram-headed scarabs.

The lid and basin are much more architectonic in nature than on the other three coffins. The vignettes that are supposed to take place inside are separated by columns in the form of *Djed* pillars, while the outside scenes are simply separated by columns of text bearing formulae. The cobra and Maat feather frieze runs around the entire perimeter of the coffin.

We can thus divide these coffins into two workshops: **the first workshop** produced the coffins of Khui-ipuy, Knumenanapehsu, and Hory. These coffins have a layout without lateral bands and with minimal architectonic features.<sup>474</sup> Their text consists of offering formulae (*hṯp dī nsw.t*), recitations (*dd md.w in [NN]*), and sometimes longer texts, like the opening of the mouth text occurring on the coffin of Khui-Ipuy, and the long speech by Horus-Keeper-of-the-Scales in the Weighing of the Heart Scene. The decoration on these three coffins consists of scenes dealing with the funeral of the deceased, the relationship of the deceased with Osiris, and the relationship between Osiris with his dutiful son, Horus.

**The second workshop** produced the coffin of Aefenhor. It is characterized by a lid with lateral bands of horizontal text reading out from the center line, a highly architectonic layout, and the presence of Solar scenes and scenes adapted from the Theban repertoire on the basin. The texts consist mainly of "Revered one before God N" (*imḥw hr [NN]*) formulae.

With the abovementioned artistic and paleographic characteristics of each group in mind, we can begin to flesh out a larger picture of how these artists worked and what they believed by expanding our corpus to include some of the unprovenienced coffins which may be stylistically comparable.

#### Unprovenienced Coffins

Anonymous Woman: Australian Museum E19466

Only the basin of this piece survives, and it contains the mummified body of a woman whose name is never mentioned on the coffin basin. It was purchased by businessman Robert Lucas Tooth and donated to the Australian Museum in 1912. It is otherwise unpublished, and

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<sup>473</sup> Niwinski notes this characteristic of the lid of Aefenhor. However, he says that all the Akhmim coffins, including the coffin of Knumenanapehsu and Hory are II-c. These cannot be type II-c because they have no lateral inscriptions, which is the defining feature of this group. Niwiński, 'The 21st Dynasty Coffins of a Non-Theban Origin, a "Family" for the Vatican Coffin of Anet'.

<sup>474</sup> i.e. Columns for vignette dividers on the basin, a cobra frieze on the basin, a central column of square-shaped vignettes in shrines that resemble gateways on the lid.

nothing is known of its history before it was donated. Niwinski proposed that this piece had been produced by an Akhmim workshop because it featured the "greenery and tips" offering table, a mummification scene with diamond-patterned wrappings and a scene where the sun barque is towed by jackals. This scene also appears on the coffins of Aaefenhor and Knumensanapehsu.<sup>475</sup>



Figure 37: Detail of Nephthys from the coffin of an anonymous woman

A closer look at the coffin shows that it was painted and inscribed by the same person who painted and inscribed the coffin of Aaefenhor. The same orthographies and spelling peculiarities occur, including the distinctive Nephthys emblem (Figure 37). Osiris is drawn in the same posture on this coffin as he was on the coffin of Aaefenhor, and with the same ribbon on his crown. As far as can be seen, because they are damaged on the Australian Museum's coffin, the jackals pulling the sun-barque have the same distinctive profiles. The draftsmanship on both coffins has the same "sketchy" quality as well, complete with blots, smudges, and corrections. The artist apparently still had problems controlling the ink flow and consistency on this coffin.

Furthermore, the selection of vignettes is the same on the Anonymous Woman's coffin and the coffin of Aaefenhor,<sup>476</sup> and the vignettes are placed in nearly the same positions on both pieces. We can therefore say that if the coffin of Aaefenhor came from Akhmim, then the coffin of the Anonymous Woman did as well, since they were both painted by the same artist.

The Coffin of Sesekhnofru, Copenhagen, ÆIN 0062

The coffin of Sesekhnofru<sup>477</sup> was purchased by Carl Jacobsen on the art market in Beirut in 1884. We know from the records associated with Hory's coffin, that Maspero must have found a tomb with 21st Dynasty burials at Akhmim during this year. However, the museum has no information tying the piece to the site. In fact, Walsem originally proposed that the coffin of Sesekhnofru was from Deir el-Medina based on a comparison between the distinctive offering table on this coffin and the coffin of Anet in the Vatican.<sup>478</sup> Both coffins have since been stylistically tied to the Akhmim group successively by Bettum, Liptay, and Niwinski.<sup>479</sup>

<sup>475</sup> Niwiński, 'The 21st Dynasty Coffins of a Non-Theban Origin, a "Family" for the Vatican Coffin of Anet'.

<sup>476</sup> With the possible exception of the top of the head, on which the plaster has flaked off to the degree that it's difficult to tell what the decoration was. The outward facing jackals are absent and the presence of a winged Maat cannot be confirmed.

<sup>477</sup> This piece is published in: Jørgensen, pp. 57–91; Otto Koefoed-Petersen, *Catalogue Des Sarcophages et Cercueils Égyptiens*, Publications de La Glyptothèque Ny Carlsberg, 4 (Copenhagen, 1951), pp. 14-19 Pl XXI-XXXIV.

<sup>478</sup> van Walsem.

<sup>479</sup> Bettum, 'Faces Within Faces: The Symbolic Function of Nested Yellow Coffins in Ancient Egypt'; Liptay, 'A Local Pattern of the Twenty-First Dynasty Theban Coffin Type from Akhmim'; Niwiński, 'The 21st Dynasty Coffins of a Non-Theban Origin, a "Family" for the Vatican Coffin of Anet'.

Sesekhnofru (*ssḥ-nfr.w*) was a god's father of "Isis of the Musical Troupe" (*it ntr ʾs.t n ʿ ḥnr.t*).<sup>480</sup> The piece was recycled for another owner in the 25th or 26th dynasty, at which time a new basin-floor was added. The body associated with the piece today is a third person still, to judge from the associated Ptolemaic cartonnage overlays.<sup>481</sup> This is also the only 21st dynasty coffin from Akhmim for which we have a date. The coffin was radio-carbon dated to 1110-1050 BCE: the end of the New Kingdom and beginning of the 21st dynasty. The coffin cannot have been made prior to this.<sup>482</sup>

Though it cannot be tied to Akhmim through provenience, design pattern similarities indicate that the coffin was probably produced by the same artists who produced the coffins of Hory, Knumensanapehsu, and Khui-ipuy. The designers sought to solve the problem of rebirth through layout, vignette selection and placement in the same way on all four coffins. Like the other coffins of the first workshop described above, the coffin of Sesekhnofru lacks the lateral bands of text on the lid and architectonic elements associating the coffin with the deified mummy and temple respectively. The focus in all the offering scenes is Osiris. The officiant is either the deceased, or Horus. The coffin features a mummification scene with a colorfully wrapped deceased, and a weighing of the heart scene where Horus operates the scales. The text in the later is the same as on the coffins of Khui-ipuy and Knumensanapehsu. The adoration of the sons of Horus is a vignette on the ankle of the basin of the coffin.

The piece also shares some interesting parallels with the second group and has some features that have not yet appeared. Firstly, the canopic jars underneath the bier in the mummification scene no longer have animal heads. They are now indistinguishable from *nms.t* jars. This also occurs on the coffins of Aaefenhor and the Anonymous woman. New features include a vignette on the basin with Isis and Nephthys standing on either side of the Abydos Fetish. There is also a distinctive vertical band of chevron pattern running down the outer side of both lappets of the wig.

Despite the fact that the coffin shares iconographic features with the first workshop, it was drawn and inscribed by a different artist and scribe. This artist draws the lips as part of the profile in human faces. His canids have a slight curve around the throat and sometimes even a small pat of fat on the bottoms of their chins. His falcon-headed deities do not have the feathered pattern at the top of their eye-markings, and the lower beak is clearly drawn whereas the line of the throat runs directly into the sharp upper beak on all of the pieces in Workshop One. The scribe also seems to have been a different person than the one who worked on any of the coffins above. For example, the red forelegs of the birds emerge directly from the mass of their body on the four provenienced coffins, but on this coffin, the birds have well defined upper legs and the tailfeathers are well separated from them.

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<sup>480</sup> This epithet of Isis is not in the LGG, and while Gauthier discusses a *xnr.t* of Min and Isis and Horus, his examples are always officials of the musical troupe of the god. The way the title is worded here suggests that the goddess herself is "of the Musical Troupe." Gauthier, *Le Personnel du Dieu Min*, pp. 109–10.

<sup>481</sup> Jørgensen, p. 56.

<sup>482</sup> To assume that the coffin dates to this time, however, would be to assume that the tree was cut down to make a coffin for Sesekhnofru and not made into another coffin or object first. This is a tall order for any piece in the 21st dynasty when usurpation was the rule rather than the exception.

If we accept that this coffin is indeed an Akhmim coffin because of its design pattern, we now have two different artists and scribes who were working on coffins with the Workshop 1 features.

The Coffin of Tayuherit, Gustavianum Uppsala Universitetsmuseum

The coffin of the Chantress of Isis (*sm<sup>c</sup>y.t n 3s.t*), Tayuherit (*b.w-hry.t*) was donated to the Gustavianum by Swedish Crown Princess Victoria, who had obtained the coffin on a trip to Egypt in 1891 or 1892.<sup>483</sup> The piece is in poor condition--plaster has flaked off irregularly on the lid and basin so that few of the vignettes are completely intact. At some point, the basin was made shallower; the bottom fourth of all the vignettes on it is now missing. However, it is possible to ascertain what vignettes were present and where. The piece was associated with the Akhmim group by Niwinski based on iconographic similarities such as the shape of the greenery on the offering tables and the chevron-patterned band that runs between the side of the wig and collar at the shoulders on both sides of the neck.<sup>484</sup> This feature also appears on the coffin of Sesekhnofru.

The coffin of Tayuherit certainly belongs with our corpus because the layout and selection of vignettes on the lid is very similar to that of Aaefenhor.<sup>485</sup> There is a clear



Figure 38: Female figures on the coffins of Khui-ipuy (A) Anonymous Woman (B), and Tayuherit (C). Note the differing treatment of the hands and facial contour.

<sup>483</sup> Thank you to Sofia Häggman at the Gustavianum, Uppsala for this information. Personal communication: Häggman Sofia to Kea Johnston, 'VB: Egyptian Coffin VM 153', 1 September 2021.

<sup>484</sup> Niwiński, 'The 21st Dynasty Coffins of a Non-Theban Origin, a "Family" for the Vatican Coffin of Anet'.

<sup>485</sup> They both have the central column of winged scarabs in shrines, the winged goddess with jackals under her wings in the first register, the deceased praising Osiris in the first mirrored register, a scene with a jackal running in



relationship between the decoration of this coffin and that of the coffins in Workshop 2. The vignette selection on the basin features some familiar themes. As on the coffin of Sesekhnofru, there seems to be a scene of the two goddesses adoring the Abydos fetish. The sons of Horus are given a vignette on the left shin of the basin--each one stands in his own ornate shrine. A heavily abraded scene depicts Horus operating the scales in the weighing of the heart ritual. There are also a few surprises: Instead of the expected sunboat scenes and undulating serpents from the coffin of Aaefenhor and the Anonymous Woman, this coffin has a scene of the sycamore goddess pouring out libations for the ba of the deceased. This vignette is on both sides of the head, and though it is damaged on both sides, the goddess seems to have the head of a cow.

The art style shares features with coffins of both of the Workshops proposed above. The goddesses wear heavily patterned dresses as they do in the first group, but Osiris wears the white crown rather than the Atef crown in the scenes, and his body has the same strange torsion as he does on the coffin of Aaefenhor in the second group. A comparison between the figure of Tayuherit in a vignette, and the depictions of other female deceased show that here we are dealing with yet another artist (Figure 38). Not much of the text survives on the coffin of Tayuherit, but what does indicate that we are probably looking at a different scribe as well.

#### The Coffin of Horhotep and Others

Liptay has suggested that the coffin of Horhotep ought to be considered to be from Akhmim based on the "greenery with tips" offering table and the way the snakes face the foot of the coffin in the cobra frieze. She associates the piece with a certain Horhotep who served the divine Adoratrice Maatkare A in Thebes, and who also held the title of High priest of Min, Horus, and Isis, implying an Akhmim connection.<sup>486</sup> Of this coffin, only three fragments of the basin remain. Two are in Budapest<sup>487</sup> and one is in Uppsala. None of them preserve any titles for Horhotep. An examination of the pieces shows little in common with the pieces thus far discussed. The creation of the world and staircase scenes do not feature on any of the other coffins. Liptay proposes that the piece was a coffin belonging to the highest tier of elite at Akhmim. This might explain the presence of scenes known otherwise from Theban pieces. However, the remaining fragments of this coffin provide little argument for including the piece in the groups described above, because other than the features mentioned by Liptay, there is little similarity in either the scene selection or art style between this piece and the others discussed. There is simply not enough evidence to say whether this piece was made in an Akhmim workshop.

There are several more coffins which could not be studied in depth for this work, but which probably do belong with the 21st dynasty Akhmim corpus based on their layout, text and vignette content.<sup>488</sup> These are:

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front of the Abydos fetish, and a scene under the crossed arms with winged goddesses protecting the Abydos fetish.

<sup>486</sup> Liptay, 'A Local Pattern of the Twenty-First Dynasty Theban Coffin Type from Akhmim'.

<sup>487</sup> The Budapest pieces are 87.4, 87.5 and are published in: Éva Liptay, 'Deux Fragments de Cercueil de la XXIème Dynastie', *Bulletin de Musee Hongrois des Beaux Arts*, 76 (1992), 3–13; Liptay, *Coffins and Coffin Fragments of the Third Intermediate Period*, pp. 69–70. The number of the Uppsala piece is not mentioned.

<sup>488</sup> I would like to thank Jaume Fabregat for bringing the coffins of Fay, Isetnofret and Ankhaf to my attention.



- The coffin of the woman Fay at the Field Museum in Chicago, which has a similar lid to Aaefenhor and Tayuherit, including the depiction of Osiris with the white crown and rotated posture. It shares in common with Tayuherit a starburst pattern on the nipple.<sup>489</sup>
- The coffin of Anet, Museo Gregoriano, Vatican, Number XII.2.1.<sup>490</sup> This is the piece was the scholarly entry point for the study of Akhmim coffins of the 21st dynasty, since it was the first piece of the group to be well published, and it was the first whose differences were described and compared with other pieces. The reader is directed to the Gasse publication for transcriptions of the texts. The museum does not have an extensive record on its history, except that it came from the Pontificio Instituto Biblico in Rome in 1985.<sup>491</sup> It has similarities both with the coffin of Khui-ipuy and Knumensanapehsu, but also shares some interesting features with the coffin of Aaefenhor, such as the small vignette of winged goddesses protecting the Abydos fetish painted below the crossed arms on the lid. As was the case with the coffin of the Anonymous woman and Sesekhnofru, the canopic jars on this piece are rendered as *nms.t* jars. The piece features a cobra frieze around the perimeter of the basin lip and the Nephthys glyph is drawn with the basket sunk into the floor plan.
- The coffin of the woman Isetnofret (*3s.t-nfr.t*)<sup>492</sup> in the Putnam museum in Davenport Iowa (Accession No. AR 21190), which also has the depiction of Osiris with a rotated torso, and has a lid very similar to that of Fay, Tayuherit and Aaefenhor. It has a weighing scene with Horus at the scales and a scene with Horus as a lunmutef priest on the right side of the coffin. The other was not available to study. This piece also features the starburst pattern on the nipple.
- The coffin and mummy board of Ankhef in the Ivanovo Regional Art Museum in Russia.<sup>493</sup> This coffin has a lid with a similar layout and placement of vignettes to that of Aaefenhor. The decoration on the lid and basin of this piece is very dense with respect to all of the other pieces, but all of the usual scenes are present: The adoration of the Abydos fetish, the weighing of the heart by Horus, the mummification of the deceased by Anubis. There is even a scene of the four sons on the ankle of the basin. The depictions of Osiris often have the rotated torso and dangling ribbons from his crown. This is also the only coffin from this group known to have a mummy board.
- The coffin of the Chantress of Isis Nesyaset, sold at Bonhams London on July 3rd, 2019.<sup>494</sup> This coffin has been subject to some poor conservation in modern times, to

<sup>489</sup> I was unable to contact the museum for an accession number or any other information about this piece. The number may be 876, since this is the only 21st dynasty coffin in their database.

<sup>490</sup> Annie Gasse, *Les Sarcophages de La Troisième Période Intermédiaire Du Museo Gregoriano Egizio* (Vatican: Città del Vaticano, 1996), pp. 148–57.

<sup>491</sup> I owe this information to Dr. Alessia Amenta who communicated with me on 10/4/2021

<sup>492</sup> Thank you to Christina Kastell at the Putnam Museum for kindly providing me with information and pictures of this piece.

<sup>493</sup> Vladimir Bolshakov, 'Burial Ensemble of Ankhef in the Collection of the Ivanovo Regional Art Museum (Russia)', in *'Yellow' Coffins from Thebes: Recording and Decoding Complexity in Egyptian Funerary Arts (21st-22nd Dynasties)*, ed. by Rogério Sousa, BAR International Series, 3010 (Oxford: BAR Publishing, 2020), pp. 145–82.

<sup>494</sup> 'Bonhams : An Egyptian Painted Wood Anthropoid Coffin for Nes-Aset'

<<https://www.bonhams.com/auctions/25388/lot/316/>> [accessed 26 September 2021].

judge from the pictures. The vignettes all seem somewhat smudged, making it hard to say anything definite about the way the figures are drawn. The piece has a close similarity to the coffin of Hory in that the deceased pays homage to various mummiform figures on the lid, which has no lateral text bands. There are no architectonic elements on the basin. The deceased libates before the four sons on the left ankle, and Horus as a lunmutef priest officiates for his father in the presence of the deceased on the basin at the level of the elbows. There is also a scene of the adoration of the Abydos fetish. Interestingly, the left ankle features a vignette of Taweret, who is unusual on coffins.

- The Fragmentary Coffin of Anonymous, Banat Museum Timișoara, Romania No.s 1142-1146 & National Museum of Budapest 51.325.<sup>495</sup> These fragmentary pieces represent sawed up portions of a coffin basin. The decoration on the fragments is of medium density and the surviving fragments feature decoration on a white ground. The decoration is in blue,<sup>496</sup> red, and green. The preserved scenes include a Geb and Nut scene, which would be the first example of this scene on an Akhmim coffin. Other scenes include a scene of the Four Sons of Horus in front of a winged cobra on a papyrus stalk, a scene of Thoth offering to Osiris, and a scene of goddesses surrounding the Abydos pillar. Two of these scenes have analogues on the Akhmim coffins discussed above. Furthermore, the goddess' dresses are filled with a messy hatching pattern with blue dots like that on the coffin of Aaefenhör. The Nephthys glyph is drawn in the same peculiar way on this coffin and on Aaefenhör --the basket on top is subsumed into the floor-plan glyph.
- Coffin of Meretenahet, Vienna Kunsthistorisches Museum ÄS 6066. This piece has no collection history attached other than that it was acquired in 1885. Parts of the head and chest were repainted in the 19th century, and the decoration on the lid is often hard to read because of damage to the paint. The owner was a chantress and singer of Isis.<sup>497</sup> Haslauer and Egner notice a similarity between this piece and the coffin of Seseknofru in Copenhagen,<sup>498</sup> and Niwinski feels that the coffin of Meretenahet is probably also from Akhmim.<sup>499</sup> Indeed it does share several features with the pieces discussed above. It has a mummification scene, though this version has a ba-bird and a completely wrapped mummy. The coffin also has a scene where the lunmutef priest serves Osiris while the deceased looks on. It has a judgement scene with Horus as the keeper of the scales, and it has the scene where goddesses (four this time) adore and

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<sup>495</sup> Liptay, *Coffins and Coffin Fragments of the Third Intermediate Period*, pp. 65–66; Branislav Anđelković and Emily Teeter, 'A Coffin Dispersed: Case-Study of 21st Dynasty Coffin Fragments (Timișoara 1142–1146, Budapest 51.325)', *ISSUES IN ETHNOLOGY AND ANTHROPOLOGY*, 10.1 (2016), 209 <<https://doi.org/10.21301/EAP.V10.I1.11>>.

<sup>496</sup> Contra Anđelković and Teeter, p. 10. who comment that blue was used sparingly on this piece, I wonder if this perception might not be a false one derived from the piece's modern appearance. It seems to me that much of the black used on the coffin was originally blue but has deteriorated.

<sup>497</sup> Roswitha Egner and Elfriede Reiser-Haslauer, *Särge der Dritten Zwischenzeit*, Corpus antiquitatum Aegyptiacarum, 10, Löse-Blatt, 2 vols (Mainz am Rhein: Ph. von Zabern, 2009), II, pp. 116–23.

<sup>498</sup> Egner and Reiser-Haslauer, II, p. 122.

<sup>499</sup> Niwiński, 'The 21st Dynasty Coffins of a Non-Theban Origin, a "Family" for the Vatican Coffin of Anet', p. 335.

protect the Abydos Fetish. The drawing style and texts on this piece could not be studied in detail.

#### Two Design Patterns for 21st Dynasty Coffins from Akhmim

As discussed in the section on Pattern Books in Part I, this work considers coffins wholistically in terms of Design Patterns--that is, how the appearance of the coffin solved the problem of rebirth. This encompasses layout, scene selection, and scene placement. We can now make some generalizations about what a 21st dynasty coffin from Akhmim looked like and draw some conclusions about the decisions that went into drafting and inscribing them. At first glance, coffins from Akhmim share a yellow ground, varnish, color palette, and general layout with contemporary yellow coffins from Thebes, Memphis and other places. The regional difference tends to lie in what is depicted, how it is depicted, and where. Many Akhmim coffins have Maat on the top of the head and have a vignette of the sons of Horus on the ankle area of the basin. This means that Akhmim coffins do not have the same hourly-vigil (*Stundewache*) symbolism as do early 21st dynasty Theban pieces.<sup>500</sup> On the chest, they have a ram-headed scarab or a heart amulet, or sometimes both (Sesekhnofru). This is reminiscent of the Book of the Dead 125 vignette on many of the coffins in which the deceased cradles a heart-shaped pendant in his hand showing that he has passed the judgement and received his heart. In general, the iconography deals with the relationship between the deceased and the Osiris, Isis, and Horus triad. Horus plays a special role, libating and anointing his father in the roles of Horus who Protects his Father (*hr nḏ it=f*) and Horus, Pillar of his Mother (*hr iwn mw.t=f*).

These themes are expressed through two Design Patterns at Akhmim. The first Design Pattern has a layout with no lateral bands of text on the lid. Instead, the lateral bands were replaced by thin strips of block pattern. For this Design Pattern, architectonic elements on the lid and basin are not required and are variable. The coffin can have a cobra frieze around the basin lip (Khui-ipuy) or vignette dividers that look like columns (Hory), but both elements can also be entirely absent (Knumesanapehsu). The theme of the selected vignettes centers the relationship between the deceased and the trinity of Osiris, Isis, and Horus. In these scenes, the deceased is often a secondary participant, looking on or pouring libations while Horus interacts with his parents. Most of the texts are offering formulae, but occasionally longer and more complicated texts occur, such as the Opening of the Mouth text on the coffin of Khui-Ipuy and the speeches of Horus-Keeper-of-the-Scales which occur on the coffins of Khui-Ipuy, Knumesanapehsu, and Sesekhnofru.

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<sup>500</sup> These late Ramesside and Early 21st Dynasty Theban pieces have Isis and Nephthys at the head and foot, and the four sons on each side, and when visualized in 3D resemble a vigil with the deceased at the center. It also resembled the vignette for BD 189. See Function and Symbolism in the chapter about the Theban Model above.

The second Design Pattern is like the first, but the lid has lateral bands of horizontally oriented text reading outwards from the center on each side. The decoration is much more dense and there is less negative interstitial space between figures--the space is usually filled with wedjat eyes or stars or other symbols. The central textual column is replaced by a vignette column of stacked square vignettes depicting ram-headed scarabs in enclosures representing the entry to a temple and adding to the architectonic symbolism of the lid as a door or a gateway. With these coffins, the architectonic symbolism returns on the basin, and all examples of this group have a cobra frieze around the perimeter. Column-shaped vignette dividers for



Figure 39: Embalming Scene on the coffin of an Anonymous Woman.

scenes supposed to take place indoors are a regular feature.

With coffins of the second Design Pattern, the theme of selected vignettes continues to revolve around the relationship between the deceased and Osiris, but solar elements are introduced. These include the ram-headed scarabs and depictions of the solar barque being towed by jackals. These elements were sometimes

present but inconsistent in Design Pattern 1, becoming solidified in Design Pattern 2. The trend is exemplified by the embalming scene (if it can still be called that) on the coffins of Aaefenhor and the Anonymous Woman, where Anubis is removed from the embalming scene and a large winged solar disk is introduced above Osiris/The Deceased on the bier (Figure 39).

The difference between the two Design Patterns is one where, in the first the mechanism of rebirth lies in the identification of the deceased with Osiris and the inclusion of the deceased amongst his following. In the second, the iconography of the Osirian rebirth is retained, but possibility of a Solar-Osirian rebirth is added through the inclusion of limited Solar symbolism and the re-envisioning of the coffin as a sacred space.

#### The Relationship Between Workshop and Design Pattern

Based on the current evidence, it is tempting to propose that these Design Patterns correspond to different workshops. The work of a particular artist seems limited to a single group.<sup>501</sup> However, several factors suggest that all the coffins are the product of multiple generations of artists in the same workshop whose ideas about how the Design Pattern of the coffin aids the rebirth of the deceased were changing over time. The evidence for this is two-fold. Firstly, some Design Pattern Two pieces have artistic elements that are also present on Design Pattern One pieces. Some of these appear on all the coffins, like the "greenery with tips" offering tables, and also the chevron-patterned band around the outside of the wig lappets on the lid. Some features which appear on all of the Design Pattern One pieces, such as the blue

<sup>501</sup> The artists and scribes who made the coffin of Hory, Knumensanapehsu and Khui-ipuy only made group 1 coffins, and the artist of the Anonymous Woman and Aaefenhor only created group 2 coffins.

zigzag line pattern on the dresses of Isis and Nephthys,<sup>502</sup> occur on the Design Pattern 2 pieces as well. Features like the depiction of Osiris with a rotated torso are restricted to Design Pattern 2. These shared features indicate that the artists who worked on the different Design Patterns were influencing and copying each other, and that the transfer of knowledge was moving in one direction from Design Pattern 1 to Design Pattern 2. This in turn implies we are dealing with a single group of people whose approach to the problem of rebirth was changing, perhaps over time and with exposure to ideas from the South. This theory is supported by the increase in decoration density between Design Patterns 1 and 2, indicating that the latter was probably made later chronologically.

The other factor that points to a single Akhmim workshop is that there is a significant overlap in the vignettes used.<sup>503</sup> This means that if the artists were using a pattern book or archive for the texts and vignettes, they all were using the same one. If they were working from memory on the vignettes, they were sharing knowledge on which vignettes were appropriate for a coffin and how to draw them. This knowledge would not have been common, and many of the vignettes which are regular on Akhmim coffins, such as the mummification scene, are uncommon on Theban ones.

A 21st Dynasty Akhmim Pattern Book?

The placement of vignettes on the coffins is not rigid, and because of this, it is unlikely that the model used by the artisans took the form of another coffin. Instead, there seems to have been developing set of loose rules governing the placement of vignettes with the result that specific vignettes had an affinity for certain areas.

Because the placement of the vignettes was so flexible, we can imagine a pattern book taking the form of a series of individual vignettes, perhaps on Ostraca or papyrus from which the artist could get a general idea of the composition of the scene. He could then slot them into available spaces based on the set of loose rules which formed, along with the layout, the Design Pattern of the coffin.

From the coffins discussed above, the pattern book for each of the two design patterns would have been as follows.

Design Pattern 1

Scene	Placement	Examples
Winged Nut	Chest, below collar (lid)	All examples
Maat with spread wings.	Top of Head, Basin	Hory, Knumensanapehsu Nesyaset Anet Meretenahet
Winged goddess protecting a symbol, facing foot	Both sides of head, Basin	Knumensanapehsu (Goddess is Maat, Symbol is <i>Djed</i> Pillar), Hory (Goddess is Isis, Symbol is Falcon),

<sup>502</sup> These occur on Knumensanapehsu and Khui-ipuy (Group 1) and on Ankhef (Group 2).

<sup>503</sup> The increasing solar themes on Design Pattern 2 results from repetitive use of and modification of vignettes that appear in a limited fashion in Design Pattern 1.

Single Son of Horus, Facing foot	Both sides of head, Basin	Nesyaset (mummiform) Sesekhnofru (striding)
<i>Djed</i> Pillar	Both sides of head (Basin) Right Ankle (Basin) Bottom of foot	Anet Hory (With Human Arms) Meretenahet (With Human Arms)
lunmutef priest before Osiris	Abdomen (lid) Chest(basin)	Sesekhnofru Knumensanapehsu Meretennahet Nesyaset
Horus son of Isis or Horus Who Protects his Father before Osiris	Abdomen (lid) Chest (Basin)	Knumensanapehsu Khui-ipuy Anet (With Thoth and Maat) Hory Sesekhnofru Meretenahet
Deceased Adoring Or libating Osiris	Hips (lid) Abdomen (Basin)	Knumensanapehsu (adoring) Khui-ipuy (libating) Anet (libating) Meretenahet(?) Nesyaset (libating)
Deceased Adoring Other Deities	Hips (lid) Hips (basin) Legs (Basin)	Khui-Ipuy (Ptah, Anubis) Hory (Ptah-sokar-osiris) Meretenahet (Hathor, Ptah-sokar-Osiris) Nesyaset (Anubis)
Deceased and Thoth Before Osiris	Chest (Basin)	Anet Sesekhnofru
Various deities offer to the Abydos Fetish	Hips (lid)	Knumensanapehsu Anet Khui-Ipuy
Four sons of Horus <sup>504</sup>	Legs (lid) Legs(Basin) Hips (lid)	Knumensanapehsu Khui-ipuy Anet Hory Sesekhnofru Meretenahet Nesyaset
Osirian Rams on standards	Ankles(lid)	Khui-ipuy Anet Sesekhnofru
Two goddesses mourning on neb signs	Foot (lid)	Knumensanapehsu Anet Hory (Goddess on Mats) Meretenahet Nesyaset
Judgement with Horus at the scales	Legs (Basin) Abdomen (Basin, Meretenahet)	Knumensanapehsu Khui-ipuy Sesekhnofru Meretenahet

<sup>504</sup> Most examples have the four sons on both the lid and the basin.

Mummification Scene	Hips (Basin) Legs (Basin, Meretenahet)	Knumensanapehsu Khui-ipuy Anet Hory Sesekhnofru
Jackal on standard	Bottom of foot (Lid) Top of foot (lid)	Knumensanapehsu Sesekhnofru
Two goddesses surround Abydos fetish	Under crossed arms(lid) Abdomen (basin) Abdomen (lid)	Anet Sesekhnofru Meretenahet

## Design Pattern 2

Scene	Placement	Examples
Maat with Spread Wings	Top of Head (Basin)	Aaefenhor
		Ankhef
Falcon on Imentet Standard	Sides of Head (Basin)	Anonymous Woman (Sydney)
		Aaefenhor
Winged Goddess with Falcon on Standard	Sides of Head (Basin)	Ankhef
Sycamore Goddess	Sides of Head (Basin)	Tayuherit
Winged Nut	Chest(Lid)	All examples
Deceased Before Osiris	Chest (Basin)	Anonymous Woman (Sydney)
		Tayuherit
		Aaefenhor
Iunmutef Priest before Osiris	Chest (Basin)	Anonymous Woman (Sydney)
		Aaefenhor
		Isethofret
		Ankhef
Deceased Before Osiris	Abdomen(Lid)	Tayuherit
		Isetnofret
		Aaefenhor
		Fay
Deceased Before Other Deities	Chest (Basin)	Isethofret
		Aaefenhor
Jackal running in front of Abydos Fetish	Hips and Legs (Lid)	Ankhef(Horus, Bennu Bird)
		Tayuherit
		Aaefenhor
		Isetnofret
		Fay
		Ankhef

Mourning Goddesses & Mummy, With Solar Disk	Hips and Legs (Basin)	Anonymous Woman (Sydney)
		Aaefenhor
		Ankhef
Solar barque pulled by jackals	Legs(Basin)	Anonymous Woman (Sydney)
		Aaefenhor
Mummiform Forms of Osiris	Legs(Basin)	Anonymous Woman (Sydney)
		Aaefenhor
		Ankhef
	Lid(Legs)	Aaefenhor
		Ankhef
Goddesses Flanking Abydos Fetish	Legs(Basin)	Tayuherit
		Ankhef
	Chest(Lid)	Tayuherit
		Fay
		Ankhef
Goddesses Flanking Scarabs	Chest(Lid)	Isetnofret
Osirian Rams	Legs(Lid)	Tayuherit
Weighing of Heart with Horus at Scales	Legs(Basin)	Tayuherit
		Isetnofret
		Ankhef
Four Sons of Horus	Legs(Basin)	Tayuherit
		Isetnofret
	Legs(Lid)	Tayuherit
		Isetnofret
Serpent and Stars	Ankles(Basin)	Aaefenhor
Mourning Goddesses	Foot(Lid)	Tayuherit

After the patterns were selected and their placement was decided, the draftsman copied the vignette patterns. However, he apparently did not feel the need to copy the patterns exactly, since even among pieces by the same artist, no two vignettes are exactly alike.



Here, it will be illustrative to look at the implementation of a single vignette which recurs throughout the Akhmim Yellow Coffin Corpus--the mummification scene.

In Figure 40, the first three scenes are by the same artist, but even these exhibit a lot of

experimentation and interpretation of the scene. On the coffin of Khui-ipuy (A), Anubis is standing behind the bier, while he's standing in front of it in the other two (B, C). On the coffin of Hory (C), he's grasping bandages in his hands, cinching them tightly around the mummy. In the version of the scene from the coffin of Knumensanapehsu (B), the fourth canopic jar has moved outside the area under the bed. In the version of the scene from the coffin of Hory, both goddesses are Isis (C).

The Scene from the coffin of Sesekhnofru (D) may have been the inspiration for the same vignette from the coffin of the Anonymous Woman (E). Compositionally, it's like scenes A, B, and C, except that in it, both goddesses are seated, and the canopic jars have transformed into *nms.t* jars. Also, the deceased's wrappings are now arranged in a diamond pattern. On the coffin of the Anonymous Woman (E), Anubis himself has been swapped out for a winged sun-disk, a lion-head has been added to the bier, which now has a long tail. Several crowns have been added down below with the canopic jars. The scene has ceased to be a mummification scene at all, and through a combination of experimentation and creativity, has become a depiction of the merging of the sun with Osiris in the underworld.

Literacy and Theological Training in 21st Dynasty Akhmim

The 21st dynasty coffins from Akhmim described above are a coherent corpus. They display a unique consistency in their design which is governed by a common set of set of rules and practices. This degree of freedom that the artists took while interpreting the scenes leads us to the question of whether the artists were theologically trained. We have so far operated under the assumption that they understood how the symbolism of funerary scenes was supposed to work, and there is little in the vignettes themselves to contradict that. Indeed, the fact that the artists of the



(A)



(B)



(C)



(D)



(E)

Figure 40: Mummification Scenes: A) Coffin of Khui-ipuy, B) Coffin of Knumensanapehsu, C) Coffin of Hory, D) Coffin of Sesekhnofru E)Coffin of an Anonymous

coffins with the mummification scene felt comfortable in changing the contents of the scenes indicates that they had a grasp of what was occurring in it. Details like the replacement of

animal-headed canopic jars with nemset jars under the bier would seem like an error by the artist until one recalls that canopic jars actually weren't in use during the mid 21st dynasty, and the organs were instead returned to the body. We might have here an instance of creative updating rather than an ignorance of how the scene was supposed to be. Even the strange presence of the two Isises in the mummification scene on the coffin of Hory has an explanation if we remember that Hory was a God's father of Isis, and that she takes an outsized role in the decoration of his coffin. There is a vignette where Hory makes an offering to Isis alone, without her husband or son, and this is unique in the corpus.<sup>505</sup> Furthermore, the important aspect of Isis and Nephthys in the mummification scene is their role as mourning women. Having two of Isis in the scene does not change its meaning, because it is not the goddess' individual identity that matters, it's their role. In short, there are many substitutions of one symbolic element for another in the vignettes, but all of them are sensible, leading to the conclusion that the artists knew what they were depicting and why they were depicting it.

As for whether the scribes were literate, a few points should be made. Firstly, the artists and the scribes may be the same people, as was the case with the coffin of Aaefenor and the Anonymous Woman. This artisan seems to have been partially literate, with his constant misspelling of the preposition "hr" in the "imḥw hr" formulae, and his preference for one or two word captions. However, all of what he wrote is readable, and all the glyphs are well-formed. The two pieces that he worked on are unique in the size of their vignettes and lack of text, and they may represent a lower elite group among the pieces with the second Design Pattern.

The scribe who wrote the texts on the coffins of Khui-ipuy, Knumensanapehsu and Hory was certainly literate, because he knew and utilized variable spellings of a many of the words he used. He was able to alter the orthography of these words for aesthetic purposes and to adapt the texts he was copying to fit the available space. The appearance of the hieratic form of the kiln sign (U3) on the coffin of Hory indicates that the person who wrote it was familiar with hieratic, as we might expect from a person who was trained as a scribe.<sup>506</sup>

Thus, we have a definable corpus of coffins from Akhmim during the 21st dynasty. The Corpus encompasses two phases of the same workshop. There were probably multiple generations of artisans who relied on the same repertoire of scenes for coffin decoration. Over time, their solution to problem of rebirth changed, manifesting in a different Design Pattern for the coffin lid and basin. The New Design Pattern should be seen as a sort of evolution of the older one, which shares many of the same vignettes, but in which solar and architectonic symbolism is emphasized. In at least two cases--the rest were inconclusive--the artist who drafted the coffin was also the scribe who wrote the inscriptions may have also written the inscriptions on the coffins that they worked on. While the inscriptions exhibit different levels of literacy. They were all able to manipulate and alter the vignettes that they used in ways that make sense theologically, indicating that they had some theological training.

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<sup>505</sup> A similar scene occurs on the coffin of Khui-ipuy, where the draftsman libates before "Ptah who is South of his Wall", a rare figure on coffins, since he has no funerary role. His inclusion makes sense if Khui-ipuy requested the inclusion of the patron of craftsmen.

<sup>506</sup> Scribes may have been trained in hieratic and were then trained to convert hieratic to hieroglyphic for specialized religious inscriptions. See: Jr Ogden Goelet, 'Writing Ramesside Hieratic: What The Late-Egyptian Miscellanies Tell Us About Scribal Education', *Servant of Mut*, 2007, 102–10.

## Akhmim Coffins in the Style of the Third Intermediate Period: 22nd to 25th Dynasty

At the beginning of the 22nd dynasty at Thebes, there was an abrupt shift in coffin design. The yellow coffin nest, which had been in use since the Post-Amarna period was replaced by a new form of coffin ensemble. Ideal coffin sets for the elite now contained a one-piece cartonnage which fit around the body like a shell and laced up the back. This was often brightly painted and minimally inscribed. The cartonnage was enclosed in one or more larger wooden outer coffins, which were often plain in their decoration.

This change seems to have taken effect across all of Egypt, because cartonnage-based sets with distinct local designs appear in the Faiyum and Memphite cemeteries at this time. The development of this tradition at Akhmim, however, is very hard to assess because there are only three cartonnages which can be associated with Akhmim with any sort of certainty. These three pieces, the coffins of Asetemakhbit, Nespaqaishuty, Heqaankhu, will be discussed below. A fourth coffin set, that of Ankhtashepsit is also discussed. It had long been associated with Akhmim in museum records and in the literature.<sup>507</sup> As we shall see in the conclusion, it is probably not from Akhmim. However, it can help us to understand what makes Third Intermediate Period cartonnage sets from Akhmim distinct from their counterparts made elsewhere.

### Coffin and Cartonnage of Asetemakhbit (MNX XI-482a,b), Czartoryski Museum, Krakow Overview

The outer coffin and cartonnage of Asetemakhbit (*ʒs.t-m-ʒhbi.t*) were purchased in Akhmim in 1884 for the collection of Prince Wladysław Czartoryski.<sup>508</sup> The two body containers remain in Cracow today, though their owner seems to have been removed from the cartonnage in modern times.<sup>509</sup> The iconography of the piece is described in detail by Liptay and Brech.<sup>510</sup> Liptay translates and transcribes the texts, but does not transliterate them, and so the piece is fully translated here in appendix III.

Asetemakhbit bore the titles of lady of the house (*nb.t pr*) and noblewoman (*ʒps.t*). She worked as a chantress of the temple of Amun (*sm<sup>c</sup>y.t n Imn*), probably in Thebes. Both her name and titles are very common among the Theban nobility of the late 21st and early 22nd dynasty. Unusually, her parentage is not given in the inscriptions on her coffins. Instead, the names of her husband and father-in-law are given on her outer coffin. Her husband is the God's Father of Min (*ʒt nṯr n mnw*) Hor (*ḥr*), son of Pameryhor (*pʒ-mry-ḥr*). These names allow us to identify Asetemakhbit with a lady of the same name depicted on the only known stela from Akhmim in the Third Intermediate Period.<sup>511</sup> The stela provides the name of Asetemakhbit's

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<sup>507</sup> Brech, pp. 33–35.

<sup>508</sup> Éva Liptay, 'The Cartonnage and Coffin of JS.T-M-3HBJ.T in the Czartoryski Museum, Cracow', *Studies in Ancient Art and Civilization*, 6 (1993), p. p 9, Notes 9, 10.

<sup>509</sup> Liptay records that the original 1884 packing slip mentions an intact female body, but that today, the cartonnage contains only a few bones. Liptay, 'The Cartonnage and Coffin of JS.T-M-3HBJ.T in the Czartoryski Museum, Cracow', p. 9, note 11.

<sup>510</sup> Brech, pp. 36–38.

<sup>511</sup> The stela is Cairo JE 26094, TN 20/6/24/10. It is discussed in: Munro, I,II, p. 118; Friedrich Wilhelm von Bissing, *Denkmäler ägyptischer Sculptur*, 2 vols (München: F. Bruckmann, 1914), II, sec. 98; Liptay, 'The Cartonnage and Coffin of JS.T-M-3HBJ.T in the Czartoryski Museum, Cracow', pp. 24–26.

father: Padiaset (*p3-di-3s.t*). It gives additional titles to her husband and traces his family back into the Ramesside period--all of the male members of his family were God's Fathers of Anubis and stolists of Min, lord of Akhmim (*it-ntr inpw, sm3.ty n mnw nb ipw*). Liptay proposes that Asetemkhebit was a Theban woman who married a provincial noble. However, without knowing Asetemkhebit ties into the Theban nobility, or how the chantress title was acquired we cannot know this for certain.<sup>512</sup> Her title and the fact that her daughter also became a chantress of Amun emphasizes the close ties between Akhmim and Thebes at this time. The long lineage of her husband's family and the Akhmim titles inherited by her sons Padiaset (*p3-di-3s.t*) and Paenbes (*p3-(n)-bs*) indicate that Akhmim had its own local nobility and an identity apart from that of the southern capital.

The outer coffin is roughly described by Taylor's lid design 1 for middle and outer coffins between the 22nd and 26th dynasties.<sup>513</sup> The sides of the basin and lower part of the lid are left undecorated, exposing the fine surface of the wood. Aside from the head area, the basin is uninscribed on the outside (the inside was not available for examination). The head and collar are elaborately painted--the deceased wears a striated wig with a vulture headdress and bands around the lappets on either side of her face. These bands are decorated with wedjat eyes. The face is gilded, and the eyes are inlaid. Clenched hands are drawn on the collar.<sup>514</sup> The floral motifs chosen for the rings of the collar are reminiscent of those painted on Stola coffins during the 21st dynasty. One row has a blue and red checker pattern. The outermost row features large, opened lotuses.

The only inscription on the coffin is in the central column, which runs from the level of the ribs to the toes. This column has a multicolored vertical border on each side which consists of parallel white and blue stripes, with red outlines. The single line of inscription is painted in polychrome on a white background and consists of an offering formula to "Osiris, foremost of the West and Lord of Abydos." It gives the names of Asetemkhebit, her husband, and her father-in-law.

Asetemkhebit's cartonnage is unique in several features. Firstly, it has hands which are carved separately from wood and pegged on under the lappets of the wig. The fists are clenched, and cuff-like bracelets, which would have been drawn on the forearms on a 21st dynasty coffin, have been pushed up to the knuckles giving the impression that the hands are partially covered by fingerless gloves. Also, the cartonnage is carefully modeled around the shoulders, arms, and elbows showing bodily contour which is often lost on Theban cartonnages. The face is again gilded, and the eyes and eyebrows are inlaid. The wig and collar are similar to those seen on wooden "Yellow" coffins from the 21st and early 22nd dynasty at Thebes.

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<sup>512</sup> Liptay, 'The Cartonnage and Coffin of JS.T-M-3HBJ.T in the Czartoryski Museum, Cracow', p. 26.

<sup>513</sup> Taylor, 'Theban Coffins from the Twenty-Second to the Twenty-Sixth Dynasty: Dating and Synthesis of Development', p. 108.

<sup>514</sup> The clenched hands are a marker of a male owner in Theban coffins, and their presence on a female coffin might be taken as a sign of reuse. However, there do not seem to be clear signs of reuse elsewhere on the coffin. Possible regional variation in the way gender is expressed through coffin iconography ought to make us wary of proposing reuse in absence of more concrete evidence.

The decoration on the front of the cartonnage corresponds to Taylor's horizontal register layout.<sup>515</sup> The surface is divided into five registers separated by bands of multicolored horizontal stripes. There is no center line around which the decoration is reflected, but instead, each register has a central figure around which the composition on either side is balanced. The decoration is dense and many of the figures have associated captions and offering formulae. The captions are, for the most part written in black paint in columns, though several phrases consisting of two or three characters each are more integrated into the vignettes themselves. These are drawn at a much larger scale and interspersed with the figures. They are rendered in polychrome paint.

The sides and the back of this particular cartonnage have some features that rare on Theban cartonnages. Both sides of the coffin have long vertical inscriptions running from the shoulders to the foot. These are bordered by strips of block pattern of near equal width to the inscription line. The back is divided into six horizontal registers which are bisected down the middle by the slit in the back of the coffin through which the body was introduced.<sup>516</sup> These registers are divided from each other by thick bands of floral motifs echoing those on the collar and fillet on the top of the cartonnage's head. The scenes on either side of the slit are mirrored in the sense that the figures involved in them face this center line, but many of them are not symmetrical in content or use of space. The figures on either side of the center may be related to each other thematically in ways that would have been understood by the Egyptian viewer but remain elusive to the modern one.

#### Iconographic Overview

The only decoration on the outer coffin consists of the painted hands mentioned above, the broad-collar and the central inscription. It is not possible to deduce from the photographs whether the inside of the basin is decorated, but the outer walls are not. The iconography of the cartonnage is summarized in the following table.

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<sup>515</sup> Taylor, 'Theban Coffins from the Twenty-Second to the Twenty-Sixth Dynasty: Dating and Synthesis of Development', pp. 106–7.

<sup>516</sup> On this coffin, the lacing which closed this slit is still present. The coffin today has the appearance of a bivalve coffin because it was sawn down the side, probably in modern times, and probably to extract the body inside.



The Cartonnage of Asetemkhebit, Photos Courtesy and Copyright the Czartoryski Museum, Cracow

Register A	Register B	Register C	Register D
Presentation of the deceased to Osiris, Isis, and Nephthys by Thoth. The four sons emerge from a lotus. Signs of the east and west on the body's left and right respectively. A sundisk is overhead.	Maat and Anubis and Horus who Protects His Father face Re-Harakhte-Atum, raising their hands. Baboon Headed deities on both edges. Horus Behdety spreads his wings overhead	Horus Behdety perches on a shrine on either side of an anthropomorphic <i>djed</i> pillar on another sacred structure, who holds a crook and a flail. Nekhbet flies overhead.	Neith and Serqet crouch on the sign for gold and raise their hands in praise to a crouching figure of a baboon in a shrine, who has a Maat feather on his knee. On either side are Maat feathers.
Register E	Vignette F	Vignette G	Register H
An upside-down picture of the sun-barque with a solar disk in a horizon (ꜥḥ.t) in the center. It is accompanied by the sign	A crouching figure of Maat on a blue ground with a feather on her head and an ankh on her knee.	Lioness-headed cobra deities, facing outward. <sup>517</sup>	Mourning goddesses on the "gold" sign on either side. Above them is the glyph for "heaven", and

<sup>517</sup> This unusual figure appears on other coffins and is usually associated with protectresses, and sometimes explicitly with Isis. Gloria Rosati, 'Frammento di sarcofago egizio a Cortona', *Aegyptus*, 99 (2019), 145–62.





























for "companions" (šms.w). On either side are Maat feathers.			on the far side of each is the sign for the West.
<b>Register I</b>	<b>Register J</b>	<b>Register K</b>	<b>Register L</b>
On the right side of the back, Mummiform figures of Duamutef and Qebhsenuf. On the left, Imsety and Hapy. In both the right and left vignettes, one god holds a Maat feather, the other a knife. Behind Hapy is the word "West."	On the left, Anubis crouches on a Per-wer shrine. He holds a crook and flail. On the right, A goddess spreads her wing over the word Osiris and a Shrine with a falcon head on top.	On the left, Isis as an anthropomorphized <i>Tjet</i> sign, raising a hand in praise. On the right, Nut, with a snake dangling from her arm raises a nw jar and a mummiform figure in her hands. <sup>518</sup>	On the left is a <i>Djed</i> pillar topped with a sun-disk. A flail floats in the air next to it. On the right is a kneeling deity with the head of a crocodile and a sun-disk on its head. It clutches a knife and a piece of colored cloth.
<b>Register M</b>			
On both sides, the sign for "East".			


































<sup>518</sup> A similar scenes with "Nut, the Mysterious One" can be seen in the Sarcophagus hall of the tomb of Rameses VI and in the 5th division of the Book of Caverns, though in these scenes, the objects she holds are distinctly solar: a disk, a ba bird, and a ram-headed deity. Alexandre Piankoff, *Tomb of Rameses VI*, Bollingen Series, 40 vols (New York: Princeton Univeristy Press, 1954), I, p. 87,361.

# Paleography

## PaleographicComparison

	Czartoryski Asetemkheb Inner Paleography	Czartoryski Asetemkheb Outer Paleography
A4		
A51		
B1		
B8		
D4		
D19		
D28		
D36		
D37		
D45		
D46		
D58		
F1		
F18		
F28		
F47		
G5		
G14		
G26		
G36		
G39		



Czartoryski Aetemkheb Inner Paleography	Czartoryski Aetemkheb Outer Paleography
 G <sub>4</sub>	
 G <sub>42</sub>	
 G <sub>43</sub>	
 H <sub>1</sub>	
 H <sub>6</sub>	
 H <sub>8</sub>	
 I <sub>9</sub>	
 I <sub>1</sub>	
 L <sub>2</sub>	
 L <sub>7</sub>	
 M <sub>15</sub>	
 M <sub>17</sub>	
 M <sub>23</sub>	
 M <sub>26</sub>	
 M <sub>27</sub>	
 N <sub>1</sub>	
 N <sub>5</sub>	
 N <sub>14</sub>	
 N <sub>18</sub>	
 N <sub>26</sub>	
 N <sub>29</sub>	
 N <sub>35</sub>	

	Czartoryski Aetemkheb Inner Paleography	Czartoryski Aetemkheb Outer Paleography
□ <sub>O1</sub>		
⌈ <sub>O9</sub>		
⌈ <sub>O22 R8</sub>		
⌈ <sub>O29</sub>		
⌈ <sub>O34</sub>		
⊙ <sub>O49</sub>		
⊙ <sub>O5</sub>		
⌋ <sub>Q1</sub>		
⌋ <sub>Q2</sub>		
□ <sub>Q3</sub>		
⌈ <sub>R4</sub>		
⌋ <sub>R7</sub>		
⌋ <sub>R8</sub>		
⌋ <sub>R13</sub>		
⌋ <sub>R14</sub>		
⌋ <sub>R17</sub>		
⌋ <sub>R24</sub>		
⌋ <sub>S3</sub>		
⌋ <sub>S27 V6</sub>		
⌋ <sub>S34</sub>		

	Czartoryski Aetemkheb Inner Paleography	Czartoryski Aetemkheb Outer Paleography
↑ S38		
↓ T23		
↪ U1		
≡ U15		
≡ V14		
≡ V16		
↪ V17		
↪ V28		
∩ V3		
↪ V32		
↪ W15		
↪ W17		
○ W24		
∩ X1		
↪ X4		
△ X8		
↪ Y1		
IZ1		
Z2		
∩ Z4		
↪ AA5		
≡ AA11		
≡ AA15		
↑ AA27		

## Number of Draftsmen

The lack of high-resolution photographs of the coffins makes a detailed analysis of the art style challenging. However, we can make a few observations on the number of the hands on the piece.

Firstly, it is likely that the same artist was responsible for the decoration of the wig and collar on both the inner and outer coffins. There is no figure drawing on the outer coffin to compare with that on the inner. The outer band of the collar with daisies and open lotuses is very similar between the outer coffin and cartonnage. However, at least on Theban pieces, this pattern is very common and standardized on coffins from the 22nd and late 21st dynasties, so the collar is not very informative for determining the work of a particular workshop.<sup>519</sup> The striped wig on a female coffin is slightly unusual, and present on both the lid and basin. On both the outer coffin and cartonnage, there is a border line dividing the bottom of the wig from the collar. This occurs regularly on Third Intermediate Period coffins from the Northern part of Egypt, but it may also represent a continuation of a feature that started at Akhmim in Dynasty 21. Recall that many of the coffins discussed in the previous section had a chevron-patterned band around the edge of the collar. Suffice it to say, the presence of this line on the coffin and



Figure 41: Faces of the inner and outer coffins of Asetemkhebit. Photos courtesy of the Czartoryski Museum

cartonnage of Asetemkhebit is unusual enough to be evidence that the outer coffin and cartonnage go together and were probably made by the same artisans. This impression is

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<sup>519</sup> As for the collar, the patterns considered appropriate for the individual interior bands of the collar are standardized, but their selection and order are different on every coffin. However, van Walsem has built a typology for the outer band of floral decoration, and both the outer coffin and cartonnage can be assigned to Type VIa. van Walsem, I-II, pp. 122–24.

confirmed by the visual similarity between the faces and headdresses of the outer coffin and cartonnage (Figure 41).

The figures on the inner cartonnage have somewhat variable features. This is especially obvious in the faces of the goddesses who appear in almost every scene. Two distinct facial styles are apparent. In one, the goddess has a large head in relation to the rest of her body. The chin is rounded, and the lips are pronounced. The ears have rounded, detached lobes. The eyes are large and almond-shaped, and the nostril is delineated with a short, curved line (Figure 42: A,B).

In the other female figure, the head is smaller in comparison with the torso. The nose protrudes from the face more and has a rounded shape (Figure 42 C,D). All the heads on the front and back of the coffin can be placed in one of these two categories. Whether the two

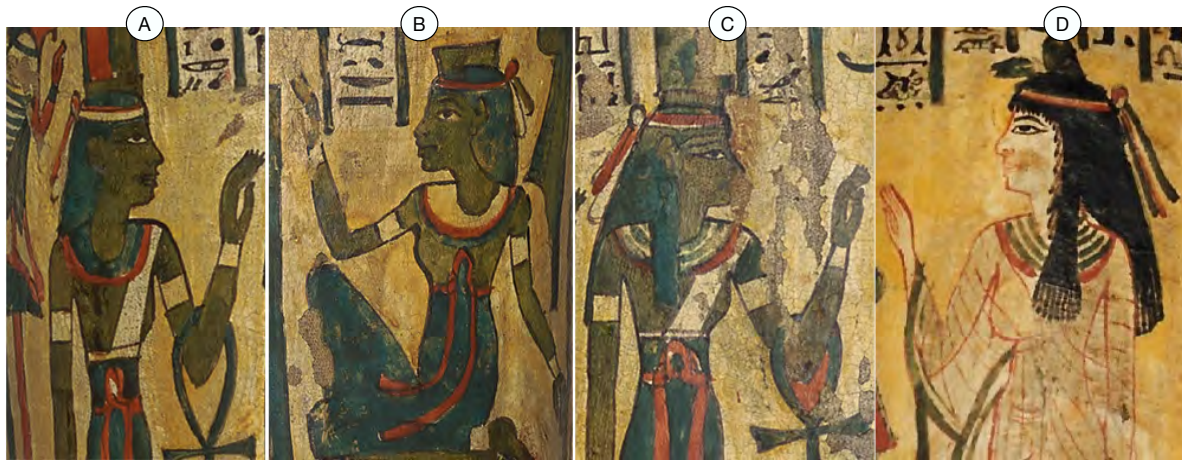


Figure 42: Female bodies and faces from the coffin of Asetemakhbit. a and b) The large-faced style b) The smaller-faced, long cosmetic line style. c) Representation of the deceased. From photographs by the Czartoryski Museum and by Dr. Andrzej Niwinski

facial styles represent the hands of two different artists, however, is not as straightforward a question as it might seem, because the female faces also have notable commonalities. They have thick, protruding lips, the ear-lobe is clearly separated from the face, and the indent where the bridge of the nose meets the forehead often has a notable angle rather than a smooth curve. The bodies of the goddesses have similar features as well. They have small, rounded breasts, and the ties on their sashes are drawn in a peculiar way, with a large loop in the middle. The streaming ends of the sash emerge from behind this loop, and are seemingly twisted around the belt encircling the goddess' waist. This way of drawing the tie is particular to this coffin and it is shared by all but one of the goddesses on this coffin.<sup>520</sup>

There is also not an obvious pattern in the placement of the two different types of faces which might indicate a division of labor by physical area. They occur in the same registers, on the right and left sides of the coffin and on the front and the back. However, at least on the front, the goddesses with the more detailed, proportional faces tend to be concentrated towards the center of the register and in the upper registers--the areas where the viewer's eye would have been drawn during the funeral. The goddesses with the large faces and less well-defined features occur at the feet and on the right and left extremes of the registers--places

<sup>520</sup> The rightmost goddess in register F has a striped garment with no interior details.



where the onlooker would have had to actively try to look. As for the back, the quality of the black and white photos makes it hard to say anything about the distribution of the different faces.



*Figure 43: Captions and Monumental Text, the later describes the two goddesses and says: "Generating the protection of Osiris," from the (mummy's) left side of register A. Photo courtesy of the Czartoryski Museum.*

Here, we may be dealing with an experienced artist who delegated the less visible parts of the work to an apprentice. On the other hand, the piece may be the work of a single person who was putting less effort into the less visible places or was even having problems reaching these areas. The similarities between the lips and ears of all the female figures, and the way in which the knot on the dress is drawn argues for all the decoration being the product of a single artist. But here, as in some of the 21st dynasty pieces discussed earlier, it is impossible to be certain. We can only say this coffin is probably the work of one artist, and if it does represent the work of two people, there was a concerted effort to maintain uniformity in small details between the figures.

#### Number of Scribes

The inscription on the outer coffin consists of one line of text executed in polychrome with black outlines and colored interiors. The text on the cartonnage can be divided into two groups, captions and monumental text. The captions are rendered in small, fine handwriting in black paint. With most glyphs there is no internal detail, and the glyph is filled with solid black. The vignettes in the horizontal registers also contain large, colored glyphs with black outlines and colored interiors. These have interior detail and will here be described as "monumental" glyphs. They occur

on Theban cartonnages as well, and it is not clear whether they should be considered part of the textual or iconographic content. They usually consist of one- or two-word phrases expressed in as many glyphs. The ideas that they express are dependent on the reader knowing about the context in the surrounding vignette, and the figures in the vignette act as stand ins for the missing words in the phrase.

The relationship of these monumental texts and the pictures in which they are embedded is worth deeper study, but for the purposes of this work, they serve as a bridge linking the colored inscription on the outer coffin and the monochrome captions on the cartonnage. A comparison between the colored glyphs on the inner and outer coffins show that they were drafted by the same person. The hill glyph (N26) has a black stripe on the bottom and a sharp point on both ends on both cartonnage and outer coffin. The carrying chair glyph (Q2) is nearly identical, as is the eye in the word "Osiris" (D4) and the drawing of the seated man (A40). If we accept that the colored inscriptions on the inner and outer coffins are by the same

artist/scribe, we have a large enough sample of the colored glyphs to compare them with the black ones.

The monochrome glyphs and the monumental ones were also drawn by the same scribe. The duck glyph (G42) will serve as an example. Both the miniature black glyph and the colored version on the outer coffin have two distinctive feathers sticking up in the back of their bodies. The composite glyph (M27) is comprised of a sedge plant and a hand, and in both the colored version on the outer coffin and the caption on the cartonnage, the buds at the ends of the sedge are pronounced and drooping.

The integration of the monumental glyphs into the vignettes also raises the question of whether the scribe of this coffin was also the artist. After all, if we were only dealing with captions, we can imagine the draftsman drawing the dividing lines for the inscription and letting a different scribe make a final pass, filling in the inscriptions after the decoration was complete. Indeed, the captions were probably added last along with the outlines of the figures, since we know that black outlines were usually the last color to be applied. However, the monumental glyphs seem to have been planned from the beginning. They are well positioned in the negative space and never cramped. Rather than propose that one person drafted the design, handed it off to someone else, and then came back to inscribe the captions, it seems logical to conclude that one person was responsible for all of the decoration on both coffins.

Coffin and Cartonnage of Ankhtashepsit, Toledo Museum of Art (1906.2 a,b and 1906.4)

#### Overview

The coffin ensemble of Ankhtashepsit (*ꜥnh-t(i)-šps.t*)<sup>521</sup> consists of a cartonnage and an outer coffin. These were purchased together in 1906 from Blanchard's Antiquities in Cairo by Edward Drummond Libbey, founder of the glassmaking industry in Toledo, Ohio. Though the coffins have been associated with Akhmim since they were donated to the museum in 1906, the provenience originally came from the information that Ralph Blanchard gave Libbey on the purchase of the piece and there is no actual story or record of its excavation. The object has stylistic similarities with Third Intermediate Period coffins of Taylor's Northern Style,<sup>522</sup> which sheds some doubt on Blanchard's provenience. However, Blanchard's correct attribution of Libbey's other coffin to Luxor<sup>523</sup> is perhaps evidence that the dealer was in fact knowledgeable about the origins of his objects.

We don't know how closely Akhmim fell into the orbit of Thebes during the Third Intermediate Period. We have already seen that Akhmim's artisans seem to have adopted some decorative traditions which Taylor associates with cemeteries in Northern Egypt: the dividing line between the collar and the wig (filled with chevron pattern on the 21st dynasty pieces), and the "gloved" hands on the cartonnage of Asetemkhebit. Given this, we must assume for the time being that, given Blanchard's provenance, the ensemble did indeed come from Akhmim.

Ankhtashepsit is given no titles on her coffin, and no genealogical information. The body which came with the cartonnage was found to be that of a man by modern investigation. Whether this represents an old reuse or new one is not known. A modern reuse seems more likely since it is clear that, when the pieces were donated to the museum shortly after their acquisition, the body associated with the cartonnage had already been removed from it.<sup>524</sup> Libbey could well have removed the body, but unrelated bodies in good condition were often packaged with coffins by dealers who wished to charge a premium.

For such an interesting and unusual set of coffins, it is perhaps surprising that Ankhtashepsit's coffins are yet unpublished. They are mentioned in several publications by

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<sup>521</sup> This name is not spelled the same way twice on the inner or outer coffin and has, in the past, been interpreted in several ways. The most common is Ankh-tesh (*ꜥnh-t-š*), the meaning of which is uncertain. See Appendix 3 for a full discussion with the argument that the best option for the name is Ankhtashepsit (*ꜥnh-t(i)-š(ps.t)*).

<sup>522</sup> See above p 44 and also Taylor, 'Coffins as Evidence for a "North-South Divide" in the 22nd-25th Dynasties'. The Toledo coffin set specifically is mentioned in note 99, which pertains to the figures of the four sons on the outer coffin.

<sup>523</sup> The coffin of Ta-mit, Toledo Museum of Art 1906.1.B

<sup>524</sup> On one hand, the body associated with the Ankhtashepsit set was dated to ~750 BCE by radiocarbon, which would match the stylistic dating of the piece. It's also interesting that the occupant of the coffin of Tamit which was also obtained from Blanchard's was also a man. The fact that neither occupant matched the sex of the original owner of the coffin hints that perhaps Blanchard was including unrelated mummified bodies in the sale to boost the price. In light of this, the inclusion of the mummified body within the easier to access outer coffin of Ankhtashepsit, which was then disassociated with the cartonnage, makes some sense. *Catalogue of a Collection of Egyptian Antiquities Presented by Edward Drummond Libbey* (Toledo: Toledo Museum of Art, 1906), pp. 6–7. Item 2 seems to be the outer coffin, which was said to contain a partially unwrapped mummy: 1906.2 A, B. Item 4 seems to be the cartonnage which should have been associated with the outer one, 1906.4.



Taylor because of the "northern" features<sup>525</sup> of the style of both the cartonnage and outer coffin, and because of the blue background of the cartonnage.<sup>526</sup> They are also included in Brech's typology, where a short dossier and description of the iconography is included.<sup>527</sup> Neither of these publications provides a transcription or translation of the texts. These are thus published here in Appendix III.

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<sup>525</sup> See note 522

<sup>526</sup> Taylor, 'Patterns of Coloring on Ancient Egyptian Coffins from the New Kingdom to the Twenty-Sixth Dynasty: An Overview', p. 173.

<sup>527</sup> Brech, pp. 33–36.

## Iconographic Overview

The outer coffin has an unpainted plain wood ground. Its main decoration is a central column running from the chest to the foot area which is cut off--as is characteristic of coffins from the Memphis and Fayum Regions, there is no sculpted foot-box on this coffin.<sup>528</sup> Atop the column crouches a jackal on a straight base-line running across the chest of the coffin. To the left and right of the canid are two mummiform sons of Horus on each side. They each hold a Ma'at feather along with red and blue cloths in their arms. There is no collar, but on either shoulder is a small falcon-head which faces the neck. One can assume that these are collar terminals serving an amuletic function. The wig is made up of a pattern of staggered rectangles, representing curls. The ends of each lappet are decorated with floral bands, and a band of block-pattern outlines the lappets of the wig, a trait which is characteristic of the Northern Tradition during the 22nd-25th dynasty.<sup>529</sup>

On the neck of the coffin is a necklace made of alternating rings of dots representing beads. The face is framed by a pair of wings drawn on the striped wig. These may belong to the scarab depicted in a white-grounded area above the forehead, though this has smaller wings drawn in black. The inside floor of the outer coffin's basin is occupied by a frontal representation of the goddess Nut, who stands atop the sign for "gold", stretching her arms onto the side walls of the coffin, around the deceased. Her headdress takes the form of a stylized sistrum with a cobra at the front, again rendered *en face*.

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<sup>528</sup> Taylor, 'Coffins as Evidence for a "North-South Divide" in the 22nd-25th Dynasties', p. 386.

<sup>529</sup> Taylor, 'Coffins as Evidence for a "North-South Divide" in the 22nd-25th Dynasties', p. 388.

The cartonnage is densely decorated and consists of white figures with black outlines on a blue ground. It seems as if the outlines for the figures were drawn in black first on a white ground, and details were added in red and green. The area around the figures was then filled in with blue. The area below the collar is divided into two horizontal registers. Below this, the surface is bisected by a central column with small horizontal registers to each side. All registers are delineated by multiple bands of block-pattern.

The coffin shares the blue background and the beaded "gloves" on the hands as well as the border line around the lappets of the wig with coffins of Taylor's "Northern" type. A further similarity can be seen in the inscription, which features a variation of the offering formula known from Third Intermediate Period coffins from the Fayum and Memphite cemeteries. The contents of the registers is summarized as follows:



Photos by Kea Johnston, Courtesy of the Toledo Museum of Art


























Vignette A1	Vignette A2	Vignette A3	Vignette B1
Below crossed stola and a shrine-shaped pectoral with a scarab in it, a ram-headed scarab pushes a sun-disk and holds a shen ring in its back legs. Under its wings are crouching jackals and over its wing are winged cobras.	A mummification scene where Anubis tends the deceased on a lion-headed bier. Five canopic jars are beneath the bier. Overhead are a vulture and a winged snake. Over the scene is a row of seated mummiform	Mirror of A2. This scene has four canopic jars instead of five. The seated deities above are the four sons of Horus here.	Book of the Dead 125 weighing scene before Osiris who has a disk on his head. Ammit sits facing him on a shrine with a human head. A man with a palette follows (Thoth?). Both Anubis and Horus preside over the scales. On the

	deities with feathers on their knees.		viewer's far left is a man who may be the deceased.
<b>Vignette B2</b>	<b>Vignette C1</b>	<b>Vignette C2</b>	<b>Register D</b>
A winged anthropomorphic <i>Djed</i> pillar. To the viewer's right of it is a scene with a flail-bearing falcon and winged snake atop two horizontal rows of tall jars alternating with an oval shape.	Two standard and a square shrine form a platform on which two goddesses and four smaller mummiform deities (the four sons of Horus) praise the Abydos fetish.	Mirrored on both sides of C1, a male human raises two incense jars before an androgynous snake-headed deity on the version to the viewer's right (the deity has a beard but wears a sheath dress). The version to the viewer's left features a goddess. These may be Maat, but the object on the deity's head is unclear. Behind the officiant on either side are two crouching mummiform deities on a shrine.	On both sides of the central inscription, the deceased (female) offers a table full of round cakes to a seated goddess who is labeled as Isis.
<b>Register E</b>	<b>Register F</b>	<b>Register G</b>	<b>Back</b>
On both sides of the central inscription, the deceased, facing away from the inscription praises a recumbent cow with a plumed solar headdress. Behind it is a representation of a tomb with a ba bird on top. Below is a small scene with Horus facing a ba-bird with winged wedjat eyes on either side.	On both sides of the central column, a winged serpent faces the center column with a sun-disk between its wings.	On both sides of the central column, on the foot are winged wedjat eyes which face the central column.	The back was unavailable for viewing and no photos were available, but the parts which could be seen feature vignettes of the four sons of Horus, bearing feathers and cloth or seated on shrines, separated by thick bands decorated by horizontal stripes.

# Paleography

	Ankh ta shepsit_Toledo_Inner Paleography	Ankh ta shepsit_Toledo_Outer Paleography
A4		
A54		
D4		
D12		
D21		
D37		
D46		
D54		
D58		
E25		
F1		
F7		
F32		
G29		
G4		
H1		
H8		
I9		
I1		

	Ankh ta shepsit_Toledo_Inner Paleography	Ankh ta shepsit_Toledo_Outer Paleography
M17		
M23		
N5		
N6		
N16		
N25		
N29		
N35		
N37		
O1		
O29		
O34		
O49		
Q1		
Q2		
Q3		
R4		
R8		
R11		
R14		
R17		
S27 V6		

	Ankh ta shepsit_Toledo_Inner Paleography	Ankh ta shepsit_Toledo_Outer Paleography
∩ <sub>S29</sub>		
♀ <sub>S34</sub>		
∩ <sub>S38</sub>		
∩ <sub>T23</sub>		
↪ <sub>U3</sub>		
≡ <sub>V14</sub>		
∩ <sub>V3</sub>		
∩ <sub>V31</sub>		
∩ <sub>W17</sub>		
∩ <sub>W19</sub>		
∩ <sub>X1</sub>		
∩ <sub>X3</sub>		
∩ <sub>X6</sub>		
∩ <sub>X8</sub>		
∩ <sub>IZ1</sub>		
∩ <sub>AA1</sub>		

### Number of Draftsmen

Despite the fact that the deceased is depicted as a man in the upper registers (A,B, and C), and as a woman in the lower ones, it is clear that all of the decoration of this piece was executed by one person. The art is both uniform and idiosyncratic across the surface of the cartonnage. To illustrate this, one need only examine the winged serpents which appear in almost every scene and always have the same features: a pointed snout, a dot for an eye, and a sharp angle at the back of the head, which is actually an abrupt transition between the white of the snake's face and the solid black stripe of the back of its neck, which does not stand out well on the blue background (Figure 45).



Figure 45: Winged snake in register G of Ankhtashepsit's cartonnage.

That the same artist painted the outer coffin as well can be seen from the figure of the recumbent jackal, which appears on both pieces (Figure 44). Though the jackal on the outer coffin is colored a solid black on the wooden background and the jackal on the cartonnage is white with black and red internal detail, they have the same shape. They both have thick front and back paws. Their muzzles are long and slender with a sharp but not upturned nose. Their eyes almost sit atop the head. The near ear curves out and away from the head before pointing straight upward. The far ear sticks straight upward like a sharp, thin spike.

### Number of Scribes

The handwriting on the coffin is uniform over the body of the cartonnage, and it's clear from the paleography that the same person was responsible for the text on both. This is especially evident in the crouching man sign (A40) where one line forms the face, top of the head, back of the wig and beard, giving the face the appearance of tilting slightly upward. It is also evident from the way the arrow-head sign (T23), used in the word "incense" (*sntr*), is always drawn with an especially circular bottom making it easy to confuse with the milk jug in a net (W19). All of these idiosyncrasies occur on both cartonnage and outer coffin, as does the habit of abbreviating the word *h3.t* (corpse) with the single sign: ∞.



Figure 44: Jackals on the outer coffin (top) and cartonnage (Bottom) of Ankhtashepsit.



This is also one of the coffins where we can say with some certainty that the person who was responsible for the figure drawing also wrote the texts. The human figures tend to have almond-shaped eyes with pupils which float in the middle--they're bug-eyed. In Register D, the scribe drew the eye glyph (D4) close to the eye of a human figure. They are the same eye (Figure 46). Furthermore, the Abydos fetish which is the focus of vignette C1 has pendant snakes falling down on both sides, which is an unusual feature. These snakes appear in miniature in the Abydos fetish glyph (R17) in the word ꜥbdw (Abydos) in the central inscription (Figure 47) Normally only one appears and it emerges from the base. The same person, then, executed all the inscriptions and decorations on the inner and outer coffin of Ankhtashepsit.



Figure 46: Goddess on right-side of register D, showing similarity in writing of the eye glyph and the eye of the goddess.

The scribe of the coffin of Ankhtashepsit seems to have been partially literate. On one hand, most of what he wrote is readable. On the other hand, most of the inscription consists of a truncated version of the "water to your ba" offering formula, and the gods' names have unusual and ambiguous orthographies. The text is also highly abbreviated in a way that does not seem purposeful. For example, the word for "corpse" is often abbreviated to one character: ꜥ (K4). However, this particular scribe abbreviates it to a uniliteral 𓆎 (F32) This is not an effective abbreviation, because it could reference a very large selection of words. Thus, we probably have in this particular scribe a person who we cannot really call literate, but who nonetheless may have had some grasp of what the various characters meant.



Figure 47: Abydos fetish in the vignette and central inscription of the cartonnage of Ankhtashepsit



Cartonnage of Nespaqaishuty, National Archaeological Museum, Athens: 3412

#### Overview

The cartonnage of Nespaqaishuty (*n(y)-s(w)-p3-q3i-šw.ty*) was purchased in Egypt by Ioannas Demetriou, probably in the 1880s.<sup>530</sup> It was donated to the National Archaeological Museum in Athens shortly after. While pictures of the coffin are published in Olga Tzachou's 1995 catalogue, little information is given about the piece.<sup>531</sup> The unique texts on the coffin were recently published in detail by Vassilis Chrysikopoulos.<sup>532</sup>

That the owner of the piece lived and was probably buried in Akhmim is apparent from the titles on his coffin (*imy-r ḥsw.w mnw nb ipw*). The texts on this coffin are remarkable because they are an autobiographical text and also an assertion of personal piety. Nespaqaishuty argues that Isis and Osiris should facilitate his rebirth because he has been a good servant to their son, Horus. The coffin then goes on to list the ways in which Nespaqaishuty has served the cult, shedding a rare light on his duties as the Overseer of the Singers of Min: he interpreted the oracle of Horus and performed the Hekenu ritual at the Min-festival.

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<sup>530</sup> The museum catalogue states that Demetriou's collection was donated in 1880 (Tzachou, 1995), but this is actually before the Akhmim cemeteries were "excavated" by Maspero, and there are no coffins in the original 1881 catalogue of the collection (Postolacca, 1881) Demetriou donated a good number of coffins claimed to be from Akhmim to the museum (Maravellia, 2004), and so he must have donated them at a later date after the initial collection was formed. *The world of Egypt in the National Archaeological Museum*, ed. by Olga Tzachou (Athens, 1995), p. 21; Amanda-Alice Maravelia and Eleni Cladaki-Manoli, 'Among the Hidden Treasures of the National Archaeological Museum in Athens: Searching for Forgotten Mummies, 1', in *Europe, Hellas and Egypt : Complementary Antipodes during Late Antiquity : Papers from Session IV. 3, Held at the European Association of Archaeologists Eighth Annual Meeting, in Thessaloniki, 2002*, ed. by Amanda-Alice Maravelia, BAR International, 1218 (Archaeopress, 2004), pp. 5–20 (pp. 5–6); Achilles Postolacca, *Sammlung Ägyptischer Alterthümer Der Hellenischen Nation Geschenkt von Giovanni Di Demetrio Aus Lemnos* (Leipzig: F. A. Brockhaus, 1881).

<sup>531</sup> Tzachou, pp. 178–79. Note that, as Chrysikopoulos also points out, the name of the owner is incorrect in Tzachou: Djedhoriwefankh is the name of the Owner's father in the inscriptions.

<sup>532</sup> Vassilis Chrysikopoulos, 'Nespaqashouty, musicien égyptien de la Troisième Période intermédiaire (cartonnage ANE 3412)', in *Le status du musicien dans la Méditerranée ancienne: Égypte, Mésopotamie, Grèce, Rome. Actes de la table ronde internationale tenue à Lyon*, Bibliothèque d'Études, 159 (Cairo: Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, 2013).

The cartonnage can be roughly dated to the 22nd dynasty based on Theban parallels. Like Asetemkhebit's husband Hori, Nespaqaishuty's family had been part of Akhmim's elite for generations: his coffin lists his father as the Overseer of the singers of Min, Djedhoriwefankh (*ḏd-ḥr-ḏw=f-ḥnb*), and his grandfather was a man named Pasenedjemibnakht (*p3-sndm-ḏb-nḥ.t*), who bore the same title.<sup>533</sup>

This is one of the few Third Intermediate Period Akhmim coffins to fit well into Taylor's typology. The cartonnage features a long central column flanked by two registers of winged figures, whose wings cross behind the central inscribed column, seemingly enfolding the body in the cartonnage (Cartonnage Type 2A). Theban parallels to this design can be dated to the reign of Osorkon I, and more generally in the 9th century BCE.<sup>534</sup>

While the coffin shares important features of the overall decorative layout with Taylor's Type 2A Theban cartonnages, it has a few important differences at the level of the construction of the coffin and the execution of the design (Figure 49).

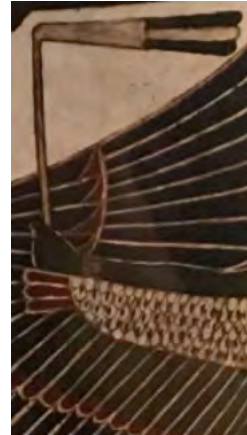


Figure 48: Detail of the decoration on the coffin of Nespaqaishuty. Notice the yellow outline around the goddess' arm.

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<sup>533</sup> Chrysikopoulos, p. 131.

<sup>534</sup> Taylor, 'Theban Coffins from the Twenty-Second to the Twenty-Sixth Dynasty: Dating and Synthesis of Development', p. 106.



Figure 49: The cartonnage of Nespaqaishuty in Athens (right), and the coffin of Tabes, MFA Boston 72.4820c (left). Photograph of the coffin of Tabes © Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

Unlike its Theban counterparts, the coffin of Nespaqaishuty has a collar which does not hug the neck, but which hangs from the shoulders in the manner of a shawl. The face on Nespaqaishuty's cartonnage was also made from a separate piece of wood and pegged to the cartonnage, a feature characteristic of Northern coffins, but not of Theban ones.<sup>535</sup>

Nespaqaishuty's cartonnage also shares two important features with the coffin of Asetemakhbit, and both of these features are rare at Thebes. These are the long side inscriptions running from the upper arms to the ankles, and the sculpted curvature of the body: elbows, hips, calves, and buttocks are all discernable.

While the content and layout of the decoration on Nespaqaishuty's cartonnage are very Theban, the Akhmim artist balances negative space and figures with minimal internal detail with areas of dense repeating patterns.<sup>536</sup> Many of these highly detailed areas are executed in dark paint and are outlined with a thin yellow border (Figure 48). The overall appearance is very sumptuous and rich without being busy or overwhelming. The

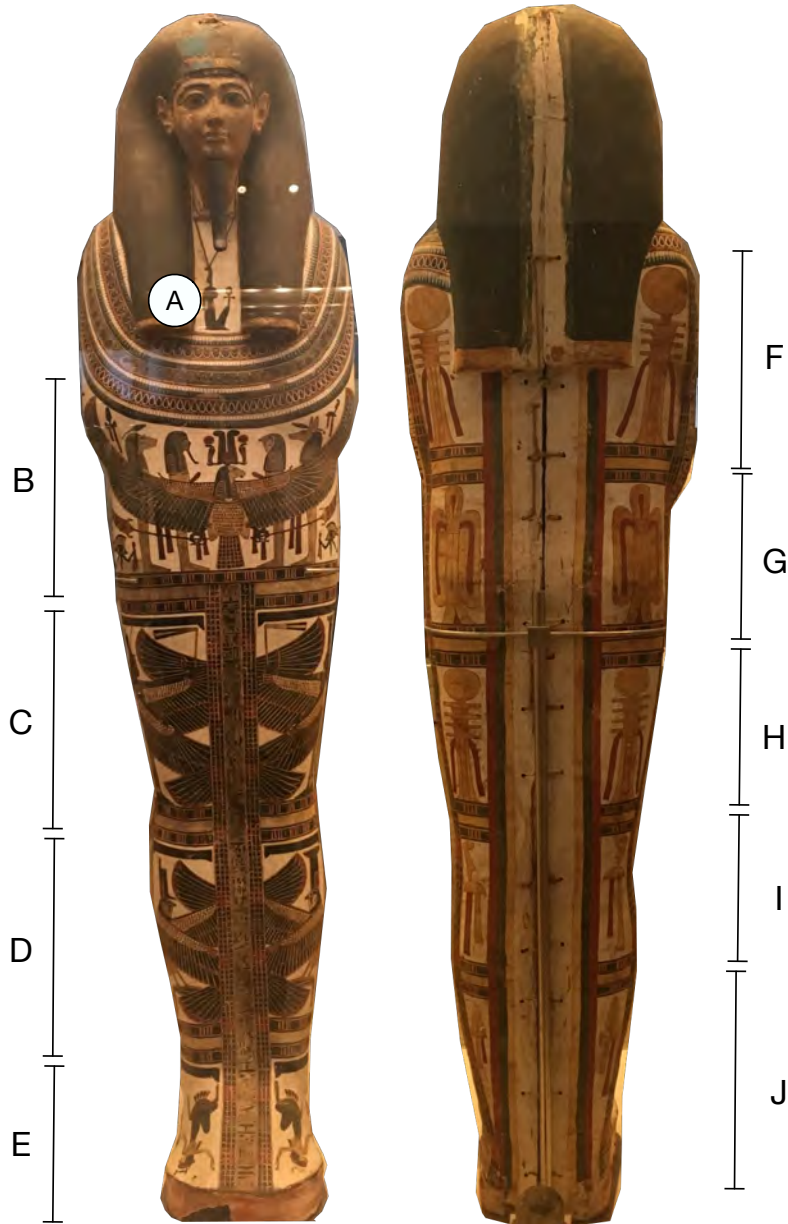
<sup>535</sup> Taylor, 'Coffins as Evidence for a "North-South Divide" in the 22nd-25th Dynasties', p. 387.

<sup>536</sup> Conservation information was not available for this cartonnage, so it is difficult to tell which areas were originally supposed to be blue and have oxidized over the millennia and which areas were originally black.

density of the detailing on the Theban piece is fairly evenly dispersed across the surface, making it appear busier.

Iconographic Overview

The layout follows Taylor's cartonnage design 2A, but it is missing the second falcon on the stomach characteristic of this layout. The contents of the registers are as follows.



Cartonnage of Nespaqishuty, National Archaeological Museum, Athens, No. 3412  
 Photographs by Andrea Courtway

Feature A	Register B	Register C	Register D
A figure of Maat with an Ankh sign on her lap	A bird with a ram-head and an ornate crown	Isis (viewer's left) and Nephthys (viewer's right)	Isis (left) and Nephthys (right) appear as

hangs from the neck on a string like a necklace.	spreads his wings. He holds fans in his talons. Beneath his wings are the four sons of Horus on the viewer's left above the wings, the sign "West", on the right, the sign "East". Beneath the wings on either side and facing the center are wedjat eyes with arms holding strips of red cloth. Above the wing tips on the right and left are the words "Isis" and "Nephthys" respectively. The contents of the vertical inscription bands on the side are related to the goddess named on that side.	stand and spread their wings protectively over the deceased. In their far hand they hold flails. Their wings cross between the central inscription band. Above them is the sign for "heaven".	mourning kites perching on the sign for "gold" which is partially obscured by their wings, which again cross behind the central band to envelop the deceased. Above them is the sign for "heaven".
<b>Register E</b>	<b>Register F</b>	<b>Register G</b>	<b>Register H</b>
Upside down with respect to the rest of the decoration, Nephthys(left) and Serqet (right) squat on the sign for gold. The sign for heaven is below them. They look backwards, towards the sides of the cartonnage	On both sides of the central slit, a <i>Djed</i> pillar with a sun-disk on top, and red cloth hanging from the sides.	On both sides of the central slit, <i>Tjet</i> -knots.	On both sides of the central slit, a <i>Djed</i> pillar identical to that in register F.
<b>Register I</b>	<b>Register J</b>		
On both sides, the imnt.t sign meaning "West". This is mirrored around the center slit.	On both sides, the labet sign, meaning "east".		

# Paleography

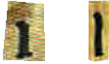







Paleography: Athens: 3412

GardinerSign	Sample	GardinerSign	Sample
A1		A2	
A28		A4	
A47		A52	
A53		B1	
D2		D4	
D6		D18	
D21		D35	
D36		D37	
D4		D46	
D53		D54	
D58		E1	
F18		F2	
F3		F32	
F34		F46	
G1		G5	

GardinerSign	Sample	GardinerSign	Sample
G14		G17	
G2		G36	
G37		G4	
G43		H1	
H8		I9	
I1		K1	
L1		M2	
M16		M17	
M23		M29	
N5		N25	
N29		N35	
N36		N37	
O1		O4	
O6		O9	
O29		O34	
O49		P8	

GardinerSign	Sample	GardinerSign	Sample
Q1		Q2	
Q3		R4	
R8		R14	
S3		S9	
S29		S34	
T18		T23	
U16		U19	
U23		U32	
U36		V7	
V13		V28	
V29		V3	
V31		W14	
W15		W17	
W2		W24	
X1		X8	
Y1		Y5	



GardinerSign	Sample	GardinerSign	Sample
I		ϣ	
Z1		Z7	
†		⊖	
Z11		AA1	
⌒		⌒	
AA11		AA15	
𐀀		𐀀𐀁	
AA18		R22R12	

#### Number of Artists

All the figural drawing on the coffin of Nespaqaishuty was executed by the same person,

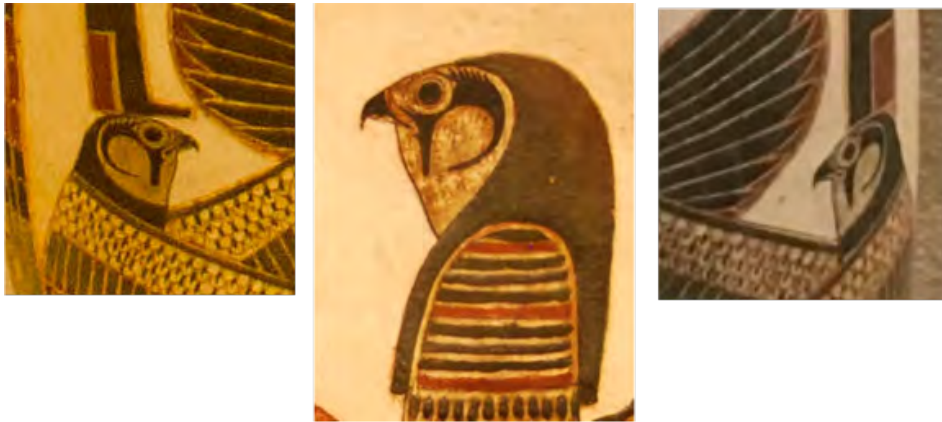


Figure 50: Falcons on the coffin of Nespaqaishuty

and we can see this by comparing the heads of animal headed figures on the cartonnage which repeat in multiple places. The falcon figures in registers B and D both have the same facial features: a head that gently slopes upwards without curving, and a throat with a very slight bulge below the beak (Figure 50). Over the surface of the cartonnage, the figures are executed with consistent care and precision over the whole body of the coffin.

The whole piece seems to have been drafted according to a uniform plan: areas of little detail and areas of negative space are juxtaposed with richly and minutely patterned wings, jewelry, and feathers. Dark areas adjacent to other dark areas are separated by yellow outlines, and black outlines separate adjacent lightly-colored areas.

#### Number of Scribes

The glyphs on this coffin are, except for the *Imentet* signs and goddess' names on the shoulders, all executed in black paint in cursive hieroglyphic script. Several signs take hieratic forms such as the stool (Q3) at the end of the prayer to Isis on the viewer's left side of the coffin, the bull (E1) on the offering formula to Nephthys on the right side, and the owl character (G17) throughout the text.

Once again, it appears that all the inscription was executed by the same person. There are several characters with multiple distinct variants such as the plumed crown (S9), and the frontal face (D2). However, a close examination shows that these were drawn in the same way by the artist. The plumed crown has a line forming the underside of the crown behind the ear that trails down in the back on both the more and less detailed versions, while the base of the crown itself is composed of one stroke forming three sides of a square, starting at the forehead and ending at the nape of the neck.

Similarly, the face glyph (D2) always has multiple slanted lines in the center of each variant--shorthand for the features of the face. With both characters, the difference in appearance can be attributed to the size of the character, its relation to the surrounding characters, and how much time and effort was expended on detailing the character rather than a difference in scribal hand.

Whether the scribe and the artist were the same person is harder to tell with this coffin. The coffin of Asetemakhbit had "Monumental glyphs" integrated into the vignettes which could be compared to the small cursive hieroglyphs in the captions. This coffin doesn't have many hieroglyphs in the vignettes, and so doesn't have as many points of comparison.

However, on each shoulder of the cartonnage, there are monumental glyphs giving the name of the goddess invoked in the adjacent side inscription. The shapes of the throne in the name of Isis (Q1) and the Nephthys emblem (O9) are quite simple and caution needs to be used in drawing any definite conclusions. It is interesting to note, however, that the scribe has included an interior rectangle on the Isis-throne (Q1) in both the monumental and cursive glyph. On the other side of the coffin, the Nephthys emblem (O9) has a conspicuous ground-line in both the monumental glyph and the cursive hieroglyph one. Elsewhere, the *Imentet* sign (R14), which is drawn monumentally on the back of the coffin and in Register B, consistently places the feather slightly off center. This is also a defining feature of the cursive glyph version of the sign in the central inscription on the front of the cartonnage (Figure 51).

We can say that those decorating the coffin cared that the cursive glyphs were visually consistent with the monumental ones. The simplest explanation for why this was done is that it was done subconsciously because the figural art and the inscription were drawn by the same person.



Figure 51: Large, carefully drawn "Monumental" style signs (upper row) vs. cursive signs used in the side and central inscriptions (lower row).

## Coffin Ensemble of Heqaankhu, Leiden RMO AES 12-B (Cartonnage) and 13-B (Outer Coffin)

### Overview

The coffins with the best provenance in this corpus are unfortunately also in the worst condition. The Dutch photographer and Egyptologist Jan Insinger purchased coffin and cartonnage of Heqaankhu from Maspero 1886. Insinger states explicitly in his contemporary letter to Leemans at the RMO that the pieces he bought were from Akhmim.<sup>537</sup>

By the time the ornately decorated cartonnage reached the museum, it had fallen into hundreds of tiny pieces. The head area of the cartonnage has since been restored and conserved. The outer coffin is in good condition, but as with most outer coffins, it features only sparse decoration, and clear photographs of the central inscription are not available.

Both the inner coffin and the outer coffin of Heqaankhu lack a beard, which is a hint that the occupant was probably a woman. We have no titles for her, and Brech suggests that the inscription on the outer coffin containing the name is jumbled, so even the name of the deceased is question.<sup>538</sup> The skeletonized human remains associated with the cartonnage have long been lost.

While the coffin is mentioned in several publications, pictures and analysis of the art and text are lacking. The coffin's existence was noted in Boeser's catalogue to the RMO.<sup>539</sup> Its provenience is discussed in Raven's biography of Insinger,<sup>540</sup> and the iconography of the cartonnage is described as much as possible by Brech.<sup>541</sup>

### Iconographic Overview: Outer Coffin

The outer coffin of Heqa-ankhu is sparsely decorated. The ground is the color of the natural wood, and the sides and inside of the piece are undecorated. The face is surrounded by a striped wig, and may have once had a winged headdress, though it is hard to be certain since the paint on the wig around the face is damaged and the only photos are black-and-white. The only other decoration on the lid a central column surmounted by a crouching jackal holding a flail with a long handle. With its lack of collar and the crouching jackal on the central column, the lid has more in common with Taylor's Northern-type coffins than it does with Theban parallels. This similarity extends to the contents of the central inscription, which consists of the "Water to your Ba" formula present on the inner and outer coffins of Ankhtashepsit (Toledo Museum of Art 1906.4) discussed above, and on coffins from the Fayum.<sup>542</sup>

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<sup>537</sup> Insinger also purchased the coffin of Diptah which is also in the RMO. Maarten J. Raven and J. H. Insinger, *The Most Prominent Dutchman in Egypt: Jan Herman Insinger and the Egyptian Collection in Leiden*, PALMA : Papers on Archaeology of the Leiden Museum of Antiquities, 19 (Leiden: Sidestone Press, 2018), p. 63.

<sup>538</sup> Brech, n. 29.

<sup>539</sup> Pieter A. A. Boeser, *Catalogus van het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden te Leiden / Egyptische Afdeeling* (Leiden: Brill, 1907), p. 96.

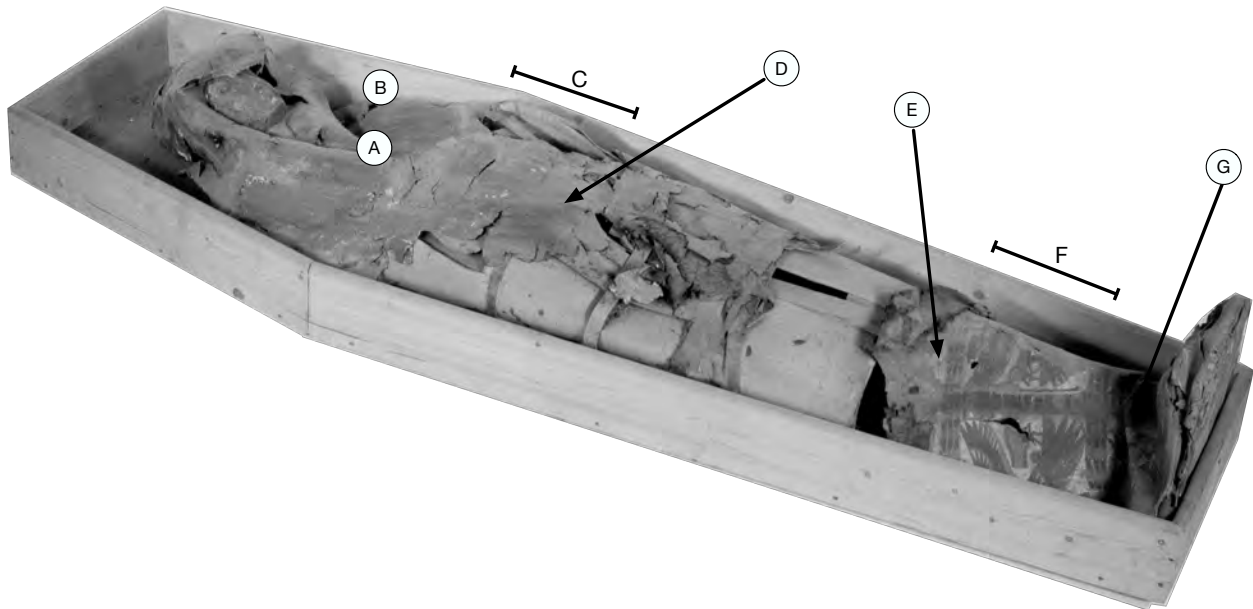
<sup>540</sup> Raven and Insinger, pp. 29–31.

<sup>541</sup> Brech, pp. 41–42.

<sup>542</sup> Taylor, 'Coffins as Evidence for a "North-South Divide" in the 22nd-25th Dynasties', p. 392.

## Cartonnage

Because the cartonnage is very fragmentary, we can only make an educated guess about what it might have looked like. It seems like the decoration consisted of narrow horizontal registers filled with pictorial design. These were separated by thick bands of chevron pattern. Most of the text would have consisted of captions, and indeed in the fragmentary first register, we can see empty caption dividers where inscriptions could have been written but were not. It does not seem to have had long side inscriptions like the coffins of Nespaqaishuty and Asetemakhbit. The below summarizes the surviving decoration.



Feature A	Feature B	Register C
A squatting figure of Maat with a sun-disk on her head holds an Ankh on her knee.	A kneeling mummiform lioness-headed deity has a sun-disk on her head and clutches a loop of blue cloth.	A figure of Thoth presents cloth to a standing mummiform Osiris wearing a bead-net. He may also be presenting the deceased, though the figure behind Thoth is lost. Horus on the Imentet sign is between them. Behind him is a small falcon with a sun-disk on its head as well as a goddess with the Hathor horned head-dress. Behind her is another goddess, and between them is a small tree. The goddesses clutch folds of cloth in their hands.
Register D	Register E	Register F
A goddess raises her closest hand to the	Two ba birds face outward on either side of a central figure	Winged falcons perch on box-shaped buildings, spreading

viewer. She seems reminiscent of the goddess who stands behind Re Harakhte in the judgement scene, but so little is left it is hard to say what the content of this scene was.	which is now mostly lost. They appear to drink out of cups being filled by waves. Of the central figure we can barely make out feet and the branches of a tree. To the far left and right are male and female human figures. This is the scene of the sycamore goddess pouring water for the deceased and their ba.	their wings around a <i>djed</i> pillar with a human head. Branches of foliage fill space under wings. Wedjat eyes on neb-baskets fill the triangular area between the spreading wings of each bird.
Register G		
Only top part of register remains. Winged falcons spread wings around a female-headed figure. The figure has the characters $\text{𓆎} \text{𓆏}$ above her head. She may be an anthropomorphized <i>Tjet</i> sign, but this is just a guess.		

#### Number of Artists and Scribes

This cartonnage, despite its fragmentary condition, is a valuable starting point for any discussion of the scenes considered appropriate on a Third Intermediate Period coffin at Akhmim. and of the composition of these scenes. It is unfortunately impossible to tell from the remains whether the same artist painted all the decoration on the cartonnage. The inscription on the outer coffin seems to all be by the same scribe. There was very little inscription at all on the remaining pieces of cartonnage, so it is impossible to make any comparisons between the handwriting on the two body-containers.

## Workshops Producing Cartonnage and Coffin Ensembles at Akhmim During the Third Intermediate Period

The corpus of coffins from the Third Intermediate Period is difficult to interpret. Not only do all of the cartonnages look different from each other, they make little sense when compared with the existing typologies. The cartonnage of Nespaqaishuty (Athens 3412) is an example of Taylor's Cartonnage Type 2A, because it shares a large decorative motif with Theban coffins: two mirrored registers of winged figures whose wings cross behind the central inscription. Viewed next to a Theban 2A, it's strikingly different. Similarly, the cartonnages of Asetemakhbit (Cracow, Czartoryski Museum MNX XI-482b), Ankhtashepsit (Toledo TMA. 1906.4), and Heqaankhu (Leiden AES 12-b) fit into Taylor's Theban Cartonnage Type 1, because the front is divided into wide pictorial registers. However, this category in the typology has always been too general to be very informative about regional styles or dating, and these coffins underscore that point by being completely different in appearance from each other. Even more baffling is the fact that Ankhtashepsit's cartonnage and outer coffin are so like parallels from el-Hiba and other Middle Egyptian sites<sup>543</sup> that the dealer's provenience is thrown into serious doubt. We will address the problem of Ankhtashepsit's cartonnage and coffin first by discussing several close parallels to the Toledo pieces, in hopes of shedding more light on their origin.

### The Coffin ensemble of Pabastet<sup>544</sup>, the Cartonnage of an Anonymous Child, and the Baffling Provenience of Ankhtashepsit's Ensemble

At the beginning of the 20th century, the cartonnage and outer coffin of Pabast was donated to the and donated to the Museum für Völkerkunde by Dr. Martin Rücker von Jenisch. There is little else known about where Jenisch acquired the coffins or when he bought them. The inner and outer coffins exemplify Taylor's "Northern Style" in both construction and decoration. They are also strikingly like the coffin of Ankhtashepsit: The outer coffin has the four sons beneath the lappets of the wig, and the "Water to your Ba" offering formula in the central column. On the cartonnage, a comparison of the vignettes shows that they share some of the same compositional elements. For example, the scene at the shins depicts the deceased praising Hathor who emerges from the tomb. This scene in and of itself is not unusual. It was part of the Theban vignette repertoire in the 21st dynasty and occurred on tomb walls in the New Kingdom. What is unusual is that the goddess is lying on the ground before the tomb, and that the scene is bisected horizontally by a partial register line and a small vignette occurs underneath the deceased and the bovine goddess. The two coffins were apparently created on the same design pattern--vignettes with the same themes go in the same places on the coffin, and the vignettes chosen have similar composition.<sup>545</sup> Wherever the coffin of Ankhtashepsit came from, the Hamburg coffin probably came from there as well.

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<sup>543</sup> See, for example, the cartonnage of a child, British Museum EA41603, from Garstang's excavations at Beni Hassan. Interestingly, the text on this cartonnage is remarkably similar to that on the cartonnage and outer coffin of Ankhtashepsit, down to the consistent spelling of the word "ḥꜣ.t" as simply "ḥ".

<sup>544</sup> Hamburg Museum für Völkerkunde 4057a (Outer Coffin) and 4057b (Cartonnage). It is published in

<sup>545</sup> Christiane Altenmüller, 'Außensarg und Mumienhülle des Pabastet im Museum für Völkerkunde Hamburg (Inv. - Nr. 4057a und 4057b)', *Mitteilungen aus dem Museum für Völkerkunde Hamburg*, Neue Folge 30 (2000), 182–229.

The handwriting on the coffins of Pabastet does not have the same idiosyncrasies which occur on the coffin of Ankhtashepsit--specifically, the spelling of the word *h3.t* with *h.t* and the writing of the *sn* (T23) sign in a way that resembles the *mi* (W19) sign. A coffin which does have these spellings is a cartonnage of a child supposedly found at Beni Hasan by Garstang, and now in the British Museum (BM EA 41603).<sup>546</sup> This cartonnage has orthographies very similar to those on the coffin of Ankhtashepsit, and the paleography has a lot of the same unique features. This coffin shares the white on blue design with the coffins of Pabastet and Ankhtashepsit.

The similarity between the cartonnages of Pabastet, the Anonymous Child, and Ankhtashepsit makes Blanchard's Akhmim provenience for the coffins of Ankhtashepsit problematic. The coffins of Ankhtashepsit must have been from the same workshop that created the coffins of Pabastet, and they were certainly from the same hand that inscribed the cartonnage of the Anonymous Child. Two solutions present themselves: on one hand, we may have here evidence of a travelling artist like those known from the Ptolemaic period. This person created coffins in Beni Hassan and Akhmim. However, the more likely scenario is that we have a lying antiquities dealer who sold the coffins of Ankhtashepsit under a false provenience. Because of this, the following analyses will exclude the coffins of Ankhtashepsit.

North, South, or Somewhere in the Middle?

Though the coffins of Ankhtashepsit probably do not come from Akhmim, they provide one key to understanding how the other Akhmim coffins (with more solid proveniences) differ from their Theban counterparts. The coffins and cartonnages of Nespaqaishuty, Asetemakhbit, and Hekaankhu all have features that Taylor associates with a "Northern Style." This is a bit of a misnomer, because almost all non-royal examples are from Middle Egypt. The coffin and cartonnage of Asetemakhbit, have hands and, on the cartonnage, gloves--features rare in the Theban corpus after Dynasty 21. The outer coffin of Hekaankhu has an offering formula requesting "water for her ba-spirit", which is common on Middle Egyptian Third Intermediate Period coffins, but not Theban ones. The outer coffin of Hekaankhu has a crouching jackal over the central column. On a Theban coffin, one might expect a winged sun-disk or winged scarab here.<sup>547</sup>

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<sup>546</sup> True to form, Garstang never actually specifies which in which tomb he found this coffin, and never explicitly claims that he found it at the site. That he found it there is implied by its inclusion in the book on customs at Beni Hasan. Garstang uses the cartonnage and its occupant as an example of animal worship at the site--he concluded that the infant inside the cartonnage, who had a rare bone disease and a deformed skull, was a monkey. J. Garstang and University of Liverpool Institute of Archaeology, *The Burial Customs of Ancient Egypt as Illustrated by Tombs of the Middle Kingdom: Being a Report of Excavations Made in the Necropolis of Beni Hassan During 1902-3-4* (A. Constable & Company, Limited, 1907), p. 204,207 fig 209 <<https://books.google.com/books?id=HNFMAAAAYAAJ>>; Warren R. Dawson and P.H.K Gray, *Mummies and Human Remains*, Catalogue of Egyptian Antiquities in the British Museum, I (London: Trustees of the British Museum, 1968), p. 13,14 Pl VIIb.

<sup>547</sup> Another outer coffin from Akhmim that shares this feature is the coffin of Ankhhor from Florence. This coffin could not be studied for this work, but belonged to a *wab* priest of Isis. Botti claims that it has an Akhmim provenience, but publishes it in his volume on coffins from el-Hiba. Giuseppe Botti, *Casse Di Mummie e Sarcofagi Da El Hibeh*, ed. by Leo S. Olschki, Studi, V (Firenze: Accademia Toscana di Scienze e Lettere 'La Colombaria', 1958), pp. 98--99, pl 27 #2.



The list of commonalities between the Akhmim and Middle Egyptian tradition continues, including similarities in the construction, decoration, and layout of the cartonnages and the outer wooden coffins: all the cartonnages so far discussed have faces that are separately carved and pegged to the cartonnage. The outer coffin of Heqaankhu has a footboard made from a single board, a flat lid, and only three mortises on either side with which to attach the lid to the basin--exactly the construction method described by Taylor for northern-style pieces.<sup>548</sup> The outer and inner coffins of Asetemakhbit have a thick yellow line running around the edge of the wig lappets.

In summary, the Akhmim coffins discussed here all lie on a spectrum between the decorative traditions of Thebes and those of Middle Egypt. The cartonnage of Nespaqashuty is the most like Theban parallels. The cartonnages of Heqaankhu and Asetemkheb resemble Theban pieces in the choice of scenes and layout, but have some Middle Egyptian features, especially in the treatment of the face, wig, and hands. The outer coffin of Heqaankhu is entirely in the Middle Egyptian tradition.

A Closer look at the Fragmentary Cartonnage of Heqaankhu

It is tempting at first to dismiss the cartonnage of Heqaankhu because of its fragmentary state, but a close examination of the piece proves very instructive. The second closest register to the foot features two kites perched on square buildings, spreading their wings around an anthropomorphized *Djed* pillar. Similar versions of this scene are quite common on Third Intermediate Period cartonnages from Thebes<sup>549</sup> and elsewhere. At Akhmim, the scene occurs on the coffin of Asetemakhbit as well. However, the scene as it is drawn on the coffin of Heqaankhu has a peculiar detail. On Theban parallels and on the coffin of Asetemakhbit, the *Djed* pillar has a crown emerging from the top and sometimes it has eyes facing the viewer of the coffin, as if the pillar's "face" were integrated into the cornices at its top. On the coffin of Heqaankhu, the pillar has no crown, but is anthropomorphized through the side profile of a head emerging from the top of the pillar.

Only the bottom third remains of the scene above the *Djed* pillar scene, but it too rewards a second look. Two ba-birds<sup>550</sup> face outwards from the center. These have cups placed before them into which water is running. The ba-bird on the left sips from the cup, and the one on the right sips from the falling water itself. The figure between them is hard to make out, but dark dots are visible, which are probably leaves, and small clusters of red dots--sycamore figs -- can be seen as well. To the right and left of the ba birds are two figures in formal dress visible from the knees down. One, from the red feet, seems to be male. The other, with her curving, visible calves, and a diaphanous dress is a woman. This scene must be the vignette of Hathor, Lady of the Sycamore, standing in her tree and pouring out water for the deceased and her ba-spirit. This scene is rare on cartonnages, and the only provenienced coffins which have it are from Thebes.

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<sup>548</sup> See above, on page 79

<sup>549</sup> For example, see the coffin of Tayesmutgebtu (British Museum EA 22939), Djedamuniwefankh (British Museum EA 29577), Djedkhonsuiwefankh (Louvre N 2621)

<sup>550</sup> The two ba-birds are female, which is another piece of evidence in favor of the coffin owner being a woman.

## Unprovenienced Coffins With the "Osiris in a Tree" Motif

The vignettes from the cartonnage of Heqaankhu find interesting parallels in a four unprovenienced cartonnages which are also very similar to each other in the selection and placement of vignettes, and in the way the individual vignettes are composed. The cartonnages of the sets in question all feature a scene of Osiris standing amidst the branches of a tree, a motif characteristic of Brech's *Gruppe A*. However, the vignette is composed differently than it is on the coffins of Brech's corpus. In three of the four coffins, the motif is flanked by falcons perched on shrines, who spread their wings protectively. On the fourth, the tree is integrated into the depiction of the presentation of the deceased to Osiris in the first register. Here, Osiris is enthroned inside the tree.

Other scenes from *Gruppe A* also appear, such as the judgement of the deceased before Re-Harakhte, and an embalming scene with canopic jars below the bed on which lies the mummy of Osiris. These vignettes are interspersed with others that do not occur in *Gruppe A*, where the program and placement of scenes is far more rigid. Like the provenienced Akhmim cartonnages, they all have some features associated with the "Northern" style. They can also be tied to the cartonnages of Asetemakhbit and Heqaankhu through unusual details in the execution of vignettes.

Each member of this group consists of a cartonnage or a cartonnage with an outer coffin. The cartonnages all fit into Taylor's cartonnage design type 1, which means that the front is divided into horizontal registers, and any text is relegated to captions. The cartonnages are all gender ambiguous. Each has a reddish-brown face, but none have a beard. Based on the depiction of the deceased in the vignettes, three of the four sets belong to women. As was the case with the provenienced Akhmim coffins of Asetemakhbit, and Hekaankhu, the outer coffins all have northern features: winged headdresses reference the rising sun and occur on both male and female coffins. The central column features a crouching jackal. Two of the cartonnages feature excerpts from the "Water for your Ba" formula among their very abbreviated texts. The sets are addressed briefly below.

Coffin and Cartonnage of Djedhor(?), Detroit Institute of Arts 90.1S11800.1,2

This cartonnage, and its outer coffin<sup>551</sup> were donated to the museum in 1890 by patent medicine mogul Frederick Stearns.<sup>552</sup> He may have acquired the piece on tour in Egypt in the 1880s, which would be appropriate if the pieces did indeed originate from Akhmim. There is, however, is no other solid information available on the provenience of the set. Stearns' logbook lists its origin as "Gurneh, Thebes", though where he got this information is unknown and it is likely a dealers' provenience. The cartonnage and coffin are currently unpublished, and the text on the outer coffin is translated in Appendix III. The name is only on the outer coffin and the foot is broken off in the middle of it. However, from the surviving remains, the coffin set probably belonged to a God's Father(*it ntr*) named Djedhor (*dd-hr*) or Djedhoriwefankh (*dd-hrw-ıw=f-chnh*).

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<sup>551</sup> I thank Dr. John Taylor for alerting me to the existence of the outer coffin in this set, which is not listed on the museum's database. The outer coffin is 90.1S11800.1, and the inner one is 90.1S11800.2.

<sup>552</sup> I thank Amy Dunn, and Iva Lisikewycz and Jessica Herczeg-Konecny, at the Detroit Institute of Arts for providing me with information on this coffin.

The outer coffin has an interesting mix of "Northern" and Theban decoration. It has a winged headdress, and the area below the collar features a falcon-headed winged scarab, followed by the crouching jackal perched on the central text column. The central text consists of the familiar "Water to your Ba" formula. Though the foot is broken, it doesn't seem to have had a footbox, which would be consistent with the so-called "Northern" tradition.

As for the cartonnage, the front is divided into horizontal registers which are much wider than they are tall. These are separated by bands of block-pattern. The scenes have columns drawn for captions, but no actual captions were ever inscribed. The color scheme is dominated by an earthy green color used for faces, limbs, and foliage. The green seems to have been a little hard to control, giving the cartonnage a "muddy" appearance. The blue has deteriorated to black, and the black outlines were drawn with such a fine brush that they are hard to see in any of the photographs. As far as can be seen in the museum display, the back is like the coffin of Asetemakhbit in that it features small square vignettes of variable content facing the central slit.

A crouching figure of Maat with an Ankh at her knee is drawn between the lappets of the wig. The one here is quite like the one on the coffin of Hekaankhu, though the goddess does not have the sun disk on her head on Djedhor's cartonnage. The figure of Maat at the neck appears on all of the provenienced Akhmim pieces, but cannot be diagnostic of an Akhmim origin since it also occurs on many pieces from Thebes.

The top two registers of the front are scenes that are standard scenes for *Gruppe A*, but have many more figures. The deceased is presented before Osiris, and the deceased is judged before Re-Harakhte. The scene with Re-Harakhte includes a very stylized mini-vignette depicting the lake of fire. Both Atum as a snake and Ammit the Devourer are depicted below the scales. The following scene is also familiar from *Gruppe A*, and from the Akhmim coffins of Dynasty 21. In this scene, the dead Osiris, in colorful wrappings, is tended by Horus. Canopic jars are arranged beneath his bed, and two goddesses mourn on either side of the scene.

The fifth register contains a scene of the familiar protective falcons. This time, the symbol of Osiris that they protect is an anthropomorphized *Djed* pillar. This scene, with the falcons protecting the pillar, occurs on both Theban and Akhmim cartonnages. On the Detroit coffin, however, the *Djed* pillar is drawn in the same way that it is drawn on the coffin of Hekaankhu: its elbows stick out at its sides, but its hands are tucked behind the pillar instead of in front of it. Instead of a crown, a human head wearing a wig and a fillet emerges from the top.

This representation of the *Djed* pillar is unusual: contrast not only the Theban coffin of Amun-nestawy-nakht in (Figure 52), but the same scene on the cartonnage of Asetemakhbit. If the draftsman of the cartonnage of Hekaankhu did not also draft the vignette on the Detroit cartonnage, the two artists may have shared the idea, perhaps via a model on an ostrakon or on papyrus. We should thus consider the Detroit ensemble of Djedhor to be from Akhmim based on this similarity, the Northern features on the outer coffin, which we have already shown to be characteristic for the Third Intermediate Period at Akhmim, and the similarities in the

composition of the embalming and judgement vignettes, both with the 21st dynasty Akhmim corpus and with Brech's *Gruppe A*.



Figure 52: The djed pillar scene on a) Coffin of an Anonymous Man, Detroit, b) Drawing of the scene on the cartonnage of Heqaankhu c) Coffin of an Anonymous woman, Châteaudun, d) the Theban coffin of Amun-nestawy-nakht, in the St. Louis Museum of Art, 109:1989.

The Cartonnage of an Anonymous Woman, Musée des Beaux-Arts et d'Histoire Naturelle de Châteaudun 2006.0.5.64

The piece was acquired by the museum from its previous owner, Mr. Amédée Lefevre-Pontalis in 1887.<sup>553</sup> It is unknown whether it once had an outer coffin. The front of the cartonnage is divided into wide, short, horizontal registers. These are bordered by a chevron pattern on the top half of the coffin and by the familiar block pattern on the lower registers at the bottom. Again, a figure of Maat is drawn between the lappets of the wig. No information was available on the layout of the back of the cartonnage, but the Museum's records noted that the wooden footplate featured a vignette of a mummy being carried on the back of a bull.<sup>554</sup>

Like cartonnages made in Taylor's "Northern" tradition, and like the cartonnages of Asetemakhbit, Heqaankhu, and Nespaqaishuty, the Châteaudun cartonnage has a separately carved wooden face which has been attached to the cartonnage and then plastered over. It has a blue wig, outlined around the shoulders and lappet by a thick yellow band--another traditionally "northern" feature.

The coffin features an embalming scene very similar in composition to that on the Djedhor cartonnage in Detroit, and to those in the latter *Gruppe A* bivalve coffins. Here, again, Horus is the embalmer of the deceased. The three canopic jars beneath the bier have animal-headed lids on flaring jars which stand miraculously on their rounded bottoms. The register below this is the familiar scene with the falcons protecting the *djed* pillar. It is nearly identical on this coffin to the version occurring on the Detroit piece and the coffin of Heqaankhu.

The first two registers are familiar both from the coffin of Djedhor in Detroit and from *Gruppe A* in the first scene, the deceased is introduced before Osiris, and in the second, her heart is weighed before Re-Harakhte and a snake-deity, which now stands on its tail. We know from the *Gruppe A* coffins that this deity is Atum. As she does on the latter *Gruppe A* coffins, the devourer crouches on a small chest, her body facing the deceased, but her head turned backward towards Osiris. Here again, the very stylized lake of fire appears below the scale.

<sup>553</sup> I thank Dr. Mireille Bienvenue at the Musée des Beaux-Arts, Châteaudun for providing me with information on and photographs of this piece.

<sup>554</sup> In Thebes, this feature is characteristic of cartonnages dating from the later Third Intermediate Period, 800 BCE and later. It is hard to say when the feature appears at Akhmim since Akhmim cartonnages are so rare.



Figure 53: First Register of the coffin of an anonymous woman, Châteaudun. Photo courtesy of Dr. Mireille Bienvenue.

The scene below this is the familiar Osiris in a Tree scene, but instead of being flanked by the protecting falcons, he has a kneeling woman and a female-headed lion next to him. Further to the sides are two goddesses clutching blue and red cloths, and behind that are animal-headed mummiform deities, bearing cloth and large Maat feathers.

Again, because this coffin features the presentation scene, the judgement scene, the embalming scene and the Osiris in a Tree motif, and because of its similarities with the coffin of Heqaankhu, we need to consider the Châteaudun coffin as part of the Akhmim corpus.

The first thing one notices when looking at this piece is that the first register is jarringly asymmetrical (Figure 53). The theme of the first vignette is the presentation of the deceased before Osiris, but Osiris has a large winged sun-disk above his head, with arms emerging from it to embrace him. One of its wings folds down behind Osiris' back, dividing the scene into two unequal parts, and disrupting the top border, which resumes at a different level on the other side. This asymmetry is highly unusual and distinctive and occurs on one other cartonnage in this group, the coffin of Tahai, which is discussed further below.

Cartonnage of an Anonymous Woman, Penn Museum 884A

The coffin of an anonymous woman at the Penn Museum was purchased for the University of Pennsylvania Museum by Mrs. Emily Harrison in 1893. The object was acquired through and selected for Mrs. Harrison by Émile Brugsch, raising the question of whether it came from the Cairo Museum. The provenience of "Akhmim?" is associated with the piece in its museum records, but the reasoning behind this attribution is unclear. It may be that Brugsch's outsized role in dispersing items from the site was common knowledge when the piece was bought. It may also be because the piece was acquired with the coffin of Neferini, now in the Reading Public Museum, which was certainly from Akhmim.<sup>555</sup>

The cartonnage in the Penn Museum features very similar decoration to the cartonnage in Detroit and the one in Châteaudun. Many of the vignettes which appear on it also appear on the *Gruppe A* coffins, including the embalming scene, the presentation of the deceased before Osiris, and the judgement of the deceased before Re-Harakhte. These appear in the same order

<sup>555</sup> For this information, I am indebted to Dr. Jennifer Houser Wegner at the Penn Museum in a personal communication via e-mail on 11/2/2021

as they do in *Gruppe A*, but are here augmented and interspersed with other scenes, some of which are familiar from other coffins in this corpus, some of which are not.

As with the cartonnage Dejdhor in Detroit, the registers are longer than they are tall, and they are divided by strips of block pattern. The vignettes on the back consist of roughly square registers of kneeling demons holding two knives each on their laps and facing the center slit. As on all the Akhmim coffins discussed thus far, a figure of Maat appears between the lappets of the wig. Here, as on the coffin of Heqaankhu, she has a sun disk on her head as well as the characteristic feather. The anthropomorphized *Djed* pillar is depicted in an identical fashion as on the Detroit and Châteaudun coffins.



Figure 54: Comparison between the falcons and arms on the Châteaudun cartonnage (right) and the Penn cartonnage (left).

This piece seems to have been drafted by the same person who drafted the figures on the Châteaudun coffin (Figure 54). This is evident in the awkwardness with which the arms of the anthropomorphic figures are drawn on both coffins. The closest arm to the viewer is often disproportionately small, or the far arm disproportionately large. Other arms have a boneless, noodle-like structure or broken-looking wrists. Though proportion isn't a rare problem in coffin art, that the two artists were the same is confirmed by examining the faces of the falcons, in particular, the depiction of Re-Harakhte on both coffins. On both pieces, he has high, square



shoulders. His face is drawn almost calligraphically, with one elegant s-shape forming the entire curve of the top of his head, the back of his beak, and the bottom of his jaw. His eye is a dot on both coffins, and his eye markings emerge from the lower right of his eye instead of being level with the brow.

The Penn coffin features a few more words than the simple "*htp di nsw.t*"--the first three words of the offering formula--repeated in every caption space on the Châteaudun coffin, but both scribes seem to have had difficulty controlling the flow of ink from a very fibrous brush, giving their inscriptions a scratchy appearance. However, a further comparison between the two hands would require better photographs of the Penn cartonnage than are currently available.

The Coffin and Cartonnage of Tahai in the the Antikenmuseum Basel und Sammlung Ludwig <sup>556</sup>

Taylor raised the possibility that the coffin set of Tahai may be from Akhmim as well, because it features the vignette of Osiris in a Tree. Brech was doubtful, arguing that the presence of the scene with the Sycamore Goddess (TB59) on the coffin had no Akhmim parallels and that the selection of scenes on the coffin are not comparable with those which appear on her *Gruppe A* corpus. She also notes that the record at the museum lists the origin of the coffins of Tahai as Thebes.<sup>557</sup> We now know that the cartonnage of Heqaankhu once had a Sycamore Goddess Scene as well,<sup>558</sup> and its Akhmim provenience is not in question. In light of the Detroit and Châteaudun cartonnages, which also do not quite fit into *Gruppe A*, but might be considered as precursors to it, the coffins of Tahai deserve a second look.

Though some museum records might list the set's origin as Thebes, its provenience is unknown. The coffins were purchased from a dealer in Alexandria and donated to the Museum der Kulturen, Basel in 1885<sup>559</sup>--a date at which official and unofficial excavations at the Akhmim cemeteries were well underway.

The outer coffin is both unusually and extravagantly decorated and can be categorized as Taylor's Outer Coffin Lid Design 2. With respect to its layout and content, it doesn't have any good parallels among Theban outer coffins or the outer coffins of the Akhmim coffins discussed thus far.<sup>560</sup> The layout is aggressively asymmetrical, with registers on one side bordered by

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<sup>556</sup> These are in the Antikenmuseum Basel und Sammlung Ludwig in Basel: BSE III 129a (cartonnage), and 129 b,c (outer coffin). They are, according to Hunkeler, on loan from the Museum der Kulturen, Basel. I would like to thank Dr Andre Weiss for allowing me to study this set and Dr Laurent Gorgerat for providing me with photographs of them.

<sup>557</sup> Brech, pp. 91, Note 181.

<sup>558</sup> The scene also appears on at least one 21st dynasty Akhmim coffin: see The Coffin of Tayuherit, Gustavianum Uppsala Universitetsmuseum above.

<sup>559</sup> Hunkeler, 'Tahai's Secret: A Closer Look at the Coffin Ensemble of the Lady Tahai from the Museum of Antiquities in Basel, Switzerland', p. 71.

<sup>560</sup> Taylor, 'Theban Coffins from the Twenty-Second to the Twenty-Sixth Dynasty: Dating and Synthesis of Development', p. 107.

block patterns, and the those on the other side with multicolored horizontal stripes, and none of the registers quite line up with that on the other side.



Figure 55: Left: Outer coffin of Tahai, Right: Coffin of Djedhor, Detroit

A closer look at the individual elements of its decoration reveal that it was probably by the same artist who drafted the outer coffin of Djedhor in Detroit. Nestled amidst the chaotic iconography below the collar on Tahai's outer coffin is a winged, falcon-headed scarab grasping a sun disk in its front legs and a shen ring in its back (Figure 55). Its thorax is a perfect circle of blue outlined in yellow, disproportionately large compared to its wing casings, which are also outlined with a thick yellow line. A similar scarab appears below the collar of the comparatively plain Detroit coffin. It too has a falcon head and a large, circular thorax outlined in yellow. Below the scarab on both coffins is the recumbent jackal grasping symbols of power between its paws. On the Detroit coffin, it assumes its normal place above the central inscription. On Tahai's coffin, the area below is divided into asymmetric horizontal registers. with an Abydos fetish in the center. On both pieces, the jackal has unusually thin forepaws with no musculature. Its legs are simply thick, straight lines. The falcon-headed beetle is unusual by itself: most Theban outer coffins feature a simple winged scarab, ram-headed scarab, or sun-disk. Combined with the jackal, it's especially unusual. The coffin of Tahai must have been created by the same artist or the same group of artists who made the Detroit coffin.

The arms which emerge, apparently from nowhere, to embrace the *Djed* pillar which occupies the central area of the lid, are reminiscent of those in the first register of the Châteaudun cartonnage, so too is the way that the sun disk on the cartonnage, bends one wing down around the figure it is protecting, dividing the horizontal register into two unequal parts--on the cartonnage of Tahai, the scene receiving this treatment is the judgement scene with Re-Harakhte.

Almost all the scenes on the coffin of Tahai have nearly identical scenes on either the Châteaudun cartonnage or the Detroit cartonnage. As far as can be said, considering the



fragmentary state of the cartonnage of Heqaankhu, the composition of the tree goddess scene on it and the coffin of Tahai are very similar, as is the way the tree itself is drawn.

On all these coffins, in both the Sycamore goddess scene and the Osiris in a Tree scene, the tree in question is drawn in the same distinctive fashion: the leaves are stamped with the end of a cut reed dipped in green paint. The background is usually a green wash, and the black branches seem to undulate. Fruits are drawn with a stamping technique as well, using a smaller stem and placing the dots closer together. The stamped leaves do not follow the branches but are placed at even intervals between them. An outline, usually a neat egg-shape, is drawn around the tree. This method and way of representing the tree, as much as the motif of Osiris in a Tree itself is characteristic of the cartonnages in this sub-group and also of the trees in the later *Gruppe A* bivalve coffins. It is one of the features, along with the selection of scenes and the elements included within them, which mark this group of coffins as being not only part of the Akhmim corpus but as precursors to *Gruppe A*.

#### Other Possibilities

Aside from the pieces described above, which are all stylistic matches for the Akhmim based on their similarity with the coffin of Heqaankhu and with the later *Gruppe A* coffins, there are no other cartonnages which might be easily attributed to Akhmim. The lack of pieces datable to the Third Intermediate Period is striking when compared with the number of pieces with titled owners dating to the 21st dynasty, and with the number of later bivalve coffins whose owners also have Akhmim titles.

. This may be in part because of the fragility of cartonnage. The cartonnage of Heqaankhu is fragmentary, and the Châteaudun and Penn cartonnages have respectively been restored and are in need of heavy conservation. Maspero tells us of communal tombs stuffed to the ceiling with coffins--the oldest coffins, maybe those from the earliest communal burials, were from the Third Intermediate Period. So, some cartonnages could have been crushed in ancient times and their outer coffins reused. Another scourge of cartonnages seems to be the antiquities market and the less than careful excavation methods at Akhmim. The cartonnage of Heqaankhu was presumably a whole, beautiful piece when Maspero sold it to Insinger, but was apparently in pieces by the time it got to the museum.

We should pay close attention to fragments when looking for evidence of cartonnages in Akhmim during the Third Intermediate Period. The outer coffins would have fared better because they are wooden and sturdily constructed. Unfortunately, most look just like Northern style outer coffins, and they are also visually like outer coffins used in 25th and 26th dynasty ensembles. So, in the absence of an Akhmim specific title, an outer coffin from the Third Intermediate Period would be hard to recognize.

The Akhmim origin of the following two pieces seems likely but can't be proven for the reasons that one is an anonymous fragmentary cartonnage, and the other is an anonymous outer coffin that could be either from Akhmim or from a more northerly site.

- **Cartonnage Fragments<sup>561</sup> of an Anonymous Woman from the Egypt Centre at Swansea University** once belonged to a cartonnage with narrow horizontal registers. The collar of

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<sup>561</sup> The following pieces are from the front of the coffin: EC1055, EC1057, EC1058. EC1955, The following pieces can be pieced together to form part of the back of the cartonnage: EC1054, EC1051, EC1056, EC1052, EC1060-62

the coffin had the 21st dynasty style open lotus blooms on the outer row, similar to those on the coffins of Asetemakhbit. The bottom register shows the falcons and *Djed* pillar. This *Djed* pillar is not anthropomorphic at all. It also features an interesting rendition of the embalming scene, which has the same elements as those described above. However, the canopic jars look more like the ones in the 21st dynasty version of the scene. The back features rows of demons facing the center slit. The piece was collected by Robert de-Rustafjaell and purchased by Sir Wellcome for the museum in 1906. Some of the other items in the Wellcome collection which were acquired from Rustafjael are more certainly associated with Akhmim.<sup>562</sup>

- **Outer Coffin UNL:A06696** This coffin was purchased by George W. Lininger of Omaha. There are conflicting accounts of when and how he acquired it, but it was in his possession in 1898 when it was displayed at the Trans-Mississippi exhibition.<sup>563</sup> Elias suspects this piece might be from Akhmim, but the only evidence is stylistic and the piece may be from the Fayum instead.<sup>564</sup> Stylistically, it is like the outer coffin of Ankhhor<sup>565</sup> and that of Heqaankhu. It is a plain wooden coffin with a central inscription topped by a reclining jackal. It has a footboard, and the inscription consists of an offering formula to Osiris in which the deceased asks for bread and beer. The deceased wears a winged headdress with a floral fillet.

#### Making Sense of the Third Intermediate Period Coffins from Akhmim

The group of Third Intermediate Period coffins from Akhmim initially appear an irredeemable tangle of damaged cartonnages with dubious proveniences. They all, however, have a mix of northern and Theban features. The northern features are most visible in the outer coffins which can be stylistically indistinguishable from Fayumi and Memphite pieces. On the cartonnages, northern features are limited to the face and collar except for the "Water to your Ba" offering formula, which is sometimes used in the inscriptions.

#### The Proto-A Group

Excluding the coffin of Ankhtashepsit for reasons discussed above, the coffins can be divided into three workshops. One workshop produced the coffins of Heqaankhu, as well as the coffin set of Tahai, the cartonnage and coffin of Djedhoriwefankh, and the Anonymous cartonnages in Philadelphia and Châteaudun. We can term this group the Proto A Group

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<sup>562</sup> For this information, I thank Dr. Kenneth Griffith for providing this information as well as the reconstruction of the front of the coffin in a Tweet thread, on 10/12/2020

<sup>563</sup> Elias, *Overview of Lininger A06696, a Mummy and Coffin at the University of Nebraska, Lincoln*; Brooke Masek, 'Art Collecting in Omaha: George Washington Lininger', *Joslyn Art Museum*, 2013 <<https://www.joslyn.org/blog/art-collecting-in-omaha-george-washington-lininger/>> [accessed 24 June 2021].

<sup>564</sup> Elias feels that the other coffin donated by Lininger was stylistically consistent with an Akhmim origin. I was able to examine this other coffin, UNL AO6697. It is a Ptolemaic style yellow on black coffin with an unusual layout of the surface. It does not have any close Akhmim parallels, and the areas of text where the name and titles were given are now too faded to read, even with the aid of D-Stretch.

<sup>565</sup> See note 547 above.

because while the scenes appearing in the registers are still somewhat variable in their selection and order, most of them appear again in a more codified form in *Gruppe A* dating to the 25th and 26th dynasties. *Gruppe A* should be seen as an evolution of this style.

At least two artists can be associated with this workshop: one worked on the Anonymous coffins in Philadelphia and Châteaudun, and the other worked on the outer Detroit coffin<sup>566</sup> and the coffin of Tahai. The coffin of Heqaankhu may have been the product of either one of the above artists or a third--it is too damaged to be certain. These artists had a shared understanding of how to lay out the surface of the coffin, and of which iconography needed to go where. Scenes of the deceased before Osiris and Re Harakhte needed to be placed in the top registers and in that specific order. Scenes of Osiris in the Tree, of the embalming of Osiris, of the libation of the deceased, the Sycamore goddess, or the adoration of anthropomorphized *djed* pillars and *tjet* signs could go lower on the body and occur in a variable order. The focus of the *decoration* of the back of the coffin was protecting the slit through which the mummified remains were inserted. This area was divided into small square cells on either side of the slit. These were generally filled with a mixture of protective demons and highly abbreviated motifs from afterlife books.

The coffins of the Proto-A workshop were created by artists who were sharing ideas and probably sharing template scenes which detailed the minimum iconographic elements required for the scene. The artist had a certain amount of leeway in how these elements were drawn, and there was cross-pollination and creativity in the actual implementation. Aside from the Osiris in a Tree scene, none of the scenes appearing on the coffins discussed so far are unique to Akhmim. The *djed* pillar scene, the presentation scene, and the judgement before Re Harakhte all have very similar analogs on Theban coffins. The mummification scene appears on Northern coffins, though it is rare in Thebes.<sup>567</sup> However, the way the scenes are implemented on the Akhmim coffins is unique and a testament to the creativity of the Akhmim artists. The way Ammit's head turns away from the deceased in the judgement scene, the way chains made of *ankh* and *was* scepters hang from the elbows of the goddesses in each vignette, and the pointillistic way in which trees are drawn are all distinctive characteristics of this group of coffins. It is the understanding of how the layout worked for the deceased as described above--the ordering and placement of the scenes, and the implementation of the scenes, not the scenes themselves, which are unique at Akhmim.

A High-Elite Tradition? Nespaqaishuty and Asetemakhbit

The second workshop created the coffin of Nespaqaishuty, which has no close parallels. It is the only one of the Akhmim coffins to reference the Sunrise layout popular in Thebes, in

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<sup>566</sup> Absent better photographs of both the inner and outer Detroit coffins, it is difficult to say if they were drafted by the same person. The decoration on the cartonnage of Tahai is certainly neater and more carefully executed than that on the Detroit coffin, but it's hard to say how much the choice of material--or rather the ubiquitous use of a difficult to apply green pigment and the apparent use of varnish--affected this difference in appearance. The decoration on the Detroit cartonnage is certainly more dense than that on the coffin of Tahai, and the aspect ratio of the register is much wider on the Detroit piece.

<sup>567</sup> The scene usually occurring on Theban coffins involves Osiris awaking on a bed. He is lying on his stomach and sitting up. The scene does occur on at least one Theban piece, but this piece has other hallmarks of the Northern style: BM EA29577, the cartonnage of Djedamuniwefankh.

which winged figures surround the body and cross their wings over it. However, because of its sculpted body, unique art style, low-collar, and separately carved face, the piece is distinctive when compared to Theban parallels. Given the heightened level of literacy in the descriptions and their personal nature, the piece may represent a high-elite group of coffins from Akhmim of which no other examples have survived.

The coffin of Asetemakhbit also stands alone in not having any particularly close parallels. Like Nespaqashuty, Asetemakhbit was probably a member of the high elite at Akhmim. Her coffins are the only ones that have gilding and while the inscriptions on her coffin consist of offering formulae, the variety of gods mentioned and the use of unique titles for those gods indicates that the scribe had a high level of literacy. Both the coffins of Asetemakhbit and Nespaqashuty have long vertical inscriptions running down the sides--a feature which appears later on many of the Akhmim 25th and 26th dynasty bivalve coffins. They both have sculpted forms, which are unusual in cartonnages in general.

There seems to have been a conceptual connection at the level of scene selection and layout between the Asetemakhbit artist and the artists who worked in the Proto-A workshop. The back of the cartonnage of Asetemakhbit features small square vignettes of guardian demons and afterlife book scenes facing the central slit, similar to those on the back of the coffin of Tahai. In the Proto-A cartonnages and the cartonnage of Asetemakhbit, the first two scenes feature Osiris and then Re-Harakhte respectively as the central figures. The adoration of the *Djed* pillar is placed in the second to last register at the bottom.

The scenes on the coffin of Asetemakhbit don't have the same elements as the scenes in the Proto-A group. The *djed* pillar on the coffin of Asetemakhbit is anthropomorphized with a crown similar to how it is drawn on Theban coffins. This indicates that the scenes on the cartonnage of Asetemakhbit weren't executed with reference to the same templates used to produce the Proto A coffins, and that the Asetemakhbit artist wasn't sharing ideas with the Proto-A artists. However, the layout and sequence scenes on Asetemakhbit's cartonnage are more like those in the Proto-A group than they are to Design 1 Theban cartonnages. Therefore, considering the 21st dynasty features on her cartonnage and outer coffins, it might make sense to see Asetemakhbit's coffin as a high elite product of an earlier generation of artisans than those who made the Proto-A coffins.

A Low-Elite Tradition: The Coffin of an Anonymous Child, SMB 85313

If the coffins of Asetemakhbit and Nespaqashuty represent a "high elite" tradition, then we might understand the coffin of the Anonymous Child in the collection of the *Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung Staatliche Museen zu Berlin* as an example of a "low-elite" tradition, both because the artist does not seem to have been a person who was comfortable working on coffins and because the inscription is the only inscription amongst the coffins from Akhmim considered in this work that cannot be translated.

This coffin, which was purchased in 1884 from the Egyptian Museum in Cairo through the mediation of Émile Brugsch, could not be studied in depth for this work but will be discussed briefly here for the sake of completeness.<sup>568</sup> This small wooden coffin contained the

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<sup>568</sup> Rafed El-Sayed and others, *Akhmim: Egypt's Forgotten City : Publication Accompanying the Special Exhibition of the Staatliche Museen Zu Berlin in the James-Simon-Galerie*, 2021, p. 322.

mummified body of a young boy. It depicts the deceased wearing a striped wig with a fillet and a long collar with rows of checkerboard pattern in blue and red, and an outer row of open lotus flowers. A wedjat eye and a feather-pattern are drawn between the lappets of the wig. Clenched wooden fists are pegged to the lid as if emerging from the collar. The deceased once clutched wooden symbols in his hands, but these are now mostly missing--only a squared off peg remains beneath the right hand.

The area immediately beneath the collar features a winged sun disk, and there is one register of decoration with crouching jackals on shrines mirrored around a *djed* pillar. To the right and left of the jackal are winged cobras, whose tails stretch down three registers to the foot of the coffin--the tails are wrapped around papyrus stalks.



Figure 56: Vignette of the baboon-headed deity showing that it has been redrawn three times: one in red outline, once in black outline, and the final draft. Image enhanced with D-Stretch.

The area below the first register is bisected by a central column of blue text on a white ground in which the first two characters of the offering formula begin promisingly enough, but which devolves into pseudoglyphs thereafter. To the right and left of this column are mummiform deities facing a offering tables laden with bread and with lotus flowers draped over them. These deities clutch snake-staves. Below this, mirrored around the central column are a jackal and baboon headed deity, each with an offering table, and then, on the bottom row, a barque with a

large lotus flower floating in the air above it, and a cobra before a pot which may contain incense. The footbox has wedjat eyes on it, which are not rotated 180 degrees. The outer sides of the coffin basin are decorated winged serpents which have long undulating tails. A scarab beetle spreads his wings over the outside of the head. The inside floor and side walls of the coffin are decorated with several figures which float without register lines on the white ground.

One of the most interesting things about this piece is that while the figural drawing is competently executed, and the full palette of colors is used<sup>569</sup>, some of the figures seem to have been drafted and redrafted multiple times. The faint red snout of a jackal peeps out from beneath the muzzle of the baboon-headed mummiform deity on the lid. He was originally drawn in black about an inch higher but was moved down in the final draft (Figure 56). All the figures around him seem to have been drawn multiple times as well. This artist was not unskilled or unused to the medium. His lines are even and unwavering. But for some reason, he was not at all sure of his work in this context. The scribe who worked on the piece was illiterate and many of the glyphs don't bear any resemblance to real hieroglyphs.

The piece is probably datable to the Third Intermediate Period based on Theban stylistic parallels and the dating of the linen wrapping in which the body it contained was wrapped.<sup>570</sup> The collar is very reminiscent of pieces from the early 22nd Dynasty. However, it does not have

<sup>569</sup> Though perhaps the lightness of the blue is an indicator that it was ground more finely to conserve it.

<sup>570</sup> El-Sayed and others, p. 322.

any good parallels among the other known pieces from Akhmim or among published unprovenanced pieces. We shall then leave it for the time being and return to the Akhmim cartonnage and coffin sets that do.

#### A Design Pattern for Third Intermediate Period Cartonnages at Akhmim

As discussed above, aside from the Osiris in a Tree scene, the presence of a particular scene in and of itself is not diagnostic of an Akhmim origin for a cartonnage. Most of the scenes on these cartonnages appear on Theban pieces as well. The layout with horizontal registers is also not diagnostic. Coffins with narrow registers separated by thick decorative bands also occur at Thebes.<sup>571</sup>

However, the artists who decorated coffins at Akhmim operated under a set of rules regarding the selection and placement of scenes, which differs from the decorative program in use at Thebes. These are consistent across the Proto-A group and the coffin of Asetemakhbit. These are summarized below.

Scene	Location	Pieces on which it occurs
Presentation of Deceased Before Osiris	First Register Below Collar	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Djedhor (Detroit)</li> <li>• Anonymous Châteaudun</li> <li>• Tahai</li> <li>• Anonymous Philadelphia</li> <li>• Heqaankhu</li> <li>• Asetemakhbit</li> <li>• Anonymous Swansea</li> </ul>
Isis and Nephthys Adoring Osiris, surrounded by standing mummiform deities	Abdomen	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Anonymous Philadelphia</li> </ul>
Judgement of Deceased before Re-Harakhte	Abdomen	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Djedhor (Detroit)</li> <li>• Anonymous Châteaudun</li> <li>• Tahai</li> <li>• Anonymous Philadelphia</li> <li>• Heqaankhu(?)</li> </ul>
Anubis offers to Re-Harakhte	Abdomen	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Asetemakhbit</li> </ul>
Mummification of Osiris	Lower Abdomen/Upper Legs	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Djedhor (Detroit)</li> <li>• Anonymous Châteaudun</li> <li>• Tahai</li> </ul>

<sup>571</sup> See for example, the cartonnage of Tashat at the Minneapolis Institute of Art, 16.414

		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Anonymous Philadelphia</li> <li>• Anonymous Swansea</li> </ul>
Two Falcons guarding Anthropomorphized <i>Djed</i> Pillar	Upper Legs and Lower Legs	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Asetemakhbit</li> <li>• Djedhor (Detroit)</li> <li>• Anonymous Châteaudun</li> <li>• Heqaankhu</li> <li>• Anonymous Philadelphia</li> <li>• Anonymous Swansea<sup>572</sup></li> </ul>
Osiris in a Tree Scene <sup>573</sup>	Lower Abdomen/Upper Legs	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Tahai</li> <li>• Djedhor (Detroit)</li> <li>• Anonymous Châteaudun</li> </ul>
Deceased is libated by Anubis in presence of mummiform guardians	Upper Legs	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Anonymous Philadelphia</li> </ul>
Sycamore Goddess Scene	Legs	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Tahai</li> <li>• Heqaankhu</li> </ul>
Row of animal-headed mummiform guardians	Lower legs	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Djedhor (Detroit)</li> <li>• Anonymous Châteaudun</li> </ul>
Row of animal headed mummiform guardians around an anthropomorphized <i>tjet</i> sign.	Ankles, Lower Legs	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Anonymous Philadelphia</li> <li>• Heqaankhu(?)</li> </ul>
Mummiform Falcon with Nefertem standard and others.	Ankles, toes	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Anonymous Philadelphia</li> <li>• Tahai</li> <li>• Djedhor (Detroit)</li> </ul>
Seated goddesses adore shrine with seated baboon-headed deity within	Ankles, Toes	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Asetemakhbit</li> </ul>
Solar barque	Toes	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Asetemakhbit</li> <li>• Anonymous Swansea</li> </ul>

<sup>572</sup> The fetish on this coffin is not anthropomorphized. Additionally, because of the fragmentary state of the piece, it's hard to tell where it would have appeared on the overall coffin. The coffin itself seems like it might be a small coffin so it might be on the upper legs, but it may also be on the abdomen. It occurs directly after the mummification scene.

<sup>573</sup> On Anonymous Philadelphia, the scene is merged into the presentation scene in the first register.

Seated Maat figure with ankh on knees	Between Wig Lappets	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Asetemakhbit</li> <li>• Ankhtashepsit</li> <li>• Nespaqaishuty</li> <li>• Heqaankhu</li> <li>• Anonymous Philadelphia</li> <li>• Djedhor (Detroit)</li> <li>• Anonymous Châteaudun</li> <li>• Tahai</li> </ul>
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### Literacy and Innovation on the Akhmim Coffins of the Third Intermediate Period

The coffins of the Third Intermediate Period at Akhmim exhibit a range of literacy. As discussed above, the scribes of Asetemakhbit's coffin and Nespaqaishuty's coffin were both literate--the occasional hieratic signs in the texts show that the authors were trained in it and may have known how to convert between the two scripts.

Chrysikopolous comments on the occasional omission of prepositions and the incorrect suffixes used in some of the texts on the coffin of Nespaqaishuty, but we should probably not draw conclusions about the author's literacy from these quirks in the text. Omission of prepositions is normal for coffin inscription, perhaps because space was limited, erasure was difficult, and they could be inferred from context by someone immersed in the culture which created the inscription. The rather lax attitude in texts on coffins towards the use of second and third person masculine pronouns for female addressees has long been noted<sup>574</sup> and is also ubiquitous. The coffin and cartonnage of Tahai and the outer coffins of Djedhor and Heqaankhu have legible offering formulae, showing that the scribe could either faithfully copy the formulae or had those characters and phrases memorized and could write them.

The only text on the Châteaudun cartonnage consists of the words "Royal offerings (𓆎𓅓𓏏𓏏)" repeated at the top of each caption-column. As discussed above, it seems as if the scribe had difficulty controlling both the pen and the consistency of the ink. Thus, the author of the text on the Châteaudun cartonnage seems to have been partially literate--slightly more so if he was also the author of the text on the Anonymous Penn cartonnage, which features slightly longer phrases and a variety of abbreviated gods' names. The scribe of the cartonnage of Tahai

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<sup>574</sup> Cooney notes this feature on Ramesside coffins and explains it by theorizing that the deceased female has to become a male to be reborn. However, I suspect the use of male gender pronouns on coffins might result from a lack of concern for the gender of the addressee in the texts rather than a literal description of the gender of the deceased and the gods. This is an idea which the Isis text on the coffin of Nespaqaishuty supports. Here, Isis, and not the deceased, is addressed as "you (masc)." Chrysikopolous thinks this is because the prayer is an adaptation of one addressed to a male god. I would argue that the qualities and actions of the deity in the prayer are associated specifically with Isis and the prayer cannot have been originally written for another deity. Chrysikopolous, p. 130; Kathlyn M. Cooney, 'The Problem of Female Rebirth in New Kingdom Egypt: The Fragmentation of the Female Individual in Her Funerary Equipment', in *Sex and Gender in Ancient Egypt: 'Don Your Wig for a Joyful Hour'*, ed. by Carolyn Graves-Brown and Kathlyn M. Cooney (Swansea : Oakville, CT: Classical Press of Wales ; Distributor in the U.S.A., The David Brown Book Co, 2008), pp. 1–24.



was the scribe of the Châteaudun cartonnage and the cartonnages of Asetemakhbit and Nespaqaishuty in terms of literacy. The inscriptions are simple and formulaic but the parts that are still readable are well drawn and sensical. The only piece which we can attribute to an illiterate scribe is the coffin of an Anonymous Child SMB 85313.<sup>575</sup>

For the pieces which could be studied in detail, the cartonnages seem to have been decorated by a single person. On the coffins of Asetemakhbit and Ankhtashepsit, the artist was also the scribe. The asymmetry on the Châteaudun cartonnage and the coffins of Tahai might be interpreted as a sign of multiple hands. Both pieces have large asymmetrical iconographical elements, and the register lines on either side of these elements don't line up with each other and may have been the work of two scribes working simultaneously. However, the uniformity in the morphology of the figures on both coffins argues against it. The artist may simply not have been interested in measuring, he might have been experimenting with asymmetry, and he may have executed the layout of the coffin in the same way that Walsem observed for stola coffins--that is, he drew the central figures first and expanded outwards with the result that the rest of the register on the two sides of the central figure didn't quite line up.<sup>576</sup>

While the artists of the Proto-A group may have been literate in only a limited sense, they do seem to have been innovative. They seem to have felt comfortable in changing parts of the iconography of the scenes they were drawing inserting new elements, swapping interchangeable figures, and combining scenes. On the Anonymous Penn cartonnage, the "Osiris in a tree scene" is merged into the scene of the presentation of deceased before Osiris. On the Châteaudun cartonnage, a mourner is added below Osiris' tree, as well as a deity with the body of a lion and the head of a woman, whose identity is hard to interpret. The arms of the sun-disk embrace Osiris on the lid of the Châteaudun cartonnage. On the outer coffin of Tahai, similar arms, probably also solar, are wrapped around the Abydos fetish. The cartonnages of Heqaankhu and Tahai both have the scene of the sycamore goddess. The same space on the Penn cartonnage also features pouring water, but this time in Anubis and Horus libate the deceased who kneels on a shrine. It's hard not to see a thematic connection between these three scenes which occur in the same space on the cartonnage, and they should perhaps be interpreted as improvisation on a theme. This innovation continues at a somewhat slower pace on the coffins of the next dynasty, in which the vignettes of the Proto-A coffins will find permanent places on the lids of the Group A bivalves, and the innovation between the scenes will be limited to the identities of the supporting deities on the peripheries of now canonized vignettes.

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<sup>575</sup> Even this piece, where the inscription is written in a mix of legitimate hieroglyphs and pseudoglyphs should cause us to pause and examine what we mean when we talk of illiteracy. Had this scribe been thoughtlessly copying a model, he might have written something readable, or at least we might be able to advance a theory as to which shapes might map to which real glyphs. However, the fact that we can't raises the possibility that this scribe was working from memory and recalling the shapes of glyphs which he didn't understand. He remembered the first two characters of the offering formula correctly. He had clearly seen one before and knew they were an appropriate text for the central column of a coffin. The definition of literacy, and partial literacy, and whether they even mattered in this context is a subject which deserves further attention.

<sup>576</sup>See the discussion on page 84

## 25th Dynasty to the Persian Period: Inner Coffins with Pictorial Layouts

The pieces discussed in this section include inner coffins and standalone pieces where the decoration is mainly pictorial: the pieces have text, but the texts play a secondary, supporting role to the iconography. The texts on the front of the coffin are typically short and consist mainly of captions describing the contents of vignettes. There are occasionally longer texts on the central column of the lid, and on the sides and back of the pieces, which are executed in highly detailed, "monumental" hieroglyphs. This group also sees the emergence of Book of the Dead texts as part of the textual program of the coffin, though these are often highly abbreviated.

The coffins that Brech assigns to *Gruppe A* all fall into this chapter. The *Gruppe A* design--with its horizontal registers of vignettes, set iconographic program, and color differential between the lid and the basin--occurs on both back-laced cartonnages and on bivalve coffins with pedestals and back-pillars. Based on their shapes and materials, they can be dated between the early 25th Dynasty and the 26th Dynasty. Brech suspects that *Gruppe A* continues into the Persian Period as well.<sup>577</sup>

There is one more piece, the coffin of Pakharu in Porto, that fits this description which cannot be assigned to *Gruppe A* and which has a closer affinity artistically to some of the text-based coffins in the next section. I have chosen to include it in that section rather than this one to facilitate the discussion of how it relates the textual and pictorial coffins.

The colorful coffins in this chapter are always either standalone pieces or the innermost coffin in a set, the outer anthropoid members of which are plainer and resemble the outer coffins discussed in the prior section. When other members of a set are present, the whole set is discussed as a unit below.

The Coffin of Paenbes,<sup>578</sup> the Barnum Museum, Bridgeport Connecticut 1894.1.2 AB

### *Overview*

According to the museum's records, the coffin was given to Nancy Fish Barnum (widow of the famous showman) on her trip to Egypt in 1894 by the American Consul. Further details on its acquisition are unknown. The coffin arrived in the United States the same year, and the coffin's occupant was subsequently unwrapped by the Bridgeport Scientific Society. Over a century later, CT scans showed that (as has been the case with several of the pieces discussed thus far) the body associated with the coffin must have been inserted in modern times--it was much older than the coffin itself.

Time has not been kind to the carefully sculpted wooden bivalve coffin. The foot of the lid has broken away and been re attached, and much of the plaster on the lavishly decorated lid has chipped away, leaving the layer of linen beneath and the bare wood exposed. Furthermore, the piece has been extensively repainted in modern times. Most of this is quite obvious from

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<sup>577</sup> Brech, p. 94.

<sup>578</sup> The name is not entirely clear. It is written once on the coffin, on the right side of register B. The name is either *p3-ib* ("the goat") or *p3-(n)-bs* ("the one of Bes"). See Appendix III for a more in-depth discussion in which I argue for the later interpretation of the name.

inspection--the modern painting employs hues and patterns that the Egyptians did not use. This is especially noticeable on the face and collar of the lid, where the repainting of the collar actually covers the feathered crown of the Abydos fetish which was once drawn between the lappets of the wig. Less noticeably, the whitewashing on the inside and back of the basin may also be modern--in which case, any decoration on the basin is now lost.

The inlaid eyes on the face are original and quite unusual for this type of a coffin, marking it as particularly high in status. The piece also once had a beard attached on the chin: the empty hole which held it is still visible. However, the painted "straps" on the chin are modern. Where it survives, the original decoration is vibrant and beautifully executed in light green, yellow, crimson, and deep blue.

Paenbes (*p3-(n)-bs*), the man who originally owned the coffin, was a stolist priest of Akhmim, Anubis, and of the God's Mother (*sm.ty ipw inpw mw.t ntr*). He was also "Beloved of the God" (*mr ntr*), and the Third Priest of Min (*hm ntr mnw 3 nw*). His father was Padiaset (*p3-di-3s.t*), and his grandfather was Pakharu (*p3-h3rw*).<sup>579</sup> None of the members of Paenbes' family are known from other sources, and the coffin is unpublished. The surviving captions are translated here in Appendix III.

This coffin is a bivalve--it opens like a clamshell. The contours of the body--especially around the calves, elbows, shoulders, and buttocks--are carefully sculpted, and the coffin has a pedestal and a back-pillar which invites comparison to the Ptah-Sokar-Osiris statues which came into use at the same time. The pedestal and back-pillar indicate that the piece was meant to stand on its feet during at least part of the funerary ritual. Bivalve coffins come into fashion in Thebes, and probably Akhmim as well, at the end of the Third Intermediate Period and into the 25th Dynasty, gradually replacing the old cartonnages (see above, p 23).

While the coffin of Pabes has some superficial similarities with Taylor's "lower elite" Theban coffins of the same era--namely, the relative lack of text, and the central religious role played by imagery--there is no direct analogue within the Theban corpus to the decoration here. Given both the quality of painting and the extensive titles of the owner, this should be considered not a "lower elite" coffin, but rather an example of Brech's *Gruppe A*, which is a distinctive local decorative program at Akhmim.

### *Iconographic Overview*

The front of the lid of the coffin of Paenbes is divided into six horizontal registers divided by decorative bands, which combine strips of block pattern and floral garlands. The large collar has no end-terminals: it simply disappears behind the shoulders. It is comprised of rows of petals, checkerboard patterns, and very thin, delicate lines that are fashioned to look like twisted string. The area between the lappets has been painted over in modern times, but it was originally occupied by the two great plumes of the crowned Abydos fetish. This central element of the first register reaches up over the collar, overlapping it in a fashion characteristic of this coffin group.

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<sup>579</sup> This individual was probably the grandfather of the deceased. However, the word marking the filiation is not visible because of damage. For further notes on the names and titles, please see the entry for the coffin in Appendix III.

The great symbol is protected by two winged mummiform deities with the heads of lionesses, whose wings stretch backwards protectively over the base of the fetish. Small ba-birds drink water from cups beneath the base of the fetish, which itself emerges from a "mountain" glyph--a visual cryptogram of the word "Abydos." To the right and left of the fetish stand Horus and Thoth. Horus wears the leopard pelt of the *lunmutef* priest, reprising an emphasis on Horus' relationship with his father that was present on the 21st dynasty pieces but missing in the "Proto-A" group. The rest of the scene is destroyed, though other coffins feature the sons of Horus to either side of the central figures.

In the second register (Register B), the deceased is presented to Osiris--or at least he stands in the god's presence, raising his hand in adoration. The deceased is bald (as is appropriate for his title), wearing a long garment with a pleated shawl draped over the front, running from his shoulder to his calves. The focus of the scene is the seated God of the Dead who sits enthroned with the white crown on his head. He has an ornament at his shoulder consisting of a falcon with a solar disk atop its head--perhaps a reference to the merging of Re and Osiris in the depth of the night. Isis stands bent before him, with her hair arranged in a curl down her back and wearing the vulture crown. Behind Osiris stands an entourage of goddesses: the first bears a unique combined sign of Isis and Nephthys on her head; the emblem of the second cannot be identified; the third is Serqet.

The next register (Register C) is the Book of the Dead 125 scene with Re-Harakhte as the judge of the deceased. This scene is familiar from the Proto-A coffins in the last chapter. However, the keeper of the scales is no longer an anonymous cobra-headed goddess (as it was on the coffin of Tahai<sup>580</sup>), but rather Anubis. Ammit now stands on a chest and looks backwards away from the deceased; her body has become that of a pregnant animal with hanging teats. The snake who emerged from Re-Harakhte's throne on the Proto-A coffins now stands by himself, on the tip of his tail, wearing a beard, a double crown, and a slight smile. Behind Re-Harakhte is his female entourage, who have sustained much damage: a human-headed Hathor, and a goddess with the head of a hare. The face is all that remains of the hippopotamus-headed mummiform deity behind them.

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<sup>580</sup> see above on page 216

The usual mummification scene comes next, with the deceased as Osiris on a lion-headed bed. Horus, not Anubis, ministers to him.<sup>581</sup> Enough remains of the periphery to show



Figure 57: Mummification Scene from the Coffin of Paenbes, with Horus as the embalmer, and barrel-shaped canopic jars.

that it once featured two mourning goddesses on *nub* signs. Chains of *ankh* and *was* signs hang from their elbows as they raise their hands to the deceased. The canopic jars under the bed take a distinctive form here: they are barrel-shaped with rounded red lids and bulging sides painted with blue and red stripes (Figure 57).

The scene below this is the "Osiris in a Tree" scene that is also a marker for this group of coffins. Here, the mummiform deity stands with crossed tree trunks, between two undulating

branches emerging from a broad pot or bed. The leaves are either daubed on, or stamped in, with diluted green paint, resulting in an impressionistic effect. The thicket is bordered on both sides by black obelisks. On the right and left sides are, respectively, Thoth and a deity who would be unidentifiable except for a fragment of a human face and some glyphs which might spell the words (*iwn* *mw.t*)<sup>582</sup>.


The scene on the toes consists of a mummiform falcon on a basket which extends over the toes. Its most striking aspect is his big black eye with a red spiral within the white of the eye, which gives the bird an otherworldly appearance. Before the falcon is the image of another falcon perched on a papyrus stalk, around the base of which is wound a crowned cobra. The rest of the decoration in this register is now missing. The front of the pedestal was probably once decorated with a thick blue stripe sandwiched between two red ones.

While it is probable that the piece was once decorated on the back and sides, this decoration is now gone, replaced by modern paint and whitewashing.

<sup>581</sup> Horus also assumed this role on the coffin of Djedhor in Detroit on page 211, and Tahai in Basel, p 216

<sup>582</sup> The fragmentary tall sign looks like *iwn*, but the vulture for *mw.t* is not visible in the word. Not enough remains to be able to say for certain what the phrase was.

Summary of Iconography

	Register A	Register B	Register C
	Thoth and Horus lunmutef adore the Abydos fetish, which overlays the collar.	The deceased stands in praise of Isis and Osiris. (Perhaps analogous to the presentation scenes on Proto-A.)	The deceased is judged before Re-Harakhte and an entourage of goddesses.
	Register D	Register E	Register F
	The deceased lays on a bier, identified as Osiris. Horus embalms him, while Isis and Nephthys mourn to the right and left.	Osiris in a plot of trees bordered by obelisks. Thoth stands on the viewer's right and a human headed figure stands to the left.	A mummified falcon on a basket. Before him is a falcon on a papyrus stalk around which a snake is coiled.

*Paleography*

GardinerSign	Sample	GardinerSign	Sample
A2		A26	
A4		A53	
D4		D28	
D58		F1	
F28		F39	
G29		G4	
H8		I9	
I1		K4	
M12		M17	
N35		O1	
O49		Q1	
Q3		R4	
R8		R14	
R17		S29	

GardinerSign	Sample	GardinerSign	Sample
V3		V31	
W24		O34 R12	



### *The Art Style and the Number of Artists*

It would be a mistake to compare the coffin of Paenbes to Taylor's "low elite" Theban style on the basis of its mainly pictorial decoration and horizontal registers. Not only do the owner's titles place him high in the priestly hierarchy at Akhmim, but the skill involved in painting this piece was exceptional.



*Figure 59: Ammit on the coffin of Paenbes*

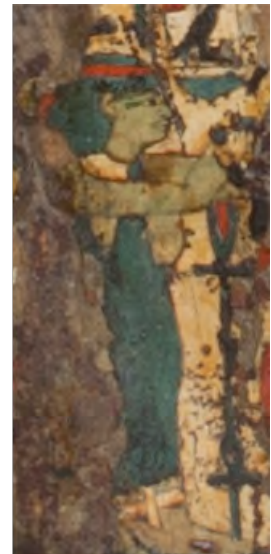
The piece was drafted in very faint red lines on a white background. These were then outlined in black and then other colors were added on top--red, green and blue can be seen overlapping the black outlines on the dresses of the goddesses and on Osiris' red shawl. The lines are very fine, and the flow of the ink was carefully controlled. All color was applied with great care. The coffin then received a layer of yellow varnish.

Red is used sparingly to special effect, adding a touch of realism in surprising places. As one example, Ammit's teats are red, but her belly is a thick red line, giving the impression of hairlessness (Figure 59). As another example, the hippopotamus-headed deity at the right side of Register D has a slightly opened mouth, and the lower line of the mouth is thick and red--indicating her tongue, lying in her mouth. Black ticks on the red line indicate the deity's sharp teeth.

In a new development, all the figures on this coffin adopt the Nubian-period canon of proportions in their bodies and faces. The faces are all beautifully executed: their long, sometimes narrow eyes have thick, tapering cosmetic lines; the nostrils and lips are carefully delineated. This artist has a peculiar way of drawing the ear as a round c-like shape: it starts at the bottom and comes up and around, joining the face and continuing, finally looping back upon itself in sharp, quick swoop (Figure 60).

This artist seems to have stumbled a little with the bodily proportions of some of the figures: the upper torsos of some of the figures are jarringly long in proportion to the rest of their bodies. This issue occurs to varying degrees on every figure on the coffin, including the central figures of the register (Figure 58). The tendency towards drawing large torsos is a characteristic of the primary artist on the piece, and not of an apprentice.

Because of the damage and excessive modern repainting, it is difficult to tell whether multiple ancient hands were involved in the decoration: there aren't enough intact repeated figures of the same type to be able to compare them. However, the aforementioned tendency



*Figure 58: The artist seems to have struggled with proportion. Note the squashed appearance of Hathor's' lower body in comparison with her bosom.*



towards large torsos and squished lower bodies appears with most of the human figures on the piece, and the human deities all have similar faces. While the clothing of the goddesses is comparable to representations of goddesses on 25th Dynasty pieces from Thebes, there are a few peculiarities of their costume that are consistent on all representations here and are worth mentioning: the goddesses wear sheath dresses held up with a strap that seems to be cut of the same cloth as their dress, without a knot; and their dresses are slightly longer in the back than in the front. The uniformity of these special features, and the technical difficulty with proportions, both point to the surviving decoration being the work of the same individual.

### *The Inscriptions and the Number of Scribes*

The surviving inscriptions on this coffin take the form of blocky letters with solid blue fill and few internal details. The parts of the text that are still legible feature the "water to your *ba*" offering formula, the genealogy of the deceased, and the names of deities. A very abbreviated excerpt from Book of the Dead Chapter 3 fills the short columns above the scales.

The glyphs are all carefully drawn, but in many places, the text does not fit comfortably into the allocated space. In one place, an extra, narrow register seems to have been drawn in front of the face of Osiris in register B in order to fit in his title "Ruler of the Living," which appears cramped and awkward in the space (Figure 60). The text above the scales is also squeezed into a small space. One might envision a single artist and scribe who continuously overestimated how much space he had, with the result that the figures he drew had large



*Figure 60: The text in front of Osiris reads from right to left in two columns. The second column is noticeably skinnier than the first and the text in it is compressed.*

torsos because he drew the head and torso first, then had to cram the rest of the body in the remaining space. That person might also start writing a text, realize they didn't have enough space left, and try to squeeze the rest into makeshift registers.

Unlike the previous coffins, there aren't any good ways to link the text and the art on this coffin: most of the text and the textual elements of the figural drawing, such as the emblems on the goddesses' heads, have also been destroyed.

Because of the extensive damage on this piece, it's hard to tell for sure whether all of the inscriptions were by the same person. Any text on the basin has been completely destroyed, and most of the text on the lid is at least partially damaged. However, the remaining characters are consistent with each other,

so it seems as if there was only one scribe at work here.

The Coffins of Paenbes, Museu Nacional de Arqueologia, Lisboa E163(Inner), E332 (Outer))

#### *Overview*

Paenbes (*p3-(n)-bs*)<sup>583</sup> was buried in a brightly colored bivalve coffin and a sparsely decorated outer coffin. The inner coffin with its associated remains, along with the basin of the outer coffin, are now in the collection of the National Museum of Archaeology in Lisbon. They had once belonged to the collection of the Duke of Palmela, but little other information on the history of the pieces is available.

That the owner of the coffin came from Akhmim is apparent in the owner's titles. Paenbes is described as a "Stolist of Min, Lord of Akhmim" (*sm3.ty mnw nb ipw*) on the basin of the outer coffin. His father had the same title and was named Hor (*hr*). The inscription on the right side of the outer coffin is damaged, but Hor was apparently also a type of scribe of the temple of Min (*sš [...] n mnw nb ipw*). The coffin has been previously published in museum catalogues, and the piece is described by Brech in her study of Akhmim coffins.<sup>584</sup>

#### *Iconographic Description: Outer Coffin*

The lid of the outer coffin was lost, but the basin survives. All the decoration is executed on a natural wood ground. The long exterior side walls are each painted with a tall column of text framed by blue lines on each side. This is drawn in black and filled with a layer of blue paint that does not obscure the carefully drawn interior detail of the glyphs. The inner floor is painted with a frontal drawing, in red with black outline, of the goddess Nut. The goddess' hands reach up onto the side walls of the coffin as if to embrace Paenbes. The goddess wears a sheath dress with a red sash, looped and knotted at her waist. A pendant in the form of a heart-hieroglyph falls over her ample bosom, the nipples of which are painted as if viewed from the side. She wears bracelets, anklets, and a collar, drawn in black and filled with yellow and a blue which has turned more blackish over time. Her face is framed by a blue- and yellow-striped Hathoric wig with curled lappets. Her head is topped by a modius, above which floats her name in large glyphs.

#### *Iconographic Description: Inner Coffin*

The inner bivalve coffin depicts the deceased with a red face, a still-attached Osirian beard, a striped wig, and a floral fillet. A scarab is painted in a lozenge shape on the top of his head. The bottom of the pedestal is decorated by a running bull: the Osiris Apis.

On the back of the coffin, the fully carved back-pillar is decorated by a large, vividly colored *djed* pillar.<sup>585</sup> On top of the *djed* pillar is an *ankh* with arms, raising a sun-disk above its "head" (or, rather, its loop). On either side of the base of the *djed* pillar appear images of Isis and Nephthys, kneeling and raising their hands, with chains of *ankh* and *was* signs hanging from

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<sup>583</sup> The owner of this coffin and the coffin in Bridgeport share a common name but do not seem to have been otherwise related.

<sup>584</sup> Brech, pp. 55–58; *Antiguidades Egipcias 1: Lisboa, Museu Nacional de Arqueologia*. (Lisboa: Instituto Português de Museus, 1993), pp. 294–304, OEB.

<sup>585</sup> An "echo" of this *djed* pillar can be seen on Nut's dress on the inner coffin.

their elbows. The rest of the back on both sides of the *djed* pillar is filled with long columns of text.

The front of the coffin conforms to Brech's description of *Gruppe A*. The surface is divided into six short, wide horizontal registers divided by decorative bands of block pattern and petals. The upper border of the top register is divided from the collar by double bands of feather pattern or chevron pattern. A long ribbon of block pattern runs around the perimeter of the lid where it meets the basin.



Coffin of Paenbes/Pabasa, E 136 Museu Nacional de Arqueologia, Lisbon

A long ribbon of block pattern runs around the perimeter of the lid where it meets the basin.

The decoration of the registers is as follows. The central focus of the first register under the collar (A) is a large Abydos fetish with a plumed crown. It emerges from a mountain-shaped glyph and has two winged, mummiform, lion-headed deities on either side. Horus-Who-Protects-His-Father raises a hand to the fetish, wearing a panther skin which marks him as a son officiating for his father. On the other side is Thoth, whose upper body has been destroyed. Tiny *ba*-birds drink from cups on either side of the pillar. On the right and left extremities of the scene are the Sons of Horus: here, they appear as green-skinned nude children with their fingers to their mouths.<sup>586</sup>

The second register (B) is a scene revolving around Osiris and Isis. Isis wears the vulture crown and bends over her husband Osiris, reaching towards his lap, while Nephthys stands behind him, supporting his crown. Behind Nephthys are Serqet and an unnamed goddess, clutching red and blue strips of

cloth and raising their hands. To the right of Isis stands the deceased, in the garb of a priest, with his arms raised in praise. Behind him are a mummiform baboon-headed deity and the *imentet* sign for the West.

As is usual with the *Gruppe A* coffins, the following register (C) is a judgement scene. However, the contents have been rearranged slightly in comparison with the other versions. The unchanging aspect of the scene is its focal point: Re-Harakhte. Here, however, the god Atum is missing, and Re-Harakhte stands before a loaded table of offerings. Facing him on the other side of the table is Ammit, seated placidly on the stylized "Pool of Fire" that is familiar from other *Gruppe A* coffins. Thoth dips his pen in his palette, preparing to record the judgement. The scale itself is operated by both Anubis *and* Horus. (This is the only time in the *Gruppe A* corpus that Horus is associated with the scale, though he was its default minder in 21st-Dynasty Akhmim.) Behind the falcon-headed Re-Harakhte is Neith and a snake-headed

<sup>586</sup> This iconography is unusual for Akhmim coffins, but it does appear more commonly on coffins of the early 25th Dynasty at Thebes. Of the Akhmim pieces, only one other, the coffin of Iwefaa (PAHMA 6-19928), also depicts the Sons of Horus as children, and on Iwefaa's coffin they retain their animal heads.

mummiform deity with an *atef* crown. Based on his appearance on the coffins of Besenmut, this is probably Atum.

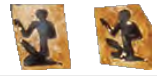




































Register D is a mummification scene in which Horus "causes his father to be glorified." Beneath the lion-bodied bier on which Osiris (or rather, the deceased) lies are four jars. They have bulging tops and sides which taper, then flare, at the bottom. Isis and Nephthys raise an arm on either side of the scene. Chains of *ankh* and *was* signs hang from their elbows.

The "Osiris in a Tree" scene (Register E) is like those on the other *Gruppe A* coffins. Osiris stands in his potted tree holding a crook, flail, and a long, striped staff. On either side of the tree are obelisks. On the left, stands an *lunmutef* priest whose face has flaked away, grasping the paw of his panther-skin cloak with one hand and raising the other to Osiris. On the other side is Thoth, raising his hand, with *ankh* and *was* signs dangling from his wrist. Behind him is an *imentet* sign.

In the final scene (F), which is rendered on the top of the foot, a mummified falcon in an elaborately decorated beaded shroud perches on a palace-facade with a bolted door. All of this is drawn atop a stylized *heb* basket, which is drawn on the tips of the toes. On each ankle is a one-winged sun-disk, reaching along the side of the foot towards the toe. Other figures in the scene are a falcon perched atop a papyrus stalk, and a Nefertem standard, and, perched atop the wing of the left disk, a *ba* bird who raises his hand reverently. The pedestal is decorated with a frieze of back-to-back *was* signs flanked by *ankhs* atop baskets. They spell "all life and dominion" for Paenbes and continue around the entire pedestal.

Register A	Register B	Register C	Register D
Central figure is Abydos fetish. Surrounding it are <i>ba</i> birds, Thoth, and Horus-Who-Protects-His-Father. Sons of Horus appear as nude children.	Isis bends over Osiris and Nephthys supports his crown. The deceased stands to the side and praises. Other deities in scene include Serqet, an unnamed goddess, and an unnamed baboon-headed mummiform deity.	Deceased is judged by Thoth and Horus in presence of Re-Harakhte. Thoth records results. Ammit is also depicted. Neith and a mummiform Atum stand behind Re-Harakhte.	Mummification scene with Horus tending to Osiris on a bier. To the right and left are Isis and Nephthys. Canopic jars are round with flaring ring-bottoms.
Register E	Register F	Bottom of Pedestal	Head
"Osiris in a Tree" scene. Osiris stands in a tree growing from a container. To the right and left are two obelisks, an <i>lunmutef</i> priest, and Thoth.	A mummiform falcon on a shrine. Also depicted are a falcon on a papyrus stem, a Nefertem standard, and a <i>ba</i> bird. On each ankle is a one-winged sun-disk.	A running bull with black spots.	A scarab beetle in a lozenge-shaped area.
Back			
Isis and Nephthys raise a hand to a <i>djed</i> pillar. Atop this is an anthropomorphized <i>ankh</i> sign raising a sun-disk.			

# Paleography

	Pabasa LisbonPaleography	Pabasa Outer Lisbon Paleography		Pabasa LisbonPaleography	Pabasa Outer Lisbon Paleography
					
					
					
					
					
					
					
					
					
					
					
					
					
					
					
					
					
					
					
					

	Pabasa Lisbon Paleography	Pabasa Outer Lisbon Paleography
G2		
G25		
G26		
G29		
G36		
G37		
G39		
G43		
G47		
H6		
I9		
I11		
L2		
L7		
M3		
M4		
M16		
M17		
M18		
M22		
M23		

	Pabasa Lisbon Paleography	Pabasa Outer Lisbon Paleography
M29		
N1		
N2		
N3		
N5		
N16		
N26		
N29		
N31		
N35		
N37		
O1		
O4		
O9		
O22		
O22R8		
O28		
O29		
O34		
O49		
O5		
Op1		

	Pabasa LisbonPaleography	Pabasa Outer Lisbon Paleography
𐀓 P5		
𐀑 Q1		
𐀒 Q3		
𐀔 Q6		
𐀒 R8		
𐀒 R11		
𐀒 R12 R22		
𐀒 R14		
𐀒 R17		
𐀒 S2		
𐀒 S29		
𐀒 S34		
𐀒 S43		
𐀒 T23		
𐀒 T3		
𐀒 T32		
𐀒 U4		
𐀒 U6		
𐀒 U15		
𐀒 U17		
𐀒		

	Pabasa LisbonPaleography	Pabasa Outer Lisbon Paleography
𐀒 V17		
𐀒 V22		
𐀒 V28		
𐀒 V3		
𐀒 V31		
𐀒 W11		
𐀒 W15		
𐀒 W17		
𐀒 W19		
𐀒 W24		
𐀒 X1		
𐀒 Y1		
𐀒 Y5		
𐀒 Z1		
𐀒 Z2		
𐀒 Z4		
𐀒 Z11		
𐀒 AA1		
𐀒 AA2		
𐀒 AA5		
𐀒 AA11		
𐀒 AA15		
𐀒 AA17		



### *The Art Style and the Number of Artists*

All the decoration on the inner coffin was drawn on a yellow ground. A layer of varnish is responsible for the slight yellow tint of the lid. The registers on the lid have been carefully drafted. Each register is roughly the same height, and each dividing band has the same thickness.

The figures are beautifully drafted. No underdrawings can be seen, and each figure is delicately colored and outlined with a thin black line. The figures are for the most part well-proportioned—except for the goddesses. These have long backs and large hips and buttocks, giving their legs the appearance of being disproportionately short.

The artist or artists seem to have used varying density of detail as a tool with which to draw the viewer's eye to the central figure in each register. Osiris and Re-Harakhte have intricately beaded necklaces and shawls; their staves and crowns are striped. By contrast, the figure of Nephthys behind Osiris has a collar with no interior detail: her dress, and the straps which hold it up, are a solid blue color.

The art on this coffin is of uniform style and quality across the surface of the lid, and it seems to have been the product of one artist (Figure 61). This is demonstrated by the faces of the goddesses on the coffin, who appear in almost all the registers. Each goddess has a long, thick cosmetic line, small nose, and ears that are large in comparison with the face. These features are somewhat typical of the style of the 25th and 26th Dynasties. However, the goddess has a receding chin as well: the line of her jaw seems to melt into her chin in a gentle arc, giving her face a pudgy look. None of the goddesses have much interior detail on the collar or on the dress. This seems to have been a deliberate design choice, as discussed above.



*Figure 61: Goddesses on the coffin of Paenbes. Register letter is below each sample.*

### *The Inscriptions and the Number of Scribes*

The outer coffin basin of Paenbes is inscribed with two offering formulae, one on each side. The left-hand formula asks Osiris for a good burial, and the right side makes offerings to Hathor and Ptah-Sokar Osiris who are respectively the "Lord of Burial" and the "Lady of a Good Burial." The texts on this piece are transcribed and translated by Araújo in the Museum Catalogue. All of the text is drawn in black outline with black interior details. The figures are then covered with a thin, transparent layer of blue pigment.



The coffins of Paenbes in Lisbon have one of the most varied and interesting selections of text across the *Gruppe A* coffins. In the first register, the sons of each make individual proclamations of what they will do for their father Osiris. These proclamations echo those which appear in an Osiris hymn on a papyrus from Thebes--though that papyrus is probably dated somewhat later than this coffin.<sup>587</sup> The texts spoken by Serqet in the Isis and Osiris scene have no apparent parallels elsewhere; neither do the recitations in register F. These texts mainly concern themselves with *s3* and *m<sup>c</sup>k.t*, two types of protection for the deceased.

The text on the back of the coffin features excerpts from three Book of the Dead spells. On the viewer's right side of the *djed* pillar is an excerpt from Spell 33a: "for living on air in the necropolis." The three long columns on this side of the coffin also feature an excerpt from Spell 54: "for giving air to the deceased." This version of Spell 54 has a short inclusion from a very similarly worded passage from Spell 56. The texts on the other side of the *djed* pillar (i.e. on the viewer's right side of the coffin) are a long excerpt from Book of the Dead Spell 125, which is the spell recited during the judgement of the deceased. All texts on the inner coffin are translated in Appendix III.

The glyphs on the back of the coffin are larger, and their outlines are executed with more detail than those in the captions on the front of the coffin. However, all glyphs on the coffin are outlined in black and filled with either blue or black. It is difficult to say which was the original color of the fill because Egyptian blue tends to degrade to black with time and exposure to pollution.

There is little variation in form among the glyphs on the inner coffin. These are all, in turn, like those on the outer coffin, even if those on the outer coffin have more internal detail. This is well-illustrated by the Abydos fetish glyph, R17: on both the inner and the outer coffins, the plumes atop the glyph diverge slightly at the top. Similarly, the coffin glyph Q6 is also drawn identically on the inner and outer coffins. It seems, then, that both the outer and inner coffin were by the same scribe, and that only one scribe was responsible for all the text on both coffins.

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<sup>587</sup>The speeches about the canopic gods mirror those that appear in the Osiris Hymn in P. Nesbanebdjed II. Günter Burkard, *Spätzeitliche Osiris-Liturgien im Corpus der Asasif-Papyri: Übersetzung, Kommentar, formale und inhaltliche Analyse*, Ägypten und Altes Testament, 31 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1995), p. 253.

The Coffins of Besenmut, The New Walk Museum, Leicester, Number LA 1980.1885 (Inner and Outer)

### Overview

The inner and outer coffins of Besenmut were purchased, along with the very similar coffins of an unrelated woman named Tabes, by John Mason Cook--a pioneer of 19th-century British tourism.<sup>588</sup> Cook apparently purchased the pieces from Maspero himself, with whom Cook was acquainted.<sup>589</sup> The inner and outer coffins of Besenmut, along with those of Tabes, were donated to the New Walk Museum in Leicester in 1885, shortly after their acquisition.

Besenmut (*bs-n-mw.t*) bore the related titles of "God's Father" (*it ntr*) and "God's Beloved" (*mr ntr*). Like Paenbes, he was a stolist priest. This title was common among the clergy of ithyphallic gods, especially at Akhmim. The duties of this priest would have pertained to the clothing of statues of ithyphallic gods.<sup>590</sup> The name of Besenmut's father, Djedmehitiwefankh (*dd-mhy.t-iwz-f-chnh*),<sup>591</sup> is given exactly once on the coffin set, in the first register of the inner coffin.

The set consists of two coffins: a plain outer coffin similar to those described for the Third Intermediate Period at Akhmim, and an inner wooden bivalve coffin of Brech's *Gruppe A*. The decoration of both coffins will be discussed more generally below, but the decoration of the inside of the outer coffin bears particular notice because some of the wood is reused from another coffin. Closer examination reveals that the reused boards came from the bottom of a large *qrs*w-style coffin.<sup>592</sup> This *qrs*w coffin was decorated on the inside floor with the "Dangerous Animals" spells from the Book of the Dead, written out in neat horizontal lines, around their associated vignettes.<sup>593</sup> Only one of these last survives: an image of three crocodiles turning away from the spellcaster. This *qrs*w coffin must have been sourced from an Akhmim cemetery, because although the owner's name is lost, his titles survive: "Stolist of Akhmim" (*sm3.ty Ipw*), "Servant of Horus" (*hm hr*), and "King's Acquaintance" (*rh-nsw.t*). What relationship this man had with Besenmut, if any, is unclear. He must have predeceased Besenmut and he seems to have been of a higher rank than his eventual usurper. While they might have been more distantly related (because Besenmut has totally different titles), it is not likely that Besenmut was the son or grandson of the *qrs*w coffin owner. Furthermore, their coffins did not share an artist or scribe: the neat cursive hieroglyphic handwriting on the *qrs*w coffin board has few similarities with the detailed polychrome and block-style hieroglyphs on

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<sup>588</sup> For the fascinating political situation surrounding the opening of the Thomas Cook tour packages in Egypt and the integral role of company in British colonial endeavors in Egypt, see Robert F. Hunter, 'Tourism and Empire: The Thomas Cook & Son Enterprise on the Nile, 1898-1914', *Middle Eastern Studies*, 40.5 (2004), 28–54. See also the above chapter on Akhmim and the Antiquities market.

<sup>589</sup> Personal communication, Stephanie Boonstra to Kea Johnston, 'Coffins at the New Walk Museum', 10 July 2019.

<sup>590</sup> Gauthier, *Le Personnel du Dieu Min*, pp. 49–51.

<sup>591</sup> This name is not in Ranke, but the feminine version, Djedmehitiwesankh is: Ranke, I, vol. I p 411, #5.

<sup>592</sup> *Qrs*w coffins with similar selection and papyrus-like layout of spells and vignettes on the interior bottom can be seen on CG 41004 (78-88 Pl XII), CG 41009, (107-134, Pl XVII), Alexandre Moret, *Sarcophages de l'Époque Bubastite à l'Époque Saïte*, Catalogue Général Des Antiquités Égyptiennes Du Musée Du Caire, 2 vols (Cairo: Imprimerie de l'Institut Français, 1913), I.

<sup>593</sup> Fragments and excerpts from the following spells can be seen on the recycled board from the *qrs*w coffin: 31, 33, 34, 36, 37, 38, and 40.



Inner coffin lid of Besenmut, LA  
1980.1885 Courtesy of the New Walk  
Museum, Leicester

the lids of either of Besenmut's coffins. The drawing of the three crocodiles is finely executed, but it has little in common with anything in the decoration rendered by Besenmut's artists.

Neither of the coffins of Besenmut are published; they were not included in Brech's catalogue. To remedy this, and in order to better analyze the texts and compare them with the other coffins in the corpus, the lids of the inner and outer coffins are translated and annotated in Appendix III. Photographs were not available for the bottom of the basin of the inner coffin, however, so no translation is given for it. The reused board on the basin of the inner coffin is out of scope for this project, but deserves its own publication, considering its rarity as a part of an early Akhmim *qrsw* coffin and as an example of the Book of the Dead tradition at the site.<sup>594</sup>

### *Iconographic Description*

Beneath the wig and floral collar, the surface of the inner coffin is divided into six horizontal registers divided by a border consisting of a strip of block pattern and one of petals. Thematically, these focus on the rebirth of Osiris and on the relationship between the deceased and Osiris on the one hand, and between the deceased and Re-Harakhte on the other. As was the case in Dynasty 21, Horus takes a significant role in the decoration, and he functions in the capacity of Osiris' (and the deceased's) son. On this coffin, as opposed to on the previously discussed coffin of Paenbes, Horus is replaced by Anubis in the embalming scene. The canid god also appears in the place of Thoth in the "Osiris in a Tree" scene as one of the deities who adores the verdant Osiris along with Horus.

The first register (A) contains the vignette of the great Abydos fetish, with its feather crown reaching up towards the neck of the deceased. It emerges from the mountain glyph with two winged mummiform lionesses on either side of it. These goddesses have solar disks on their heads. To the left stands Thoth as an ibis-headed man, wearing a kilt with a bull's tail and

<sup>594</sup> *Qrsw* coffins from this period were not the focus of this work. The only contemporary piece that is currently acknowledged to be from Akhmim is the *qrsw* coffin belonging to Qenhor, now in Berlin. The realization that Besenmut's board had been repurposed from a *qrsw* coffin led to a closer look at the Catalogue Générale coffins published by Moret in the early 20th century. Though Moret claims that these pieces are all from Dier el-Bahri, he doesn't give any other detail about their provenience. Some of them have Akhmim titles and similar handwriting and text selection to those discussed in this chapter. Rather than assuming that the Akhmim pieces discussed here are Theban based on parallels in Moret following and Moret's sketchy provenience, the time has come to re-evaluate the origins of the not obviously Theban *qrsw* coffins in the CG volume.

sash over his breast. To the right stands Horus, wearing a panther pelt and grasping the pelt's paw in his left hand. Both gods raise their right hands towards the emblem of Osiris in the center. To the left and right of them are Nephthys and Isis. Nephthys embraces Thoth with one hand, raising the other in adoration, a chain of *ankh* and *was* signs hanging from her elbow. Isis holds red and blue cloth in her hands. On the peripheries on the right and left are the four Sons of Horus as animal-headed, mummiform deities. Aside from the human-headed Imsety, the names as written in the protective formulae in the columns of text before them are unexpected: the baboon-headed deity is Duamutef, not Hapy; the jackal-headed god is Qebhsenuf rather than Duamutef; the falcon-headed one is Hapy. On the far left of the vignette is a bearded, mummiform, snake-headed deity with red eyes, wearing the *atef* crown. This is Atum, lord of Iunu.

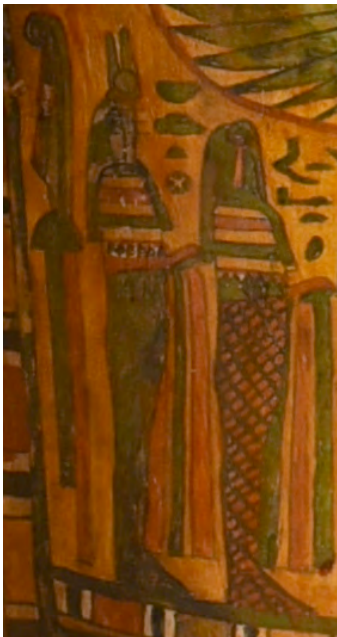


Figure 62: Maat and the Lord of Djedu—two distinctively drawn figures

The top third of the second register (B) is occupied by a winged sun-disk labeled "The One of Behdet". The scene deals with the presentation of the dead before Osiris (Book of the Dead Spell 125). As was often the case on the 21st-Dynasty Akhmim coffins, the focus of the scene is not on the relationship between the deceased and the god, but rather on the relationship between the god and a member of his family—in this case, Isis. Here, as on the coffin of Paenbes, she stands wearing a vulture headdress and facing her husband, bending over slightly to reach towards him. Her hand touches his lap, though whether this was intended to give the scene sexual overtones is unclear. The deceased, Besenmut, stands behind Thoth to the right of the couple, with a raised fist and a long shawl from his shoulder to his ankles. His head is bald, as befits his titles. Behind him is a large black obelisk, and Atum again, this time in the form of a mummiform deity with the head of a snake. There may be other figures to the far right, but they were not discernable in the available pictures. Behind Osiris is an entourage of gods and goddesses: Neith, Selket, and a frog perched atop the shoulders of a mummiform human: Heqet. Finally, there is a hare-headed deity named "Wenet."

The two mummiform figures behind Heqet are portrayed in a very distinctive fashion and deserve special description. The first is a mummiform figure with a backwards-facing feather topped with a wig. Because of the way the feather is facing, it is hard to recognize and gives the impression of being veiled—feather-headed figures are common in both Litany of Re papyri and in scenes where the deceased has passed the judgement, but the feather usually does not have a wig, and instead stands freely. Here, it is conveniently labeled as Maat. Behind Maat is a mummiform figure with a *djed* pillar for a head. This too has a wig, and its own crown with a disk and two plumes. It is captioned "The Lord of Djedu." (Figure 62) In the remaining space is the sign of the West.

The theme of the third register (C) is the judgement of the deceased before Re-Harakhte and his entourage. The deceased, if he is in the scene, is to the far right of the scene, and was not visible in the available photographs. Here, the deity minding the scales is Anubis, rather

than Horus (as was the case on the 21st-Dynasty coffins) or a snake-headed goddess (as was the case on some of the Third Intermediate Period pieces). Ammit crouches on a low shrine with a slanted roof, turning her face backwards towards Re-Harakhte and away from the deceased. The knobbed square figure above her is the lake of fire, the vignette for Spell 126 of the Book of the Dead, often integrated into depictions of Spell 125.<sup>595</sup>

Before the seated and falcon-headed Re-Harakhte strides a male deity wearing the double crown. He is Atum (the deity depicted on the coffin of Paenbes as a snake balanced on its tail). Behind Re-Harakhte is a retinue of deities: the bovine-headed "Lady of Offerings" (i.e. Hathor) raises her hands towards Re-Harakhte, as does Isis, who follows her. Behind them are mummiform deities: an unlabeled baboon with a feather on its head, a black cobra with a tall plumed crown, and another red-eyed bearded snake with a double-plumed solar crown. They are Temet, lady of Dendara, and Atum, lord of Iunu.<sup>596</sup>

The next register (D) is the mummification scene. The embalmer here is Anubis, not Horus. Isis and an unnamed female deity who is probably kneel on the glyph for "gold" and raise one hand reverently towards the body of Osiris (or the deceased) on the lion-headed bier. An unlabeled, falcon-headed, mummiform deity stands to the left. He probably has a companion on the extreme right, but this could not be verified. A large winged disk flanked by two snakes flies over the scene: it is, once again, "The One of Behdet."

The next register is the "Osiris in a Tree" scene (E). The mummiform god stands between two branches of a tree in a large planter. He holds a long, striped staff, as well as a crook and flail. To the right and left of the scene are black obelisks, which are familiar from the coffin of Paenbes, but which did not occur in the version of the scene in the Third Intermediate Period. To the right and left of the obelisks are Anubis and an unlabeled, green-skinned, falcon-headed Horus. The goddesses on the periphery are coiled cobras who wear the *atef* crown. One holds a long *was* scepter, from which dangles a chain of *ankh* and *was* signs like the ones hanging from the goddesses' arms in the first two registers. Both of these goddesses are named by the associated label: "Wadjet."

The final scene is placed on the feet and wraps around the toes and ankles (F). Its central figure is a large depiction of a mummified falcon on a basket, which wears a solar disk on its head. Behind it are emblems of various deities. First, a lotus flower with two plumes is labeled as Nefertem. Behind it is the Imiut fetish. Before the face of the falcon is a papyrus stalk encircled by a cobra. Another falcon perches atop it. To the right of this is another plumed lotus stalk.

On the foot on each side is a solar disk, positioned over the ankle, its one wing stretching down towards the toes. The pedestal is decorated only with thick, colored stripes in

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















































<sup>595</sup> Stephen Quirke, *Going out in Daylight - Pt m Hrw: The Ancient Egyptian Book of the Dead - Translation, Sources, Meanings*, GHP Egyptology, 20 (London: Golden House Publications, 2013), pp. 277–78.

















































<sup>596</sup> The choice of deities here is surprising. Temet, a form of Hathor, is rare. Given that the only difference between the two names is a t-loaf, and that the loaf is often added when it isn't needed, the translation of their names is uncertain, and a possibility exists that both deities are Atum--the place where the t might be in the word Iunu behind the name of Atum is damaged. However, the first deity is a beardless cobra, while the last one is a snake with a divine beard. This indicates that the artist thought there was indeed a difference between the two goods, and that one is definitely marked as a male whereas the other clearly isn't. For more notes on this, see the translation in Appendix III.

red and blue. The bottom of the foot has no decoration. As was seemingly the case on the coffin of Paenbes (though on this piece it was damaged and repainted), the perimeter of the bivalve around the join between the lid and the basin is decorated with a long band of block pattern which runs from the shoulder to the ankle.

Register A	Register B	Register C
Scene of the adoration of the Abydos fetish, flanked first by Horus as an lunmutef priest and then by Thoth. Behind them are Isis and Nephthys, respectively, and the four Sons of Horus, whose names do not match up with their faces.	Isis bends over a seated Osiris, followed by an entourage of deities. Thoth and the deceased stand before the holy couple.	Book of the Dead Spell 125 scene, where the judge of the deceased is Re-Harakhte, along with Atum, who is represented as a man with the double crown. The keeper of the scales is Anubis. A line of goddesses and gods stands behind Re-Harakhte.
Register D	Register E	Register F
Embalming scene, where Anubis tends to the Osiris. Isis and Nephthys mourn on either side.	Scene of Osiris standing in the branches of a tree. On either side are obelisks. Also present are Anubis and Thoth. On both peripheries are cobras--Wadjet, lady of Dep.	Central figure is a mummiform falcon. Other sacred emblems fill the space: the Nefertem symbol, the Imiut fetish, and a falcon on a papyrus stalk. On the right and left ankles is a one-winged sun-disk.

# Paleography

Leicester Besenmut Inner Paleography	Leicester Besenmut Outer Paleography	Leicester Besenmut Ugarpid Fragment Paleography
 A1		
 A2		
 A17		
 A4 		
 B1		
 D2		
 D4 		
 D21 		
 D36 		
 D37		
 D4		
 D45 		
 D46 		
 D55		
 D58 		
 E34		
 F1		
 F28 		
 F35 		
 G5 		
 G15 		






















Leicester Besenmut Inner Paleography	Leicester Besenmut Outer Paleography	Leicester Besenmut Ugarpid Fragment Paleography
 G17		
 G21		
 G28		
 G39 		
 G43		
 H1		
 H6		
 H8 		
 H9 		
 H11		
 H14		
 L7 		
 M13 		
 M17 		
 M23 		
 N1 		
 N5 		
 N14 		
 N17 		
 N25		
 N26		
N27 		



	Leicester Besenmut Inner Paleography	Leicester Besenmut Outer Paleography	Leicester Besenmut Ujarpe d Fragment/Paleography
Δ N29			
𐎎 N31			
𐎎 N35			
𐎎 N37			
𐎎 N41			
𐎎 NU15			
𐎎 O28			
𐎎 O49			
𐎎 P6			
𐎎 P8			
𐎎 Q1			
𐎎 Q3			
𐎎 R4			
𐎎 R7			
𐎎 R8			
𐎎 R1			
𐎎 R12 R22			
𐎎 R17			
𐎎 R24			
𐎎 S3			
𐎎 S27 V6			
𐎎 S29			

	Leicester Besenmut Inner Paleography	Leicester Besenmut Outer Paleography	Leicester Besenmut Ujarpe d Fragment/Paleography
𐎎 S34			
𐎎 S38			
𐎎 S43			
𐎎 T19			
𐎎 T21			
𐎎 T22			
𐎎 T23			
𐎎 T28			
𐎎 U4			
𐎎 U6			
𐎎 U15			
𐎎 U19			
𐎎 U36			
𐎎 V1			
𐎎 V16			
𐎎 V17			
𐎎 V22			
𐎎 V28			
𐎎 V3			
𐎎 V31			
𐎎 W15			



	Leicester Belemnite Inner Paleography	Leicester Belemnite Outer Paleography	Leicester Belemnite Usurped Fragment Paleography
W19			
W24			
X1			
X8			
Z2			
e27			
Z11			
AA2			
AA5			
AA11			
AA15			
AA25			

### *The Art Style and the Number of Artists*

The decoration of this piece seems to have been executed on a white ground which has been selectively varnished. This was done with the intent of giving the lid a dominant yellow color. The paint must have gone on yellow because the bands of petals dividing the horizontal registers were left unvarnished, and provide a striking bright white contrast with the rich yellow tint of the scenes themselves. The varnish was applied incredibly skillfully, given its viscosity. Looking at these dividing bands at an angle under light shows that the petals are very carefully outlined in varnish.

With the outer varnish layer, it is difficult to tell the difference between underdrawings and the final stage of black outlining. It seems as if the figures were mostly drawn in black, and red details were filled in, followed by blue and green. Several different shades of blue seem to have been used: that which was used to color Osiris' beaded shawl appears very thick and paste-like, but the dresses of the goddesses appear more smooth, and were probably ground more finely. Of course, these blues--which must have been brilliant before the piece was varnished--now look something between dark green and black, because they have a layer of transparent yellow on top of them.

The piece was composed very carefully, and all the figures are evenly spaced, with smaller objects being inserted to break up large areas of negative space. Most of the lines are even in thickness and darkness. Minute details like the beak and eye of Isis' vulture headdress



*Figure 63: Register B of the coffin of Besenmut, showing how the decorative floral band was drawn with the intention that the headdresses of the gods would overlap it.*

in register B are carefully rendered. We are dealing with an artist who knows his medium and is practiced in his craft.



Figure 64: Human faces in registers A, B, C, D, and E.

A feature of the art on this coffin is the way the figures in the registers seem to escape above the register frames. Like the feathers of the Abydos fetish, which overlap the floral collar of the coffin, the headdresses of the deities often overlap the bands of floral decoration which divide the registers, and this seems to have been planned in the original design. By contrast, while the line of the dividing band cuts through the solar disk on Hathor's head in the second register (B), this seems to have been a mistake by the draftsman. This is because the band is drafted in a way that accommodates the headdresses of the other deities: a gap was left to allow for the white crown on Atum's head, but the line of the register is actually drawn around the great solar disk on Re-Harakhte's head. The way in which the deities seem to be transcending the horizontal registers in which they are placed seems to have been a deliberate aesthetic choice (Figure 63).

The entire lid seems to have been drafted by one person. One way to show this is by examining how the human faces are rendered, since humans and anthropomorphic deities appear in each register and face each direction. There is some variation in how the faces are drawn, which can be explained by differences in poses or facing direction. However, each of the human figures has thick lips, rendered as a part of the curvature of the facial profile and made explicit with three interior lines. The figures tend to have thick necks and receding chins--unless they have a beard, in which case, the chins project slightly. The interior detail of the ears is lovingly rendered with the male characters. The eyes of all the figures are large and wide with respect to the cosmetic line, which is only occasionally drawn. The brows go all the way back to the hairline. The nose is somewhat scrunched against the top lip and the forehead. Its folds are carefully rendered with interior lines (Figure 64). A view

of the whole bodies of these figures reveals all of the women to be tall and slender, with bodies well-proportioned according to the Saite and Nubian canon. The male figures (with the exception of Osiris, who is dead and doesn't count) are thick-limbed. The bulging musculature is shown in the curvature of the outlines of their bodies.

### *The Inscriptions and the Number of Scribes*

The glyphs on the inner coffin are all outlined in black and filled by blue paint with little to no internal detail. The inscriptions consist of short phrases where the god identifies himself and pledges his or her protection to the deceased. There are a few places where we can observe similarities between the way figures are drawn in hieroglyphic form and in the vignettes. One is in the Eye glyph (D4), with its round, curved shape, short cosmetic line, and prominent canthus. This eye is similar to the eyes on most of the gods and goddesses in the vignettes.



*Figure 65: Vignette showing the similarity of eye shape between D4 and the eye of Isis in the vignette. Also note the way the word "Isis" is written using her headdress as part of the word and her figure as the determinative.*

Another hint that the inner coffin was decorated and inscribed by the same person is the tight integration between the names of the goddesses and the vignettes which depict them. An example of this can be seen in Figure 65, where Isis' headdress might be considered part of the vignette. As we saw above, the entire design has been planned around the emblem on Isis' head, which "escapes" its frame into the decorative border and collar of the deceased. The scribe has written a t-loaf (X1) and an egg (H8), which, when coupled with the emblem on her head, spell her name. Isis herself seems to act as a determinative--the line between caption and vignette is blurred.

Since these large glyphs integrated with the headdresses are characters that have few defining features, we cannot be certain that they were by the same person who wrote the rest of the text in the goddess' names. However, we can observe that they are drawn with the same proportions as the examples in the caption text (Figure 65). These small similarities between

the form of the glyphs in the captions and in the vignettes nudge us towards the conclusion that the inscription and vignettes were executed by the same person.

On the other hand, there is at least one caption space that was drawn and then left blank. This is above the Hippopotamus headed mummiform deity in register C. This suggests that the artist did not know what the scribe was going to write, and did not properly allocate space for it. However, it does not take two people to make a mistake: perhaps the artist as scribe simply decided, after making room for a name, that there was not enough room to inscribe the name after all, and left the space blank. Another possibility is that the mere *act* of allocating space for the caption, thus alluding to a protective speech by this god, was considered effective enough for the deceased.

As for the outer coffin, it's clear from the paleography that the reused board in the bottom was not written by the same scribe or artist who executed the part of the outer coffin that was made up for Besenmut. However, with the central inscription on the lid, it is harder to tell. The central inscription on it is damaged, and there aren't many signs in common between this inscription and the inner coffin's captions with which we might make a case one way or the other. The signs that appear on both do have some differences: the stalk of the sw plant (M23) is thicker, and the part of it below the bottom leaf is longer on the outer coffin; the incense pot in *sntr* (R7) has a little knob on the bottom on the version that occurs on the outer coffin-lid.



Figure 66 : Bovine head comparison

A comparison between the head of the bull (F1) in the word (*k3.w*), and the head of the bovine-headed goddess in register C of the inner coffin, is inconclusive. The profiles are similar, but the goddess' ear is longer and her horns curve outwards more, and the pat of fat underneath her chin is less noticeable (Figure 66).

In short, the outer coffin may have been inscribed and painted by a different artist than the one who did the inner coffin. However, given the state of the inscription on the outer coffin, this conclusion is not certain. However, if the outer and inner coffins were by different artists, the figures that they were producing were of a very similar style.

The Coffins of Tabes, The New Walk Museum, Leicester, Number LA 1981.1885 (Inner and Outer)

### *Overview*

Tabes doesn't have any titles connecting her to Akhmim: she is simply a "Lady of the House". However, we can be fairly certain her coffin is from the site because it was acquired along with the coffin of Besenmut by John Mason Cook, who probably bought them both from Maspero in 1885. Tabes' inner coffin is visually very similar to that of Besenmut.

The labels on Tabes' coffin claim that she is Besenmut's sister, but do not give a basis for this claim. The texts on the lids of the inner and outer coffins do not mention her parentage. Tabes herself was examined by Rosalie David with the Manchester Mummy Project in the 1970s. Tabes was found to be a teenaged girl who had schistosomiasis. Further results from the study of the Leicester remains, however, were never published.<sup>597</sup>

The *coffins* of Tabes are, as yet, unpublished. Even though photography of the back and left side of the inner coffin was lacking, the visible inscriptions on both the inner and outer coffin are published in Appendix III, and as complete a description of the decoration as possible is given below.

### *Outer Coffin Description*

Tabes was buried with an inner and outer coffin. The outer coffin is a typical outer coffin of the period as far as shape and the general layout of the decoration is concerned (Figure 67). The basin is deep, and has a plain wooden ground with no decoration either inside or out. The lid is shallow and does not represent the bodily curvature, being nearly trapezoidal in shape. The main colors on the lid are yellow and blue, with the deceased represented with a yellow face and a striped yellow and blue wig. The collar is made of rows of petals with an outer row of daisies open lotus blossoms in the style of coffins from the late 21st and early 22nd Dynasties. The lid has a central text column of blue text on a white ground. The rest of the upper part of the lid has been painted a light yellow, but this layer of yellow has either flaked off, or been scraped off, of the area below the knees. This text is so faded as to be unreadable past the first few characters.

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<sup>597</sup> Boonstra to Johnston.



If the entire coffin wasn't reused, it was probably built from reused parts. The inside of the lower left side of the basin (from the deceased's point of view) is painted black, and the edge of this area is so straight that the black cannot have been staining from an unguent poured over the mummy--suggesting it was reused from another coffin. The unreadability of the inscription on the lid may not simply be a product of the passage of time: a swath of the white inscripational band near the legs is simply missing on the legs. No trace of white remains on the bare wood, indicating that it may have been scraped off deliberately.



Figure 67: Outer coffin of Tabes, full view (left), detail of upper part (right).  
 Photographer: Left: Stephanie Boonstra, Right: Simon Wilkinson (Flickr user simonwilkinson).

The style of the decoration supports the idea that the lid was reused: the floral style of the collar on the lid indicates a coffin that is somewhat earlier than the 25th- or 26th-Dynasty date for the inner coffin. The flamboyant outer row of flowers resembles that on the outer coffin of Asetemakhbit (above) more than it does that on the outer coffin of Besenmut. There is a lunette-shaped area beneath the lappets of the wig, which makes it clear that the deceased is to be understood as wearing two collars--the large *wsh* collar and a shorter collar which hugs the neck. This lunette-shaped area is decorated with two *wedjat*

eyes, and a damaged design which appears to be three petals on a pendant. It has its closest parallel in the decoration on the same area of the coffin of an Anonymous Child in Berlin (AE 85313), which features similar large and small collars and a *wedjat* eye in the area above the hand.<sup>598</sup> The red stripe separating the wig lappets from the collar on the outer edge is reminiscent more of the chevron-patterned band on 21st-Dynasty Akhmim coffins than it is of the solid line that sometimes runs around the wig lappets on some of the Third Intermediate Period pieces. The similarity of this coffin to the outer coffin of Asetemakhbit, as well as the lack of hands on the lid, point to this piece perhaps originally being--in whole or in part--an outer coffin from the early 22nd Dynasty.

<sup>598</sup> The comparison between these two pieces is an avenue that needs to be explored further. For the coffin of the Anonymous child, which has no parallels among the Third Intermediate Period pieces, see above on page 220.



Inner coffin lid of Tabes, LA 1981.1885  
 Courtesy of the New Walk Museum,  
 Leicester

### Inner Coffin

The inner coffin fits comfortably into Brech's *Gruppe A*. It is a bivalve coffin with a pedestal and back column, which models to some extent the curves of the body. The deceased has a yellow face and a yellow and blue striped wig. Below this is a short, round collar composed of rows of checkerboard patterns and strings of petals, separated by thin, hatched lines that resemble twisted string. A large Abydos fetish, the centerpiece of the first pictorial register, extends over the collar towards the neck. The six horizontal pictorial registers contain the same scenes that appear on the coffin of Besenmut, and in the same order. They are divided by decorative bands consisting of a strip of block pattern above a horizontal row of petals. The top register has a triple band of horizontal chevrons separating it from the collar on the right and left sides. The opening of the coffin is bordered by a long blue (now black) stripe.

**A** Most of the lid has a light-yellow ground, though some areas, such as the bands dividing the registers were left white. Red, blue, and dark green were used to fill in the shapes, and extra detail, such as the beads and rows in the collars of the gods, were added in black outline. The surface was carefully colored in a layer of varnish, which shifted the green darker, and the blue to black. Some areas were left unvarnished, such as the white petals in the dividing borders and the collar, the mattress on the bier in the embalming scene, and the face of the hare-headed goddess. These areas contrast with the dark, yellow, shiny areas around them.

**B** The triangular area under the collar at the "armpits" (feature G) is decorated with *maat* feathers. This is an unusual feature: in other coffins of this group, this area is occupied by the glyphs  $\text{𓆎}$ , which is difficult to interpret, but might allude to the presence of the two goddesses Isis and Nephthys, who protect the deceased.

**C** The first register (A) features the adoration of the Abydos Fetish by Horus-Who-Protects-His-Father, and Thoth, who carries his writing palette in one hand. The base of the fetish is, as usual for this type of coffin, flanked by the two, lion-headed, mummiform goddesses, standing on each peak of a  $\text{𓆎}$  sign--thus, the Abydos fetish here is a cryptogram for the word "Abydos". To the left of Thoth stand falcon- and jackal-headed mummiform deities. To the right of Horus are the



human- and baboon-headed ones. These are the four Sons of Horus, and (as was the case on the coffin of Besenmut) their names are mixed up (though in a different order than with Besenmut). Here, the falcon is Duamutef and the jackal is Qebhsenuf. The human and baboon-headed deities have the expected names of Imsety and Hapy. On this coffin, Isis and Nephthys are missing from this register. In their place are vertical bands of three rows of chevron patterns or feather patterns, which separate the canopic gods into their own compartments.

In register B, Isis again ministers to Osiris, standing before him and bending over. She wears the vulture headdress of the living queen. Behind her is a mummified person in bright red and blue bandages--probably the deceased. Other mummiform deities follow: a two-head composite of a bearded snake and a goose, followed by a falcon, followed by a hippopotamus-headed mummiform deity, followed at last by a cobra-headed deity.

On the other side, Osiris is followed by two goddesses, one of whom has a chain of *ankh* and *was* signs, where the other has ribbons of blue and red cloth draped over her arms--like those which are used to wrap the mummy of the deceased on the other side of the scene. These goddesses don't have their emblems on their heads (as they do on the coffin of Besenmut), and this has implications for the texts which accompany them, which will be discussed further below.

The first of the two goddesses here is Isis, and the second one is unnamed. Behind her are more mummiform deities: one with the head of a hare, and one with a head of a feather with a wig draped over it. This last is Maat. The final god in the row has a top-down view of a turtle for the head. Squeezed in at the end of the scene is the sign for the West.

The central figure of register C is Re-Harakhte-Atum, who presides over the weighing of the heart. Before the falcon-headed, enthroned deity is a bearded snake standing on its tail and wearing the double crown. Comparing to the same figure on the coffin of Paenbes and the more explicitly labeled human figure on the coffin of Besenmut, this must be Atum. Here, the goddess Ammit stands beneath a large scale, turning her head backwards towards Re-Harakhte and Atum, who is standing upon the sloped roof of a shrine. Beneath the other arm of the scale stands the deceased in a blue sheath-dress. Behind her is a larger figure of Thoth, whose extended hand seems to touch the back of her hair. Behind Re-Harakhte is a line of various deities, starting with another unnamed goddess, and a deity with the head of a cow and a feathered solar crown between her horns--probably a form of Hathor. Behind her are another hippopotamus-headed, mummiform deity, and a mummiform deity with a *djed* pillar for a head.

The fourth register (D) is the mummification scene. Here, the embalmer is Anubis, and three tall, striped jars with rounded lids and straight sides are placed beneath the lion-headed bier. Two unnamed goddesses, likely Isis and Nephthys, kneel on each side, their arms raised in praise and *ankhs* dangling from their elbows. On the far right, the bearded snake-headed Atum appears again; on the far left is a hippopotamus-headed deity.

Below this is the scene of "Osiris in a Tree" (Register E). Horus and Thoth are absent from this version of the scene: Osiris stands in the potted tree flanked only by obelisks and by Nekhbet and Wadjet. Wadjet wears the red crown, and Nekhbet wears an *atef* crown.

The final register (F) on the lid is on the top of the foot, toes and ankles. As was the case for the coffin of Besenmut, the ankles are decorated by one-winged sun-disks whose wing

extends towards the toes. The central figure is a mummified falcon on a basket, which is drawn on the tips of the toes. He is surrounded by sacred standards. On the falcon's back is the Nefertem standard, with a lotus blossom on a striped stalk, around which is tied a *menat* necklace. Topping the blossom is a feathered crown. The standard next to it is a sedge plant, the center petal of which is painted red, doubling as the sun-disk for its feathered crown. It too is on a striped stalk with a *menat* wrapped around it. While the first standard is labeled as "Nefertem", this one is unlabeled. Before the falcon is a standard consisting of a papyrus stalk with a falcon perched atop its umbel. Around it winds a cobra whose head emerges from the front, labeled as "He Who Is On His Papyrus Stalk." The ankles on each side are decorated by a sun disk which has one wing, reaching towards the foot. The one on the left side holds a Maat feather.

Unlike most of the other coffins discussed in this chapter, this piece has a vignette on the bottom of the foot: a running bull with black spots and a red blanket over its back. It has an uraeus between its horns, but no sun-disk. On Theban coffins, this vignette appears in the Third Intermediate Period, and is gradually replaced by a version with a mummified person on the back of the bull in the 8th century BCE.<sup>599</sup>

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




















<sup>599</sup> Taylor, 'Theban Coffins from the Twenty-Second to the Twenty-Sixth Dynasty: Dating and Synthesis of Development', p. 107.

Register A	Register B	Register C
Adoration of Abydos fetish by Horus-Who-Protects-His-Father and Thoth. Four Sons of Horus stand in compartments on either side, two per side. These are mummiform deities with animal heads, and they have unexpected names.	Isis ministers to Osiris while the deceased, as a mummy, looks on. Behind Osiris are two goddesses. To each side are an assortment of mummiform deities who protect the deceased.	The weighing of the heart before Re-Harakhte-Atum. Before the enthroned falcon-headed deity is a snake standing on its tail--this is Atum. The devourer stands on the roof of a shrine beneath the left arm scale, along with a sign representing the lake of fire. The deceased and Thoth stand beneath the other arm. Behind Re-Harakhte are an unnamed goddess, a bovine-headed goddess, a hippopotamus-headed mummiform deity, and a <i>djed</i> -pillar-headed deity. To the far right is an imentet sign.
Register D	Register E	Register F
Mummification scene with Anubis tending to the mummified Osiris on a bier. Canopic jars beneath take the form of striped, tall vases with dome-shaped lids. To the sides are the mourning goddesses, here unnamed. To the far left and far right respectively are mummiform representations of Atum and a baboon-headed deity.	Osiris stands amidst the branches of a tree in a broad pot. He is enshrouded and wears the <i>atef</i> crown. On either side of the scene are blue obelisks with a black tip. To the far left is Nekhbet as a vulture, carrying a flail and wearing the <i>atef</i> crown. On the right is Wadjet as a cobra, wearing the red crown.	On the foot is a mummified falcon wearing a <i>menat</i> necklace who is recognizable from other sources as the god Akhom. Over his back are two standards: one is a lotus stalk wearing a feathered crown and a <i>menat</i> necklace, the other a sedge stalk that is similarly festooned. Before Akhom is a falcon perched on a papyrus stalk around which a cobra winds. On the left and right ankles are one-winged sun-disks. The one on the right ankle holds a <i>maat</i> feather in its wing.
Footplate		
A running bull facing the (occupant's) left side of the coffin. He has an uraeus between his horns.		



Paleography of Inner and Outer Coffin

	Leicester Tabes Inner Paleography	Leicester Tabes Outer Paleography		Leicester Tabes Inner Paleography	Leicester Tabes Outer Paleography	
◊	D2			⊙	N5	
◊	D4			✱	N14	
◊	D21			≡	N16	
└	D36			≡	N35	
◊	D46			◻	O1	
└	D58			→	O34	
◊	F17			⊗	O49	
└	F28			└	Q1	
└	G1			└	Q2	
└	G5			◻	Q3	
└	G15			≡	R4	
└	G17			└	R8	
└	G43			└	S29	
○	H8			└	S34	
└	I9			└	T3	
└	M13			└	T13	
└	M17			→	U4	
└	M23			≡	U15	
└	M26			≡	V14	
				≡	V16	
				└	V17	
				└	V28	
				◊	V3	

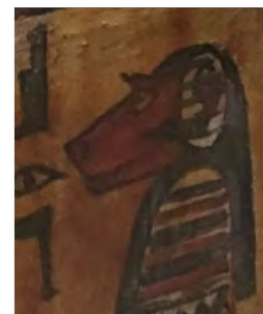
	Leicester Tabes Inner Paleography	Leicester Tabes Outer Paleography
 V31		
 W24		
 X1		
 X8		
 IZ1		
 Z2		
 Z11		
 AA2		
 AA5	 	
 AA27		

Given that the outer coffin of Tabes seems to have been reused from an earlier burial, we should consider the inner and outer coffins of Tabes to be by different people separated by time. There is not enough decoration present on the outer coffin of Tabes to be able to ascertain whether it was created by one of the artists from the Third Intermediate Period discussed above.

As for the inner coffin, it is difficult to say whether this piece is the product of one or two artists. On the one hand, the consistency of the approach to color in the decoration points to the entire piece having been painted by one person. The workmanship on the coffin of Tabes is characterized by the heavy use of dark greens, blues and blacks, which are applied thickly. The artist seems to have had a penchant for using thick black lines to add detail. This is most clearly seen in the drawing of Horus-Who-Protects-His-Father in the first register: the spots on his leopard skin are simple black dots, and his collar is also drawn in black dots and lines with no further coloring or decoration. Except for the bead-nets and collars worn by the many mummiform figures, this artist prefers to use black on a white ground to render detail such as collars and pleats. Colored areas tend to be large contiguous areas which the artist paints a solid color, and he avoids painting detail in other colors over these areas. The application of the color lacks precision, which is especially noticeable on the green-faced deities. This distinctive application of color is consistent across the surface of the coffin.

The heavy use of thickly applied dark green, combined with the quality of the available photography, makes it difficult to evaluate and compare the formal features of many of the human faces: any black detail is hard to pick out. This is important because there appear to be two distinct types of faces, and the examples of one type are overwhelmingly green. The green-faced goddesses behind Re-Harakhte and Osiris, and to either side of the mummification bier, have the same face and were drawn by the same artist (Figure 69). They have chins and jaws that are pushed forward with respect to a vertical line drawn through the eye, which is round and large. The lips are included in the profile of the face, and the nose is slightly upturned with a noticeable indent in the bridge. Their faces are smaller than those of other human figures on the surface of the coffin: Isis (register B), the deceased as a mummy (register B), Imsety (Register A), and Osiris on the mummification bier (register C). These later faces are larger, and more detail is drawn--such as cosmetic lines around the eyes, the folds of the nose, and the outer lines of the lips.

On the other hand, consider the two baboon-faced deities on the coffin (Figure 68): the one on the periphery of the register, and the Son of Horus on Register A. The face of the figure in Register A is more carefully drawn, with a detailed eye and brow, and a pronounced jaw. The baboon in Register D has a receding jaw and an eye that has been reduced to a circle with a line through it. He also has a visible neck, while the Register A baboon's is obscured by the lappet of his wig. Perhaps these were differences indicating two different artists at work.



*Figure 68: Baboon faces on the coffin of Tabes: register d (top), register a (bottom)*



Figure 69: Human faces: the "small" type is on the left, and the more detailed examples on the right. The respective register letters are inset on the pictures.

There is another possible interpretation for these different faces, however. The bigger faces of Isis, Imsety, the deceased as a mummified body, and Osiris might have more internal detail because they are larger, and they might be larger because they are the foci of their respective scenes. The goddesses might have smaller faces both because they are peripheral characters to the scene, and because they were scaled down in the original design--both to accommodate their headdresses (which the artist forgot to draw), and to make them visually complementary to Osiris (Figure 70). The latter also has a smaller face, and the drawing of his head at a smaller scale seems to have been done to accommodate his tall crown. Therefore, if we consider that the artist may have expended less care on peripheral figures, and that the size of the faces may have required the omission of detail (and led to less precise application of green paint), then the differences between the two types of faces don't seem so great: the smaller faces have the same shape as the larger faces; they all have the same slightly jutting jaw; the noses are indented on the bridge.

With the baboon-faced deities, the fact that the Register A baboon is a "main character" in the scene, while the Register D baboon is merely an unnamed peripheral figure, might explain the difference in quality of the draftsmanship. The artist might have felt that he did not need to spend much time on the

second baboon. A close examination of the Register D baboon shows that it was redrawn from an original with a chin more like that in Register A.

Other animals also have faces that are nearly identical. Hathor's face in register C has a strikingly similar profile to the face of the running bull on the footplate of the coffin, even though the latter is larger and appears to have been very quickly drawn. All of the jackal-, falcon-, and snake-headed deities are also very similar to each other.

Without better pictures or in-person examination, it is hard to be certain whether the surface of the coffin was executed by one or multiple people. There are differences in the execution of both human and baboon faces which could be explained by positing that they are the work of two different artists. However, those differences are more likely to be the result of the positioning of these figures within the scene, their size, and the way in which the color was applied. The fact that the faces which initially appear different have similar profiles, both point to the surface of the inner coffin of Tabes being the work of one person.





Figure 70: Register B of the coffin of Tabes. The smaller faces might be the result of design constraints.

### *The Inscriptions and the Number of Scribes*

With the caveat that the back was not available to study, the inner coffin of Tabes has less inscription than the coffins of Besenmut and Paenbes. The inscription is limited to the names of deities and short phrases which occur in the vignettes. On this coffin, these mostly consist of two short formulae which can be phrased slightly differently depending on the context in the scene. One is the statement that God N "makes the protection" (*ir s3h*) of Tabes. The other is the statement that the deity in question "watches over" (*rs hr*) Tabes. The inscriptions have grammatical problems--prepositions sometimes get left out-- but they are readable. The scribe understood enough Middle Egyptian grammar to be able to reformulate these short statements to fit different spaces and contexts.

All these captions are written in blocky letters, where the outline of the character is drawn and then colored in in blue. There is no interior detail to the characters. There are no longer inscriptions on the inner coffin of Tabes, and the inscriptions on the outer coffin are not legible past the first few characters of an offering formula to Osiris. Since the outer coffin was probably reused, it will not be discussed further.

It is difficult to say whether there were multiple scribes working on Tabes' coffin because there is relatively little inscription to work with. However, it seems likely, from the uniform appearance of the text, that the same scribe inscribed all of the text on the main body of the lid of the piece. The most noticeable variations in characters occur between the inscription on the bottom of the pedestal and the inscription on the rest of the coffin. Here, the two stacked gable-shapes of the character Aa5 are simply rendered as two stacked "V" shapes

of roughly the same size. The version on the front of the lid is thicker, and the top gable is slightly smaller. The characters Q1, M17, and D4 are also different between the footplate of the coffin and the rest of the body.

Here, we might have a similar situation to the situation which created a visible difference between the large and small human faces in the vignettes on the body of the coffin: figures which are not the focus of the vignette, and figures are at the peripheries, are not as carefully drafted but are still probably by the same artist. The bottom of the pedestal would not have been visible when the inner coffin was placed inside the outer one, and it would not have been visible when the coffin was standing on its pedestal for the opening of the mouth ceremony. As would be expected for this location, the characters on the foot are drawn with as few lines and details as possible, and seem to have been drawn quickly. This suggests we may be dealing with the same scribe who inscribed the lid, now writing more quickly and in a different style. Since there are so few preserved glyphs for comparison on the footplate, it is impossible to be sure.

We can also not say definitively whether the scribe of this piece was the same as the artist. On the coffin of Besenmut, the emblems on the heads of the goddesses were integrated into the original plan for the design of the coffin, overlapping the decorative borders between the registers. They were also tightly coupled with the caption text, and the headdresses of the goddesses were complemented with additional glyphs to spell their names. On this coffin, the artist did not include the emblems on the heads of the goddesses at all, but the glyphs which incorporated the emblems were still inscribed (Figure 70). The result is that most of the goddesses are unnamed and have orphaned glyphs in front of their faces that don't say anything. A further strange feature of the writing on this coffin are the small trees which have been drawn in the columns allocated for text above the scales.

At first glance this apparent disjointedness between the drawing of the images and the writing of texts seems to imply that the artist and scribe were working together on the piece but miscommunicated, resulting in the scribe adding glyphs that depended on a part of the image that the artist forgot to draw, and pseudo-glyphs in a place for which he had no appropriate caption. In one place, the goddess standing behind Osiris in Register B, the scribe seems to have fixed the problem by adding in the throne glyph in Isis' name--but elsewhere he did not, and those goddesses remain (for us, at least) anonymous.

Yet how could such an easily fixed mistake not be fixed in most cases? This question ought to lead us to question our assumptions--namely, that the omission of the emblems makes the captions meaningless. The drawings of the goddesses themselves act as determinatives, and their mythological roles would have been well-understood by the audience at the funeral. Perhaps the emblems on the goddess' heads simply acted to reinforce their identities, which would already have been obvious to both literate and illiterate viewers. In this view, the mistake of the omission of the emblems is not a serious one--which means it has little to tell us about whether the artist and scribe were different people, or even whether they were literate.

As for the small trees above the scale, though they have no parallel, they are probably not pseudo-glyphs. An unusual feature of the coffin of Heqaankhu<sup>600</sup>, discussed in the previous

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<sup>600</sup> For more on Heqaankhu, see p 205 and 209 above.

chapter, is that negative space in the vignettes is broken up by small branches of foliage--not identical to, but reminiscent of, the small trees which appear on this coffin. These trees are therefore probably being used as space filler--but like most space fillers on coffins, they probably also have a religious or amuletic function.

In summary, it is tempting to interpret the absence of the emblems on the goddess' heads, and the small trees or branches in the caption space above the scale, as proof that the artist and scribe were separate people and/or were illiterate. On closer examination, both interpretations are based on assumptions which are probably faulty. Whether the artist and scribe were different people is unknown.

*Overview*

Thanks to the thorough publication by Ruth Brech and Dagmar Budde and subsequent exhibition with the Mummies of the World travelling exhibition, the coffins of Nespaqaishuty are probably the most well-studied of this type of Akhmim coffin.<sup>601</sup> The coffin was obtained for the museum in 1887 by its director who had a personal connection to Alexander Brugsch, an optometrist in Cairo.<sup>602</sup> This was the nephew of the famous Heinrich Brugsch and his infamous antiquities dealing younger brother, Émile Brugsch.<sup>603</sup> The pieces were purchased at a time in which there was a high interest in Ancient Egypt in Westphalia, and Brech and Budde propose that the Detmold coffins were probably purchased in the spirit of this local Egyptomania. Inspired by public lectures given by Heinrich Brugsch, the citizens of the nearby city of Hamm pooled money to purchase a mummy. Here, Émile Brugsch was instrumental as an intermediary for them, selecting the mummy and coffins, and easing their way through customs. Brech and Budde propose that a similar purchase through Brugsch was the origin of the coffin set in Detmold.<sup>604</sup>

An examination of Nespaqaishuty's body reveal that he was a plump man who died around thirty years of age. His body may have been looted and restored in a later generation-- he was skeletonized, but showed signs of having received a good original mummification.<sup>605</sup> According to the titles on his outer coffin,<sup>606</sup> he was the overseer of the singers of Min, lord of Akhmim (*imy-r hs.w mnw nb Ipw*)--an occupation which may not have required much manual labor. These titles had been borne in an earlier generation by the Nespaqaishuty whose cartonnage is now in Athens,<sup>607</sup> and we know from the autobiographical inscription on this coffin that the Overseer of the Singers had important ritual duties in the Temple of Min, and the title was quite prestigious. Though his coffins do not give any details of his parentage, an inscription on his shroud does. His father's name was Djedhor, which was very common at Akhmim. No titles for this person were given.<sup>608</sup>

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<sup>601</sup> Brech-Neldner and Budde; Dagmar Budde, 'Mummy and Coffins of Nes-Pa-Kai-Schuti', in *Mummies of the World*, ed. by Alfred Wiczorek and Wilfried Rosendahl, trans. by Louisa Cierak and others (New York: Prestel, 2010), pp. 329–33; Brech, pp. 53–55.

<sup>602</sup> Budde.

<sup>603</sup> Brech and Budde's original publication has the piece being purchased by a local landowner named Merkel. Newer publications do not mention this, and thus it's unclear how or whether Merkel was involved in the purchase.

<sup>604</sup> Brech-Neldner and Budde, pp. 76–79.

<sup>605</sup> Note however that Nespaqaishuty is not the only Akhmim mummy from this time who was buried in this condition. Qenhor in Berlin was also skeletonized, as is the mummy of Iwefaa at the Phoebe Apperson Hearst Museum of Anthropology at Berkeley. Whether these may represent a regional difference in approach to mummification is an interesting topic for further research. Furthermore, Brech and Budde propose as evidence for this theory that the handwriting on Nespaqaishuty's shroud is different from that on the coffin (p 66). This is not necessarily proof that the burial was restored given we know little about how the labor was divided between different scribes. The difference in medium and script type (which is much more cursive on the shroud) is also not considered.

<sup>606</sup> Brech-Neldner and Budde, p. 61.

<sup>607</sup> See above, p 193

<sup>608</sup> Brech-Neldner and Budde, p. 68.



Inner coffin of Nespaqaishuty,  
Lippisches. Landesmuseum, Detmold

A  
B  
C  
D  
E  
F

Brech and Budde propose that Nespaqaishuty was the great-grandson of someone even more important: the Theban vizier Nespaqaishuty I, who lived under Psamtik I, and whose son Djedhor is known to have moved to Akhmim.<sup>609</sup> However, since the names of Nespaqaishuty and Djedhor are both very common at Akhmim, during this period and earlier, and we know that the position of Overseer of the Singers is occupied by several men of this name starting in the Third Intermediate period, it seems unlikely that the Nespaqaishuty whose coffin is now in Detmold is the great grandson of the Theban vizier. Perhaps the Overseers of the Singers belonged to a cadet branch of the vizier's family already living in Akhmim, or perhaps they are not related at all and the identical names are a coincidence.

*Iconographic Description*

Like Tabes and Besenmut, Nespaqaishuty was buried in two nested coffins. The lid of the outer one is missing, but it may have been like that of Besenmut in appearance. The iconography of both the inner and outer coffins are described in Brech, and so they will be only cursorily summarized here.

The outer coffin has a long column of inscription reading vertically from head to foot on both sides of the basin. The inside is decorated with a frontal drawing of the goddess Nut executed in red, with details in black. Her wig has curled tresses on each shoulder like the wig depicted on Hathoric columns and on *Rishi* coffins. She wears a heart shaped pendant on her substantial bosom and her arms reach up onto the side walls as if to embrace the deceased. In her hands are strips of red cloth.<sup>610</sup>

In layout, the inner coffin is very similar to those we have discussed in this chapter thus far. Its surface is divided into six horizontal registers separated by decorative bands. These registers have the same scenes in the same order as the inner coffins of Besenmut and Tabes. However, the identities and epithets of the figures on the peripheries of each of the vignettes is different. The plaster is missing on the lower three registers of the lid, leaving bare wood. In the sixth register on the foot, there is a lot of wear on the plaster which has destroyed the decoration.

<sup>609</sup> Brech later uses this association to date *Gruppe A*. For the problems with this proposed relationship and alternate proposals, see above, notes 193, 194, and 196.

<sup>610</sup> Brech-Neldner and Budde, pp. 16–18.

The back is interesting because it is laid out in a way similar to the cartonnages discussed in the previous chapter even though this is a bivalve coffin. A long, narrow, solidly colored strip runs down the middle, where the lacing would have been on a cartonnage. The area to either side is divided into small squarish vignettes by bands of colored stripes: yellow, red, yellow. The contents of the vignettes are mostly protective deities, similar to those on the cartonnages of Asetemakhbit, Tahai, and the anonymous coffin at the Penn Museum. The area below the knees on the back has lost all plaster and so Brech and Budde could not describe it. Descriptions of these destroyed registers are necessarily incomplete. Because photos were unavailable, the following description of the back follows the drawings and descriptions in Brech and Budde.<sup>611</sup> The registers described below each consist of two vignettes, which are mirrored around the central band, and the lettering runs from the shoulders downwards.

Register A	Register B	Register C
<p>Thoth and Horus, who wears a panther skin raise their hands in support of an Abydos fetish emerging from a mountain with two protective winged mummiform lioness-headed deities flanking it. In compartments on the right and left divided from this scene by bands of chevron pattern are the sons of Horus, two to a compartment. On the viewer's right side are a baboon headed and jackal-formed mummiform son of Horus, on the right are human and falcon headed sons. The only one with the expected name is Imsety. On the viewer's far left is an <i>Imentet</i> (west) sign.</p>	<p>Isis bends forward in front of an enthroned Osiris, touching his lap. She wears the vulture headdress. To her right is a human mummiform figure, probably the deceased. Behind him are Atum, a bovine-headed mummiform deity and a Rabbit-headed one. On the other side of Osiris is Isis, supporting Osiris' crown, Nephthys, a feather-headed deity (Maat), and an <i>labet</i> (east) sign.</p>	<p>The heart of the deceased is weighed before Re-Harakhte, who is enthroned. Behind him are an entourage of goddesses, specifically Neith and Serqet. Behind Serqet is another <i>Imentet</i> (west) sign. In front of Re Harakhte is Atum as a snake and the scales, which have the usual backward-facing Ammit on a shrine and a stylized lake of fire. A baboon squats atop the scale. Nespaqaishuty is shown as a human under the viewer's rightmost arm of the scale, but the detail of his body is worn away.</p>
Register D	Register E	Register F
<p>This scene is mostly missing now, but was an embalming scene. Not enough remains to say whether the embalmer</p>	<p>This is the scene with Osiris in a tree. The scene is much broader than tall and the bottom is worn away. Osiris</p>	<p>On each ankle is a sun-disk whose one wing stretches towards the toes. In the center, a mummiform falcon</p>

<sup>611</sup> Brech-Neldner and Budde, pp. 46–53.

was Anubis or Horus. A tall canopic jar with tapering sides is visible under the bier. The gold sign is partially visible on the viewer's right side indicating that the bier was flanked by the usual mourning goddesses.	stood in the branches of a tree flanked with obelisks. The bottom of a vulture is visible on the left, and the right featured the cobra: Wadjet.	wearing a menat necklace crouches(?) on a basket which is drawn on the tips of the toes. The Nefertem standard is placed behind him, but the figure in front of him is not discernable because of the wear on the plaster.
Back Register G	Back Register H	Back Register I
On the shoulders are two representations of kneeling mummiform snake-headed deities. They have beards and wear the <i>atef</i> crowns. They are labeled "Atum" and have knives on their laps.	On each side is a winged four-legged snake creature which strides towards the center line. It is wearing the <i>atef</i> crown and has a beard. The drawing on the viewer's left has an incense bowl in front of it. They are both labeled with the falcon on a standard glyph.	The register features a reclining cow with a blanket over its back. She wears a menat necklace and has a sundisk with symmetrical feathers between her horns. She is the "Lady of Offerings" ( <i>nb.t htp.t</i> ).
Back Register J	Back Register K	
On the left side, two kneeling mummiform deities with knives on their laps. The one on the viewer's right wears the <i>atef</i> crown, but the details of their faces have been worn away. On the right side is a destroyed scene which contained a recumbent(?) lion-formed deity with a sekhem-scepter between its paws and a large uraeus on its head. According to the inscription, she is the goddess Menet.	On the left are two kneeling mummiform deities. Their heads are backwards facing feathers with wigs similar to Maat in Register B. They have knives on their laps. To the viewer's right of the central column is a hippopotamus headed mummiform deity with two knives on its lap.	

# Paleography

Nespaqishuty Detmold Inner Paleography	Nespaqishuty Detmold Outer Paleography	Nespaqishuty Detmold Inner Paleography	Nespaqishuty Detmold Outer Paleography	Nespaqishuty Detmold Inner Paleography	Nespaqishuty Detmold Outer Paleography
 A28		 O49		 Z2	
 D21					
 D36		 Q3		 AA15	
 D55		 R4			
 E2		 R8			
 F17		 R12 R22			
 F2		 S9			
 F29		 S29			
 F35		 T18			
 G14		 T23			
 G43		 U15			
 H8		 U28			
 I9		 V13			
 M17		 V17			
 M18		 V31			
 N5		 W3			
 N8		 W9			
 N14		 W14			
 N35		 W15			
 O34		 W24			
 O42		 X1			
		 X8			



### *The Art Style and the Number of Artists*

The inner coffin of Nespaqaishuty looks less vibrant but more cleanly drawn when placed in comparison with the inner coffins of Besenmut and Tabes. It is hard to say how much this appearance owes to modern conservation and how much to the properties of the original materials used on the piece.<sup>612</sup> The lid of coffin is executed on a beige ground and the basin on a white ground. No red underdrawings are visible, so the figures may have been originally drawn very lightly in black and then colored with red, yellow, light blue and green. The blue is light as if it was more finely ground or mixed with a higher ratio of gum Arabic, perhaps both. The green is dull and earthy in shade. The coffin does not seem to have received an outer coating of varnish.

The lines for the register borders were drawn before those for the figures. While the crowns and emblems on the gods' heads overlap the border on this coffin, the guidelines for the border are visible beneath the colored layer on the crowns (Figure 71).



*Figure 71: The Deities on the right side of Register B, showing the guideline for the border running through their respective crowns (or ears).*

The layout of the registers must have started from the top down because the artist ran out of room for Register E at the bottom. The Osiris in a Tree scene is very short and broad with respect to the other registers, and the figure of Osiris has been scaled down so that little of his facial detail or the detail of the tree could be drawn. There being little room left for Register F on the foot, the artist drew a simple blue line between the two registers rather than the usual thick decorative band.

The figures within the individual vignettes are evenly composed. In contrast with the coffin of Tabes, the figures tend to all have faces of the same size, except for Osiris whose face is still slightly smaller because of his tall crown. The quality of both the draftsmanship and coloring on this piece are very good, and the color stays within the lines.

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<sup>612</sup>Brech and Budde mention that the pieces were in poor condition and were restored in the 1970s, but do not go into any changes of appearance that might have resulted from this. Brech-Neldner and Budde, p. 79.



Figure 72: The baboon-headed and jackal-headed sons of Horus in Register A.

The outstanding quality of the figure drawing elsewhere on the coffin makes the faces of Duamutef and Qebehsenuf particularly jarring. The baboon-headed deity's mouthline goes all the way back to his ear. His lower jaw is thick and his muzzle long. His squarish eye seems to roll upward, cutting clumsily into the line of his brow, which is drawn in a very stylized manner with a projecting loop and a tick. The jackal-headed deity's muzzle is long and thin and has no separate nose at the end. His ears are tall, thin spikes that emerge from the top of his head, and his red headcloth is pulled up tightly around his jawline in a way reminiscent of a woman's scarf (Figure 72).

The problem is probably not that the figures are minor characters on the peripheries, because the periphery characters in the other registers are drawn with less detail but not sloppily as are these two deities. The faces of the hare-headed goddess in Register B is well executed, albeit with a slight correction at the projection of her nose. The cow-headed goddess is well drawn as

well, at least the parts that are visible through the water damage and wear. Perhaps the artist was just particularly bad at drawing jackals and baboons. There are no other surviving images of jackals or baboons on this coffin with which to compare these, but the other animals in the scenes have carefully drawn faces.

Are these faces the result of modern restoration? The cyan color of the blue on the jackal-headed deity's collar (which doesn't appear elsewhere on the coffin) may point in that direction. However, we must be cautious: colors in photographs can be misleading, as can the way the blue on the coffin has decayed and flaked over time. If the jackal and baboon faces are not the result of modern repainting, then the two sons of Horus on the left side of register A were drawn by a second artist.

### *The Inscriptions and the Number of Scribes*

The text on the outer coffin is written in large characters outlined in black and colored in light blue. The characters have some interior details which are also drawn in black. Only photos of the viewer's left side of the coffin were available for this study, and so we must rely on Brech and Budde's transcription for the long vertical column of text on the outside of the right wall of the coffin, of which the lower part was apparently damaged.<sup>613</sup>

<sup>613</sup> Brech-Neldner and Budde, pp. 93–97.

The texts on the left side of the outer coffin consists of a text that is so far only attested on a few coffins, all from this period and all from Akhmim. In it, the deceased is entreated to enter the West and unite with Radiant One and the Satisfied Bull as well as the following of Sokar. The other side bears an excerpt from a "Hacking of the Earth Liturgy", derived from Coffin Text Spell 20, and sometimes called Book of the Dead Spell 169.<sup>614</sup> It begins as an offering formula to Osiris, and wishes for bread for the belly of the deceased, water for his throat, and sweet wind for his nostrils. Since photographs were not available of the right side of the coffin, it is impossible to say whether the coffin was inscribed by one person.



*Figure 73: The clear, well drawn characters in the captions for the sons of Horus on the right side of the lid contrast with those on the left.*

The inner coffin has two different styles of writing, and their respective locations indicate they might be the products of different scribes. Most of the captions are in blocky letters outlined in black and filled-in with light blue paint. These are drawn with care and precision (Figure 73). However, in one area of the coffin, the inscription is sloppier and more cursive, being drawn in black lines, which vary in thickness in a single stroke. Some details are still added in blue. These are the captions in front of the figures of the jackal-headed deity and the baboon-headed deity discussed above (Figure 72). The variant handwriting and variant figure drawing are in the same place. This would be most simply explained by either by one artist who was tired and, in a hurry, and did a sloppy job on both the figure drawing and text, or by two artists who were each writing their own captions as well as executing the figure drawing. Perhaps we are dealing with an artist-scribe and his apprentice, who was allowed to paint only a small, square area of the lid.

Unfortunately, the characters that occur both on the lid and on the basin are not characters that have a lot of distinctive features. The characters that are notably different on the lid and the basin, such as the man with raised hands, A28, which occurs in the area decorated by our hypothetical second artist, cannot be directly compared. They represent two different types of script: one monumental and another more akin to cursive glyphs. The similar morphologies of the characters that are on both pieces do suggest that the artist responsible for the outer coffin's inscription worked on the inner coffin as well.

Unfortunatly, the characters that occur both on the lid and on the basin are not characters that have a lot of distinctive features. The characters that are notably different on the lid and the basin, such as the man with raised hands, A28, which occurs in the area decorated by our hypothetical second artist, cannot be directly compared. They represent two different types of script: one monumental and another more akin to cursive glyphs. The similar morphologies of the characters that are on both pieces do suggest that the artist responsible for the outer coffin's inscription worked on the inner coffin as well.

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<sup>614</sup> Quirke, pp. 419–21.

The Coffin of Djedhoriwefankh, No. 654.139, Buffalo Museum of Science, Buffalo NY

### Overview

The coffin of Djedhoriwefankh (*dd-hr-iw=f-cnḥ*) was loaned to the Buffalo Historical Society by a certain Phillip Smith in 1889.<sup>615</sup> By 1923, the piece and the remains inside were a permanent part of the Museum's collection.<sup>616</sup> The pieces have been on long term loan to the Buffalo Museum of Science from the Buffalo History Museum since the 1960s. Nothing is known of how Smith obtained the coffin or even of what happened to most of the mummified body inside of it--upon examination in 1965, the "mummy" was found to be comprised of a head, a foot, and a large bundle of newspapers in English dated to 1923. A note from scholar Jonathan Elias in the museum's records notes that the head (probably) belonged to a woman.<sup>617</sup>

The body inside the coffin certainly did not belong to its original owner, an Overseer of the Singers of Min lord of Akhmim (*imy-r ḥs.w mnw nb ipw*) named Djedhoriwefankh. The father of this person was named Nespaqaishuty. Perhaps, as Elias proposes, this Djedhoriwefankh is the "Djedhor" named as the father of the Nespaqaishuty in Detmold on his shroud. If this were the case, then Nespaqaishuty in Detmold would have been named for his grandfather.<sup>618</sup> Then again, both names are very common, and no titles are provided to the father in either case. Unless more genealogical information about either of these individuals becomes available, the most we can say is that there was a family of Overseers of the Singers in which the names Djedhor and Nespaqaishuty were popular over multiple generations.

The coffin is Buffalo described in detail and translated in an unpublished book about the Buffalo coffins by Jonathan Elias which is now available online.<sup>619</sup> It is also described in Brech's catalogue of Akhmim coffins.<sup>620</sup> The reader is referred to these publications, especially that of Elias for a detailed description of the iconography and an interpretation of the various scenes on the coffin.

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<sup>615</sup> Information from the museum archive. I am indebted to Dr. Kathy Leacock at the Buffalo Museum of science for her kind help and for access to the archives and to Walt Mayer at the Buffalo History Museum for permission to study the piece.

<sup>616</sup> Johnathan P. Elias, 'Examination and Analysis of the Coffin of Djedhorefankh', in *Examination of Three Egyptian Coffins in the Buffalo Museum of Science*, Akhmim Mummy Studies Consortium Research Paper, 96–1, 2012, pp. 78–169 (p. iv).

<sup>617</sup> The note is dated to May 9, 2008.

<sup>618</sup> Elias, 'Examination and Analysis of the Coffin of Djedhorefankh', p. 154.

<sup>619</sup> See Note 616.

<sup>620</sup> Brech, pp. 69–71.

*Iconographic Description*

The coffin is a bivalve coffin with a pedestal and a back pillar.<sup>621</sup> The contours of the knees, hips and calves are subtly sculpted. The striped wig of the coffin has been drawn back at the forehead in a widow's peak--a feature occurring on none of the other *Gruppe A* coffins. The face is painted green to associate the deceased with the resurrecting fertility of Osiris.<sup>622</sup>



Figure 74: Coffin of Djedhoriwefankh, courtesy of the Buffalo Museum of Science

Another difference with the other *Gruppe A* pieces can be found in the collar, the rows of which consist of white petal friezes divided by bands of alternating large red and blue squares which have white dots in the middle. With other *Gruppe A* coffins, the petal rings of the collar alternate with checkerboard patterns and rows of multicolored leaves on blue and red stripes.

The lid has a markedly different layout than the other pieces in *Gruppe A*. The top register, as usual, has the four sons of Horus (who are not named here) and the adoration of the Abydos fetish by Thoth and Horus-Who-Protects-His-Father. However, below this is a ram-headed bird with its wings spread over the chest in a manner reminiscent of later Theban 3rd Intermediate Period Cartonnages and early 25th Dynasty Theban bivalves.<sup>623</sup> Below the Ram-Headed bird is a central text column, the area to either side of it is divided into squarish registers with vignettes, most of which should be familiar to the reader at this point. While the first register below the ram-bird seems to contain thematically unrelated scenes on each side of the column, in the second register, the column divides two halves of the same scene: Re Harakhte sits in the leftmost vignette where the weighing of the heart over which he is presiding occurs in the rightmost vignette. The third register below the ram-bird features the Osiris in a Tree scene in one panel, but the artist has arranged it so Thoth, who usually stands to one side of the scene, is the focus of the other panel. Thus, the two panels of this register should be considered part of one idea, which is expressed in one scene on other coffins.

As for the back of the coffin, it has a carved back pillar, and as usual, this takes the form of the Djed pillar. This djed pillar is anthropomorphized in a way similar to that which repeatedly occurred in a lower register on the Third Intermediate Period coffins of the Proto-A group. A head in profile emerges from the pillar,

<sup>621</sup> When Elias did his study, all of the pedestal had been broken off with the exception of a corner (Elias, p 95). The picture of the coffin used in the register diagram above was taken at this time. The pedestal has since been repaired.

<sup>622</sup> Elias stresses the importance of the green face, proposing that the green face was an innovation of Akhmim artists since he feels it appears earlier at Akhmim than elsewhere Elias, 'Examination and Analysis of the Coffin of Djedhorefankh', p. 82.

<sup>623</sup> Taylor, 'The Coffin of Padiashaikhet'.



wearing a large feathered crown extending onto the back of the wig of the coffin. His arms are crossed in front of the djed pillar (while on Third Intermediate Period examples, they were crossed in back of it). The fluttering ends of a sash fall down to either side of the pillar which stands on a glyph for "mansion", containing the glyph for "gold".

To both sides of the pillar are square cells delineated on the vertical by the edge of the lid, and on the horizontal by red and yellow stripes. In these square cells are the usual protective deities, facing the center of the back of the coffin. No pictures were available of the back of the coffin, and so the following description is based on pictures in Elias' publication and on pictures of the sides. The back registers are listed from top to bottom and include the parallel small vignettes to the right and left of the central figure.





























































Register A	Register B	Register C
<p>Thoth and Horus-Who-Protects-His-Father stand to either side of a large Abydos fetish rising out of a mountain glyph with protective lioness-headed mummiform deities on either side. To the viewer's left of Horus is Isis, who carries red and blue cloth and is in her own delimited compartment. In their own separate cell to her left are Hapy and Duamutef who are unlabeled. On the right, the situation is mirrored with Nephthys, Qebhsenuf, and Imsety (from the centre outwards).</p>	<p>A large ram-headed bird spreads its wings over the belly of the coffin. It wears a sun-disk and uraeus above its horns and to either side of its head are wadjet eyes. It is labelled as "The one of Behdet."</p>	<p>To the right of the central column, a mummification scene where Horus tends to his father on a lion-headed bier. On the right, a goddess with horns and a sun-disk (likely Hathor) pours water from two large <i>Hes</i> jars for a smaller figure of the deceased. Behind her are two mummiform deities. One has the head of a bearded snake and wears the Atef crown. He is Atum. The other has the head of a vulture wearing the atef crown, and she is unlabeled.</p>
Register D	Register E	Register F
<p>Book of the Dead 125 judgement scene. On the right side of the central column is the scale. Under the left arm is Ammit, seated on a shrine and turning her head backward. Above her is a representation of the Lake of Fire. Under the right arm of the scale are two mummiform figures. One has a human head and is</p>	<p>On the right of the column, Osiris in a Tree, facing the central column. On the left is Thoth raising an ankh in one hand and holding his palette in the other. Behind him is a mummiform figure with a human head. Perhaps this is the deceased again.</p>	<p>On the foot, to either side of the central column is a recumbent jackal, facing the center. The one on the left is damaged. The one on the right has a figure that looks like a shrouded cobra emerging in front of it. They are labeled as Wepwawet of Upper Egypt (right) and Wepwawet of Lower Egypt (left).</p>

probably the deceased. The other has the head of a bearded snake. On top of the scale is a Maat feather and a small figure of Thoth as a baboon. The scene continues to the right side of the column, with a seated Re-Harakhte-Atum. Behind him are Neith and a mummiform Heqet, whose head is a frog.		
Back Register G	Back Register H	Back Register I
On either side, a kneeling mummiform figure with a knife on its lap. It has the head of a bearded snake wearing the double crown.	On the left, a vulture on a shrine holding a flail. It wears the atef crown. On the other side is a coiled cobra who wears the double crown and is not sitting atop a shrine.	On both sides are a mummiform deity with an ostrich plume for a head. The feather faces backwards and the deity has a wig. The goddess is named on both sides "Maat."
Back Register J	Back Register K	Back Register L
Two standing mummiform deities who bear knives. On the right is a baboon headed deity. On the left is a roaring hippopotamus.	On the left is a <i>sekhem</i> scepter, and on the right is an <i>imiut</i> fetish.	Two feathers, which face away from the center.
Back Central Feature		
An anthropomorphized Djed pillar with a green-faced, head emerging from the top. It wears a plumed crown with ram's horns. Uraei crowned with the crowns of upper and lower Egypt flank the plumes. It wears a fringed sash which falls down either side of the "legs", and its arms are crossed in front of it. It does not hold a crook or flail. It stands on top of a composite glyph reading "House of Gold." The figure is labeled as "Osiris, Lord of Djedu".		

Paleography

GardinerSign	Sample	GardinerSign	Sample
ⓓ		ⓓ	
D1		ⓓ	
D19		ⓓ	
D28		ⓓ	
D37		ⓓ	
D6		ⓓ	
F13		ⓓ	
F35		ⓓ	
H1		ⓓ	
I9		ⓓ	
M13		ⓓ	
M23		ⓓ	
N1		ⓓ	
N29		ⓓ	
N35		ⓓ	
O34			



GardinerSign	Sample	GardinerSign	Sample
			
P8		Q1	
			
Q2		Q3	
			
R4		R8	
			
R14		R17	
			
R22		S29	
			
S34		S35	
			
S42		U4	
			
U15		U23	
			
V16		V28	
			
V3		V31	
			
W14		W2	
			
W24		X1	
			
X3		X4	
			
X8		Y1	
			
Z2		AA1	

## Art Style and Number of Artists

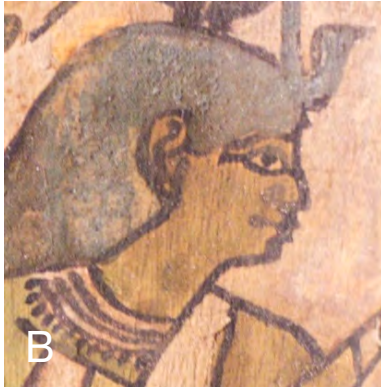


Figure 75: Ears on human figures on the coffin of Djedhoriwefankh

The vignettes on the lid of the coffin are painted on a subtle beige ground, though both the friezes between the registers and the entire collar seem to have been painted on a white ground. The colors have been applied evenly and with precision. Every other row on the collar has received a coat of yellowing varnish, which spares the white areas, creating a contrast. It is difficult to tell from the pictures whether this extends below the collar. If so, it has been applied in a very thin, even layer which has not discolored the paint.

The underdrawings were done in light black, and the borders between registers were drawn before the figures--this is clear because the register borders accommodate the headdresses of the goddesses in Register A and the mummiform deities in Register B, but the draftline of the registers and collar can be seen running through the headdresses. The color blue was applied last, even after the figures were outlined and detailed in black.

The quality of the drawing is superb. All characters have good proportions and are well detailed. The quality of the line is sure and without quavering or variation in thickness or darkness. This indicates that the artist was experienced with and well in control of the media.

All the line drawing on this piece was drawn by the same artist. The faces of the various human figures have a lot of variation in shape, though they each have a weak jaw, receding chin, thick lips and wide, almond-shaped eyes with eyelines that do not go all the way back to the wig line. We can tell they were drawn by the same person because of the way the ears are drawn. In each drawing of a human figure, the ear is drawn as a c-shape with a top end that curls back in. The bottom end has a sharp turn in it which forms an almost triangular lobe. The inner folds are denoted by a line which follows the outer curve of the ear, but curves upward at the top, demarcating the fossa of the ear. The clearest example of this can be seen in the vignette of Osiris in a Tree (Figure 75d).

There is an interesting detail in the clothing of the figures which supports the idea they were drafted by the same person. In each depiction of a goddess, the strap of the goddesses' dress goes over her collar, which is not the case on the coffins of Nespaqashuty, Besenmut or Tabes.<sup>624</sup>

<sup>624</sup> It does occur on the coffin of Pabes (Barnum Museum 1894.1.2 AB), but the coffin of Pabes piece is somewhat less elegantly drafted than the coffin of Djedhoriwefankh, so with this piece it isn't clear whether this was a conscious choice or the result of sloppy application of the blue paint.

The figures on the back are larger and have much less interior detail. They were drawn with a larger brush. However, they too are very carefully and expertly drawn and do not appear sloppy or rushed. That the back and the front were drawn by the same person is evident if we compare the head of the goddess Ammit with the head of the hippopotamus-headed guardian deity on the back. The goddesses have the same long, thin ears, open mouths, protruding tongues, and jowls (Figure 76).



Figure 76: The face of Ammit (bottom) and the face of the hippopotamus-headed deity (top).

#### *The Inscriptions and the Number of Scribes*

All of the texts on this piece are drawn with block-like hieroglyphic characters. These are outlined in black and colored in dark blue. There are few interior details, and even where interior details are present, they are obscured by the blue paint which was applied thickly on top of the black. The captions are very similar to the large glyphs in the central column, but at a smaller scale, and thus have less detail in their respective silhouettes. The characters are very precisely drawn and colored, like the figure drawing. They are well-planned and evenly spaced.

As for the content of the texts, the central inscription is an offering formula, wishing for beer, bread, and everything good. Every other inscription is a caption in a vignette. There are fewer captions on this coffin than there are with others in the group, and most of the deities remain unnamed. They were probably easily recognizable by funeral-goers immersed in Egyptian religion and mythology and did not need to be labeled. For the most part, the Middle Egyptian grammar is not terribly demanding and presented no problem to the writer or the reader. The one exception to this is the inscription in front of Hathor in Register A, where the word *sqbh* (to cool) is given a novel orthography involving the cow-tongue glyph 𓆎(F20)--not usually a determinative for this word--and the *Hes* vase 𓆏 (W14). One can imagine that the

scribe got confused by the visual similarity of the verb with the titles of the owner of the coffin—since these titles usually precede his name, as the verb does in this sentence.



Figure 77: The libation scene with a confused caption and the name of the deceased.

The morphology of the characters and the orthography of various words is nearly identical between the different captions, and between the captions and the central inscription. A good example of this is the spelling of the name of the deceased in the central inscription and in the caption with Hathor (Figure 77). In both places, the end of the deceased's name, *iw=f-ḥnḥ* is spelled in one qadrat with three characters: *ḥnḥ*. The horned viper (I9) is in both cases reduced to a tiny comma-like<sup>625</sup> glyph. In both places, the name is abbreviated the same way with the same abbreviated I9 character. The orthographies are uniform across the surface of the coffin, as are the morphologies of the individual characters indicating that all the inscription was probably by the same person.

On this coffin, there is not an easy way to compare the glyphs and the figural drawing to ascertain whether they were drawn by the same person. The empty inscripational columns above the scale are a feature of most coffins in this group and should not be taken as evidence that the artist and scribe were not the same person.

On the contrary, we have some indirect evidence that the artist and scribe were the same person. Firstly, the glyphs and figural drawing are of a similar high quality. Secondly, given the final application of blue over black on both the figural drawing and the text, it would have been more logical for one person to have completed all of the decoration. The glyphs are outlined in black and colored in blue, and that the blue was applied over the outlines of the figural drawings as well. It would have been easier to do this in two steps, with one person doing all of the drawing and then all of the blue application, than a situation where an artist executed his outlines, then handed off the task of writing the inscriptions to a scribe, who then returned control to an artist or colorist to apply

<sup>625</sup> This method of drawing I9 occurs on the coffins of Tabes and Besenmut. It occurs on other coffins made later as well and discussed in the next chapter. It has some parallels in later hieratic Buchschrift (See Verhoeven, p 149, especially p Louvre N 3091, pWien 3862, and pBM10037).

the blue. So, while we cannot be certain the artist and the scribe were the same person, it seems like the simplest conclusion. Now, whether that artist was copying a manuscript made up for him by a more professional scribe is a question which shall be dealt with at the end of this chapter.

### Overview

The Coffin of Ankhpakhered<sup>626</sup> and the human remains inside it have been the Museo Civico since the early 20th century, before which it was at one point part of the collection of count Leonetto Ottolenghi, but it is unclear from the published literature where he got it or if it went through the hands of anyone else before it reached the museum.<sup>627</sup> The vertical inscriptions on the sides of the coffin specify that the owner is a Stolist Priest of Akhmim (*sm<sup>c</sup>.ty ipw*), so the coffin's Akhmim provenience is reasonably sure.

The name and the genealogy of the owner are given on both sides in long vertical inscriptions, but the lower third of the inscription has been damaged on both sides. The owner's name is probably Ankhpakhered<sup>628</sup> as recorded in the museum records, and his father may have been Djedhor based on the remnants still visible on the viewer's right side.


In any case, the coffin's ultimate occupant may not have been Ankhpakhered himself. Carbon dating shows that the remains inside the coffin belong to a man who lived during the Ptolemaic period between 300 and 100 BCE. Quarta et al<sup>629</sup> also advance the theory that this man had been reburied, as his "mummification" consisted of wrapping a disarticulated skeleton with reeds to give the package shape.<sup>630</sup>

Elias dates the coffin to the early 25th dynasty, more specifically, 730-715 BCE. Brech sees *Gruppe A* as dating from the 25th dynasty through the Persian period and places this coffin at the end of that timespan.<sup>631</sup> Whatever the stylistic dating of the piece, the mummified remains are several hundred years younger than his coffin.

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<sup>626</sup> I am indebted to Cristina Marchegiani at the Museo Civico Archeologico for kindly providing me with pictures of this piece.

<sup>627</sup> Elias states that the coffin came from the collection of Count. Leonetto Ottolenghi and came to the museum in 1932. Quarta et al say that the piece was donated by the Vergano family in the early 20th century. Neither author elaborates further. Malgora and Elias, p. 277; Gianluca Quarta and others, 'The Strange Case of the Ankhpakhered Mummy: Results of AMS 14C Dating', *Radiocarbon*, 55 (2013), 1403–8 <[https://doi.org/10.2458/azu\\_js\\_rc.55.16404](https://doi.org/10.2458/azu_js_rc.55.16404)>.

<sup>628</sup> The name of the deceased as it appears on the coffin is: , ending with the seated man glyph (A1) instead of the child glyph. On the right side of the coffin, there is only a small amount of room between this last glyph and the name Djedhor. So, either the name is in fact Ankhpakhered and the scribe has spelled it unconventionally with the A1 glyph instead of the child glyph, and Djedhor is this person's father, or the name is a name that is not in Personennamen.

<sup>629</sup> Quarta and others, pp. 1407–8.

<sup>630</sup> As we have seen, however, this is not the only Akhmim burial consisting of a wrapped skeleton, and it's not the only body mismatched with its coffin. In fact, two thirds of the bodies belonging to coffins in this chapter have been tampered with either in modern or ancient times. Quarta and others.

<sup>631</sup> I tend to favor Brech's dating for this piece since I think the shape of the piece has more in common with the Late period pieces than the other pieces in this group. Of course, these similarities may also be due to the general thrift with which the piece seems to have been constructed. The foot is more trapezoidal and less concave on the



The iconography on the coffin of Ankhpakhered has been quite well published for a piece in a small collection. It has been treated by Elias and Malgora, in an older catalogue of the museum,<sup>632</sup> and in Ruth Brech's study of Akhmim coffins.<sup>633</sup> Elias and Malgora provide a thorough iconographic analysis of each scene, and the following is meant to supplement their description. Though Elias translated some of the texts into English, they were not transcribed or transliterated. The condition of the texts is poor and they are highly abbreviated, so a full translation with many caveats is presented in Appendix III.

### *Iconographic Description*

The coffin of Ankhpakhered is a bivalve coffin where the basin is roughly the same depth as the lid. It features minimal sculpting of the bodily contours. This consists of a slight rounding of the edges of the lid at the area of the hips and calves, and an indentation on both sides at the shoulders. Modeling of contours does not extend to the basin, and the edge between the walls and floor of the basin is sharp rather than beveled. When viewed from the side, this coffin has a swelling in the area of the belly which recedes in the area of the chest. The coffin has a pedestal, which is rather short. That the piece was meant to give the impression of having a back pillar is clear because the top of the pillar is carved under the wig on the back, but it tapers into an otherwise flat bottom of the coffin basin.<sup>634</sup>

The surface is divided into five registers divided by borders of variable thickness. Their sequence deviates from that set out by the first three coffins in this chapter. The first register is nothing out of the ordinary. A large Djed pillar overlaps the collar, emerging from an oddly flattened mountain glyph. The lion-headed mummiform deities to either side of it are wingless, in contrast to those on the other coffins of this group. To the right and left stand Thoth and Horus--the latter attired in his usual panther skin. Both raise their hands towards the sacred symbol between them. The chains of ankh and *was* scepters, having once been painted in blue paint have flaked away, leaving only trace underdrawings. Unfortunately, the heads of the four sons of Horus to either side of the central scene are all damaged. It's hard to tell whether the names correspond to those we usually expect for each son, or whether they are mixed up as they are in the other *Gruppe A* coffins. The only god with an intact face is Imsety, to the right of Horus. To the left of Thoth is a god labeled as "Duamutef", and to his left, "Qebehsenuf". The inscription corresponding to the deity to the right of Imsety is destroyed, but based on the remnants, it did not say "Hapy." The text surrounding these deities is a very abbreviated version of the Osiris Hymn which also appeared on the coffin of Paenbes in Lisbon.<sup>635</sup> To the far right

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sides, and the pedestal is narrower. Furthermore, this piece has some orthographical and paleographical similarities with the coffin of Nespaqaishuty in Philadelphia, which will be discussed in the next chapter.

<sup>632</sup> Leospo, pp. 26–28, 30–35.

<sup>633</sup> Brech, pp. 64–66.

<sup>634</sup> This is contra Elias who uses the lack of a back pillar to propose an early date for this coffin. Malgora and Elias, p. 279.

<sup>635</sup> See above, starting on p242

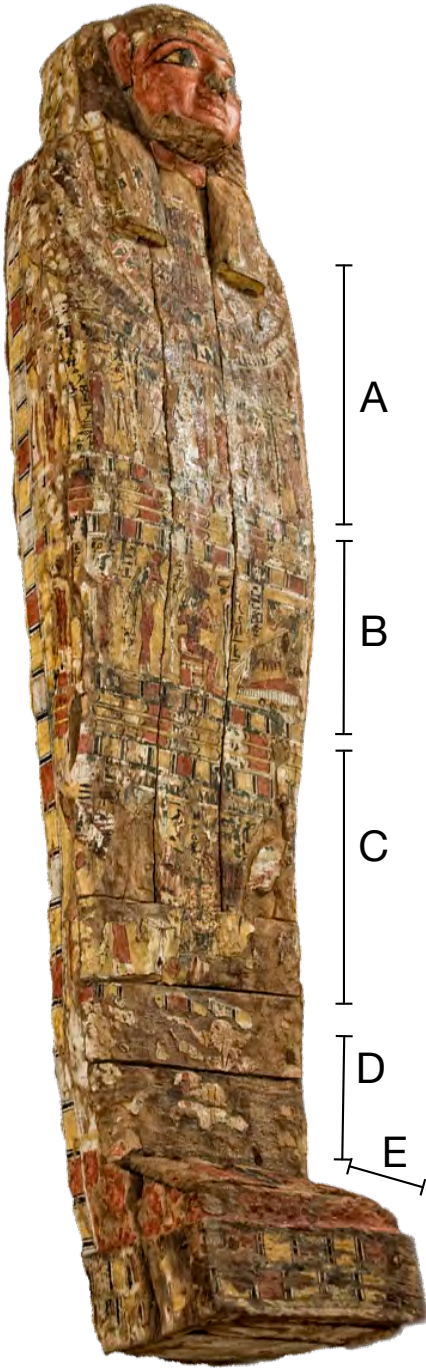


Figure 78: Coffin of Ankhpakhered, Courtesy of the Museo Civico Archeologico, Asti

and left of the scene are pyramids with rectangular foundations, which do not appear on any of the other coffins in this group and may signify the East—the land of the living.<sup>636</sup>

The expected scene of the deceased before Osiris has been omitted. Instead, the second register is the scene of the weighing of the heart before Re-Harakhte, who is here labeled simply as “Re.” Behind Re stands a bovine-headed goddess, whose eye protrudes from the contour of her head. Behind her is a human-headed goddess: Isis. There is a third goddess behind them who is probably Nephthys. Before Re, facing the scale is the usual rigid snake, standing on its tail and wearing the double crown. Here, he is unlabeled, but from the other coffins in this group, we can guess that he is Atum. The figure of Ammit fills the entire area beneath the right arm of the scale. She stands on a low shrine with a slanted roof. Inside the shrine is a unique detail: four severed heads, drawn in black ink. The usual schematic drawing of the Lake of Fire is omitted on this coffin. Beneath the other arm of the scale is a mummiform figure, who is probably the deceased. A tiny baboon sits atop the balance. There are hearts in both pans of the scale instead of the usual Maat feather. To the far right of this scene is an unusual *imentet* sign composed of a feather on a half-circle positioned on a very short pole.

The third register is an entirely new scene wherein a vulture spreads its wings laterally around the coffin lid. The vulture has a large red cross in the middle of its body and the remains of its talons seem to clutch *shen*-signs. Below it on the left and right are striding female figures facing the center. They are manipulating a conical object, the nature of which is unclear, because of the poor condition of the scene and the lack of parallels to this scene.<sup>637</sup> The beginning of Book of the Dead Spell 1 is squeezed into the area above the vulture’s wings and around its head.

The scene on the ankles is the “Osiris in a Tree” scene, and though only a few patches of plaster remain in this register, it is clear that the composition of the scene has

<sup>636</sup> The image of the tomb is used in apposition with the *Imentet* standard of the west on the pectoral image on the outer coffin of Iwefaa, PAHMA 6-19912. It is also used on the footplate vignette of some Theban coffins in which a bull carries the deceased on his back away from a pyramid-shaped tomb. On the other group A coffins, the *labet* (eastern) standard appears at the extremities of some of the vignettes.

<sup>637</sup> Elias proposes they are lighting a taper Malgora and Elias, p. 23..



undergone a major change. The tree is expanded to occupy most of the register, and Osiris stands facing right as usual. In his hands, he carries a crook, a flail, and a long stick. Behind him, for the first time, is Isis, reaching her hand behind his crown. Remnants of a chain of *ankhs* and *was* scepters hang from her elbow. The usual obelisks to either side of the tree are gone, and though it's possible that they were part of the substantial part of the scene now missing, neither their bases or pyramidal tips are visible in the remnants. The remains of other figures to the extremities are visible, but nothing can be said of these figures other than that they were present.

The final register, which covers the top of the foot, is also new. It consists of a large black scarab beetle on a plain red ground. The scarab has no wings, and only four legs. Its anatomy is reduced to a white cross on its back.

A Djed pillar colored in reddish orange and mustard yellow on a white ground decorates the back of the coffin. Its segments are decorated with concentric dots on an alternating orange and yellow ground. There do not seem to be any figures flanking the *djed* pillar. The sides of the basin are decorated with two long columns of inscription running from the shoulder to the foot. These begin at the side and drift horizontally onto the basin at the bottom, leaving little room for side decoration around the *djed* pillar on the back of the coffin. The area around the opening on the side of the coffin is filled by two parallel strips of block-pattern which run along the split between the two halves.

Register A	Register B	Register C
Abydos fetish emerging from mountain sign with two lion headed deities (without wings). To the viewer's right is Horus wearing a Panther skin, to the left is Thoth, with a chain of Ankhs and was scepters hanging from his elbow. To the left, a baboon headed deity carrying a cloth followed by a mummiform deity whose head is now lost. On the right is a human-headed mummiform deity with a cloth followed by another mummiform deity whose head is lost. On the extreme right and left edges of the vignette are pyramids on bases, perhaps representing the tomb chapel.	The judgement of the deceased (BD 125) before Re Harakhte and Atum. Under the left arm of the scale stands Ammit, on a shrine containing three human heads. Under the other arm is a mummiform figure and an Imentet sign. Behind the falcon-headed god are a cow-headed goddess and a human-headed goddess.	A large bird, perhaps a vulture, spreads its wings. A small goddess in a red dress is visible beneath its left wing. The scene is heavily destroyed. The bird may grasp Shen-rings in its talons.
Register D	Register E	Back

<p>The Osiris in a Tree scene. Osiris stands in a thicket of trees and Isis stands behind him. To the right is a figure with its hands raised in prayer, the rest of whom is destroyed.</p>	<p>A black beetle with only four appendages and a cross shape on its back. It is the only decoration on a red background.</p>	<p>A large djed pillar which extends from the ankle to just below the back of the wig. It is decorated in red, yellow and white (or perhaps blue). It has a visible sash hanging down on the right side but details are otherwise obscured by damage.</p>
<p><b>Top of Head</b></p>	<p><b>Bottom of Foot</b></p>	
<p>The top of the head features a sun-disk emerging from an <i>akhet</i> glyph. Inside the sun-disk is a black figure which is probably human but cannot be described further from the available photos.</p>	<p>The bottom of the foot is undecorated.</p>	

# Paleography

GardinerSign	Sample	GardinerSign	Sample
A1		A17	
A26		D4	
D21		D36	
D6		E1	
F39		G7	
G14		G17	
G26		G4	
G43		I1	
I9		I1	
M4		M17	
M23		N5	
N14		N26	
N35		O29	
O49		Q1	
Q3		R14	

GardinerSign	Sample	GardinerSign	Sample
S29		S34	
S43		T23	
V3		V31	
W15		W24	
X1		AA1	

### *Art Style and Number of Artists*

The coffin uses an earthy brownish-green and a dark turquoise blue in the faces and wigs of the deities and in some of the decorative bands between the register. These have flaked off everywhere they were used, leaving the white plaster bare. The green, especially in the leaves of Osiris' tree, has faded to the point where it is barely visible. The result is that, to the modern viewer, the coffin appears dominated by orangish red and mustard yellow when it was originally much more colorful. The limited remaining colors give a false impression of thrift which is not necessarily correct.

The figural drawing and layout of the coffin were not executed particularly carefully. As was the case with the coffin of Nespaqashuty in Detmold, the uneven spacing of the registers gives an insight into how they were laid out. The decorative border bands between the registers and the registers themselves vary in height. The largest register is the third one, leaving little room for the fourth and fifth which seem to have been squeezed in, the borders between them reduced in order to reclaim as much space as possible. Perhaps the artist laid out the registers by starting from the top and working downward and did not pre-calculate the size of each register.

The figure drawing is idiosyncratic when placed in comparison with that on the other *Gruppe A* coffins. The human faces tend to be boxy--the profile is a straight vertical line interrupted by a triangular nose. The bird faces have a long, thick throat area, a large beak, and a relatively small, almost sleek skull. All the figures are slender, with long, skinny limbs, but the bodies are reasonably well proportioned. The crudeness of the figure drawing owes much the poor quality of the black outlines which were drawn over the red and yellow paint.<sup>638</sup> They vary in thickness and darkness. The strokes are short, but not "sketchy"--that is, the endpoints of the individual lines are very close to each other. Perhaps the artist had a good sense of proportion but had difficulty with his media.

The muddiness of the color is probably due to the combination of water-soluble paints and humidity in modern times. While in general, the paint is carefully applied on the figures, smaller objects and repeating patterns can be sloppily colored. Some of the blocks in the block patterns have pigment applied with a larger brush in a circular motion, creating a red or yellow spot over which the final outline of the geometric pattern was drawn in black paint.

Because so few of the figures have survived the damage to the coffin, it is difficult to use them to formulate an argument about how many hands worked on the piece. However, the rough quality of the linework extends across the whole coffin, as do the slender proportions of the bodies. Thus, it is probably safe to say that all the artwork on this piece was executed by the same person.

This artist seems to have had a fondness for the stippling technique used to make the leaves of the tree in the fourth register. Using a cut plant stem, which had a boomerang-shaped section, he stamped the green leaves, and then stamped the same shape in red, to represent the fruits of the tree. On other coffins, these were rendered as grape-like clusters of red dots. The stippling extends to the body of the vulture in the third register, whose feathers are stamped in red with the same technique and apparently with the same stamp.

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<sup>638</sup> Too little of the green and blue paint remain to be able to say what order in which they were applied relative to the red, yellow and black.

*The Inscriptions on the Coffin and the Number of Scribes*

The texts on the coffin have the same problems with quality of line as do the figural drawings. Most of the text is drawn in very dark, thick black paint. In the same caption, the ink can go from this dark black to being so light with so thin a line that the characters are barely discernible. The shapes of several glyphs are very idiosyncratic and occur in almost all the captions. This and the pervasiveness of the problems with paint-flow are indications that we are dealing with the same scribe for all the captions.<sup>639</sup>

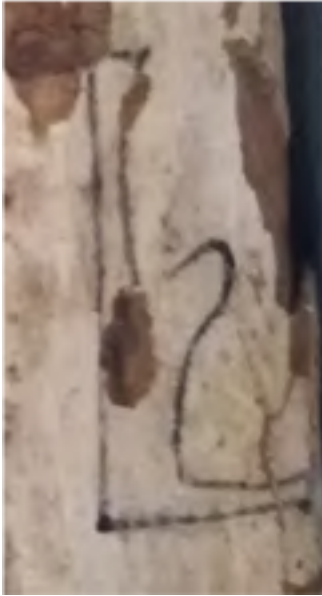


Figure 79: The Sign Q1 in the right side inscription (left) and a caption in register A (right).

The long inscriptions down the sides of the coffin basin are in a monumental style. The glyphs and the interior detail are carefully drawn in black, but they were never colored. This can only have been intentional because the black detail should have been applied after the application of color, but instead was applied on a white ground. The glyphs are well drawn, but again, the scribe seems to have had some difficulty with the flow of the medium. The paint did not flow evenly from the brush, and the lines are highly variable in the darkness of the paint.

The captions on the lid and the large side inscription share an unusual and distinctive morphology of the *st*-throne sign (Q1) which has protruding "seat" and bears some resemblance to A1, the seated man glyph (Figure 79). The seated man glyph, both in the large inscriptions and the captions, is unusual in that both of his legs are bent upward, instead of one bent horizontally and one vertically. He resembles the seated deity glyph (A40). The unusual paleography of these characters and others is an indication that the artist of the side inscription was the same one that drew the captions. The fact that the artist who did the figural drawings and the scribe who wrote the inscriptions both had trouble controlling the flow of ink off the brush probably means that they had the same skill level and were also the same person.

This person had a good eye for proportion but some difficulty with the details of faces, which appear inelegant. His work on this piece characterized by creativity in the stippling technique and in the alterations that he made to the *Gruppe A* scenes and design pattern. With its highly abbreviated yet still readable excerpt from Book of the Dead Spell 1, the text shows a certain amount of dynamism. However, there are parts of the text which are difficult to interpret, and the spacing and stacking of the glyphs can be unconventional. The impression is

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<sup>639</sup> Elias ventures that the enigmatic inscription in register b that seems to contain the name "Djedthothiwefankh" may be evidence of reuse Malgora and Elias, pp. 283–84. The consistency of the paleography on this coffin is an indication that however this caption might be interpreted, it was probably not written by another scribe at a later date.

that the decorator of this piece was something of a maverick whose ambition may have at times exceeded their skill.

## Workshops Producing Cartonnages and Wooden Bivalves with Primarily Pictorial Decoration

If the Third Intermediate Period cartonnage coffins were difficult to characterize because they varied widely in appearance, the bivalve coffins of the following period have the opposite problem. With the exception of the coffin of Pakharu which will be discussed in the next chapter, all of the provenienced pieces fall into Brech's *Gruppe A*,<sup>640</sup> and they are all visually very similar. They all obey the same design pattern, which we will call the Group A design pattern from here forward.<sup>641</sup> If a workshop is defined as a group of artisans producing works in a common style, then all the *Gruppe A* pieces were created by the same workshop. Furthermore, this workshop represents a continuation of a tradition which started in the Third Intermediate Period with the "Proto-A" group. To understand how this workshop might have functioned and changed over time, the following discusses this workshop, which we will call "Workshop A", breaking the workshop into artist/scribe pairs.

Because the pieces are so similar in the choice, order, and composition of the vignettes, the difficulty with these pieces comes with ascertaining which of the Group A pieces were by the same artist. Complicating matters are several unprovenienced pieces which have orthographical and paleographical similarities to the Group A coffins, but which use different design patterns. These coffins have museum histories which associate them with Akhmim, but no actual record of having come from the site or titles to indicate that the owner came from Akhmim. Therefore, the only way to support the museum records is to associate these pieces with the artists of the more securely provenienced pieces.

The analysis of the provenienced pictorial wooden bivalves in the catalogue showed almost all the pieces to have internally consistent handwriting and art style, indicating that most of the coffins were the product of one artist and one scribe.<sup>642</sup> In certain cases, such as when a bovine head appeared in an offering list and on the head of a goddess, the figural drawing could be directly compared to the handwriting. In these cases, it was probable that the artist and the scribe were the same person. Furthermore, in two of the three cases where the outer and inner coffins in a set could be compared, these were executed by the same scribe and artist. A close comparison of the figural drawing and handwriting on the provenienced coffins show them to be the product of at least four individuals or artist-scribe pairs.

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<sup>640</sup> These are: Besenmut (Leicester New Walk Museum LA 1980.1885), Tabes (Leicester New Walk Museum LA 1981.1885), Djedhoriwefankh (Buffalo Museum of Science 654.139), Ankhpakhered (Museo Civico Archeologico, Asti 94a), Paenbes (Museu Nacional de Arqueologia, Lisbon E136 & E332), Nespaqaishuty (Lippisches Landesmuseum Detmold, Inner and Outer Coffins), and Paenbes (P.T. Barnum Museum, Bridgeport CT, 1894.1.2 A,B)

<sup>641</sup> I've chosen to use the original German term for Brech's type and to use the English term for the corresponding design pattern. The concept of a design pattern is new to this work, and so there was a need to differentiate the two typological systems while acknowledging Brech's role in identifying most of the characteristics of this design pattern. Going forward, the term Group A will be used to refer to the subset of Brech's *Gruppe A* coffins that conform to the elite design pattern as defined below.

<sup>642</sup> A possible exception was the coffin of Nespaqaishuty from Detmold, where the baboon headed and jackal headed sons of Horus had cartoonish heads that did not have parallels elsewhere on the piece or in the rest of the corpus. See above, p 273

## The Paenbes Artist

The two coffins belonging to men named Paenbes<sup>643</sup> are the product of the same artist and scribe pair. The handwriting on both pieces consists of crisply drawn glyphs colored blue or black. There is usually no internal detail. Other than the occasional straight line used for "n", none of the signs take a hieratic form, though the influence of hieratic is apparent in the orthography. The two coffins have several sign forms in common which do not occur on other pieces. The bird characters, most notably the swallows (G36,G37) and the quail chick (G43) are often drawn with one leg and no backwards facing claw. On both coffins, the owl character (G17) also has one leg, and the upper part of the second leg hangs down, footless. It appears like a third tail-feather. The scorpion character (L7) has four legs and visible mandibles on its head and is not tethered to a *shen* sign. On the coffin of Paenbes in the Barnum museum, this detail can be seen in d-stretch in the emblem on the head of Serqet. On the coffin of the Paenbes in Lisbon, it is plainly visible.

The emblem of Nephthys also has an interesting feature on both coffins: the *Hw.t* glyph (O9) has a projecting ledge at the front, as if in an allusion<sup>644</sup> to Isis' throne emblem. This variant occurs in the figural drawing on the Barnum coffin, where the goddess' name incorporates the emblem on her head. On the Lisbon coffin, it occurs as a hieroglyph in the text next to the goddess as well as on the emblem on her head.<sup>644</sup>

These two coffins have subtle similarities in the art style as well. On both coffins, the humans and human-headed deities tend to stretch their necks forward so that the line of the bottom of the chin blends into the neck in a gentle arc. This gives the faces a fleshy appearance because the chin and neck appear fatter. The eyes of the deities are long and narrow and have a wide cosmetic line. The goddesses have no sashes around their waists, and the material of their dresses is undifferentiated from the straps holding them up. Usually both straps are visible on the dresses of the female deities, and they appear unusually long. This draws attention to the fact that the backs of the figures are also unusually long. Together with the substantial, elongated bulges of the thighs and hips, this gives the impression that the legs are disproportionately short.

There are also similarities in the features of the animal-headed deities on the two coffins. The top of Thoth's head is bare and his headcloth only begins towards the back of the top of his head. His beak has a long horizontal arc as opposed to curving sharply downwards. Horus has a full throat, which curves inward slightly at the base of his lower beak. The lower beak is thick in comparison with the upper one, and the sharpness of the upper beak is indicated by a vertical line at the end, which extends downward. There are other small details that the coffins share, indicating that they were painted by the same person: the rounded toes of the Ruty-lions which flank the Abydos fetish in the first register, the whip-like tongue of the Devouress which curves sharply downward after emerging from her mouth, and the canopic

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<sup>643</sup> Barnum Museum 1894.1.2 A,B and Lisbon E136, respectively.

<sup>644</sup> Lüscher notes that this form of the Nephthys glyph is common on Early to Late Ptolemaic stele from Akhmim and on the Late Ptolemaic papyrus of Neferiini. She wonders about its usefulness as a dating criterion. Its presence here indicates that it originated much earlier than the Ptolemaic period. *Das Totenbuch pBerlin P. 10477 aus Achmim: mit Photographien des verwandten pHildesheim 5248*, ed. by Barbara Lüscher and others, *Handschriften des Altägyptischen Totenbuches*, Bd. 6 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2000), p. 44.



jars, which have a rounded, crock-like appearance on the top half and a tapering bottom half which flares out at the bottom to form a base.

### The Besenmut Artist

Though the coffins of Tabes and Besenmut have a different overall appearance from each other resulting from a difference in materials<sup>645</sup> and in the initial drafting of the vignettes,<sup>646</sup> a formal comparison of the art style and paleography shows that the coffins of Tabes and Besenmut were decorated by the same Artist/Scribe pair. This artist and scribe were different than the ones who decorated the coffins of the two Paenbeses. For the sake of brevity, going forward, we will refer to the artist and scribe who painted the coffins of the two Paenbeses as the Paenbes Artist and Scribe, and the ones who painted the coffin of Besenmut and Tabes the Besenmut Artist and Scribe. The two scribe/artist pairs (if the inscription and art was done by different people) worked from the same visual models and design pattern, but not the same textual sources.

The text in the captions on the two Leicester coffins is drawn in dark outline. Where it is not obscured by the varnish on the coffin, there is a small amount of internal detail, such as a single line for the eyes of the seated man (A1). In addition, both coffins also have glyphs that we can call "monumental". They are larger and colored, with carefully drawn internal detail. The horned viper glyph (I9) has a tendency to take an unusual form resembling an apostrophe, especially where there is little space, and this may initially have been inspired by Hieratic forms of the glyph.<sup>647</sup>

Other small paleographical differences between the handwriting of the Leicester scribe and the Paenbes scribe are abundant (Figure 80). A few examples will suffice here: the wooden column (O29) has a diamond on the small end on the coffin of Tabes, rather than a three-pronged fork like it has on the coffins of Paenbes. On the Leicester coffins, the hand on the outstretched arm (A36) is drawn as an oval rather than a single stroke below the main arm. The glyph † (Aa27) in the epithet *nd-it=f* is sometimes drawn in such a way that it is indistinguishable from ‡ (T23)

The coffins of Besenmut and Tabes also share elements of artistic style that set them apart from the Paenbes coffins. The Besenmut artist draws goddesses with sashes around their waists, and when the goddesses are kneeling, the tails of the sash curve around, one following the line of each leg. The straps of the goddesses' dresses are carefully distinguished from the

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<sup>645</sup> The coffin of Tabes uses blue more liberally, and in places where it is not used on the coffin of Besenmut, like on the pleats of the gods' kilts.

<sup>646</sup> When drafting the Tabes coffin, the artist omitted the two winged sun-disks which occupied the upper third of registers 1 and 3 on the coffin of Besenmut. This changed the aspect ratio of the scenes such that fewer figures could be added to the lateral ends, but the figures could be taller. It's somewhat ironic that the scribe has omitted the emblems from the heads of the goddesses in the one situation where he had room to draw them without overlapping the border.

<sup>647</sup> This writing may have initially be inspired by hieratic renderings of the character. Such a prototype might have looked something like the I9 on line 7,6 of P. Louvre N3091, as reproduced in Verhoeven, p. 149. The form is not unique to this scribe, but occurs on several Akhmim coffins dating between the 25th dynasty and the early Ptolemaic period.

rest of the dress by a change in color. The goddesses' faces are different from those on the Paenbes coffins--the chin is differentiated from the neck by a sharper curve, and the eyes tend to be rounder, with thinner cosmetic lines.

The animal-form and animal headed deities are also drawn slightly differently by the two artists. On the coffin of Tabes, Atum appears as a snake in the judgement scene, just as he does on the coffin of Paenbes at the Barnum Museum. However, on the coffin of Tabes, the snake is slender and undulating, with a small head. On the Barnum coffin, the snake's body is thick and his head large. His body is tapering rather than undulating and is carefully detailed with scallops and hatching. On the coffins of Besenmut and Tabes, Thoth's beak curves more sharply downwards than it does on the Paenbes coffins. The faces of the falcons on the two coffins are very similar on coffins by the two artists, but the Besenmut artist tends to draw the curve of Horus' lower jaw with an overall downwards slope. Because of this he sometimes appears to be looking downwards. Also, the circle of the god's eye-marking is dipped at the front, giving him the look of a furrowed brow.

A striking difference between the two artists is the way that they draw the canopic jars. The canopic jars on the coffins by the Besenmut artist are fluted, flaring at the top and tapering at the bottom. They do not have the rounded shape of the canopic jars by the Paenbes artist.

#### The Coffin of Djedhoriwefankh and The Coffins of Nespaqaishuty

The text on the coffin of Djedhoriwefankh in Buffalo may be by the same person who inscribed the text on the coffins of Besenmut and Tabes, but there are some significant orthographical differences. The paleographies of the coffins are almost identical, though the lines and coloring of the glyphs on Djedhoriwefankh's coffin are crisper and more careful. If this were the only difference between the texts on the two coffins, we might chalk the sloppier handwriting on the coffins of Besenmut and Tabes up to different materials and brushes. However, some of the orthographies are different on the coffin of Djedhoriwefankh as well. On the coffin of Tabes and Besenmut the name of the god Re is spelled with the sun-disk determinative first, then with the name of the god. On the coffin of Djedhoriwefankh, the god's name is spelled normally with the determinative after the word. Other small differences, such as the spelling of the epithet "The Great God" with the bookroll determinative (Y1), make it hard to say for certain that the two pieces were by the same scribe. If they were, it may be that the scribe was working from different model texts on the two coffins. However, this seems unlikely since all the texts in which the spelling variants occur are very short--it is hard to imagine a model text consisting only of short captions.

The art is very similar on the coffins, though again, the work on Djedhoriwefankh is much cleaner-looking than it is on the coffins of Besenmut or Tabes. The paints are more diluted and the outlining more consistent. This appearance is partly because the varnish on the coffin of Djedhoriwefankh is thinner and more selectively applied. The Besenmut painter probably painted the coffin of Djedhoriwefankh, perhaps at a different stage in his career than he painted the coffins of Besenmut and Tabes. We can say the same about the scribe if they were the same person, which seems likely because of the similar paleographies between the coffins. If the coffins of Besenmut and Djedhoriwefankh were painted by different people, they

were painted by two people who were working very closely with each other and at roughly the same time.

The same can be said of the coffin of Nespaqaishuty. Here, the orthography of the gods' names and epithets are very similar to those on the coffins of Besenmut and Tabes,<sup>648</sup> but the handwriting is sloppier and more sketch-like. Some of this may be due to the modern treatment and condition of the piece. The blue paint on the glyphs seems to have faded or worn away where it was present, leaving only black outlines of the glyphs visible. When placed in comparison, however, the forms of the signs on the coffins of Besenmut, Tabes, and Nespaqaishuty are nearly identical. With the exception of the two sons of Horus who may have been painted by a second artist, the faces of the goddesses and animal-headed deities are very similar to those on the coffins of Besenmut and Tabes. Like the glyphs, the figures on the coffin of Nespaqaishuty seem more sloppily executed than on the coffin of Besenmut, and the coloring is more imprecise (like it is on the coffin of Tabes). This difference may be attributable to a lower or at least different quality of materials, and the damaged modern condition of the coffin of Nespaqaishuty. It may also be that the artist and scribe were at an earlier stage in their career when they worked on the coffin of Nespaqaishuty.

#### The Coffin of Ankhpakhered

The coffin of Ankhpakhered was by a third person who was both an artist and a scribe and who was apparently working from the same model vignettes and same design pattern as the Paenbes and Besenmut artist, but who either creatively modified some of the vignettes or was copying from a modified model. On the coffin of Ankhpakhered, the scene of Isis and Osiris, the Mummification Scene, and the scene of the mummified falcon on the foot have been omitted. The scene of the judgement before Re-Harakhte, the Adoration of the Abydos Fetish, and the scene of Osiris in a Tree have been retained. A scene with a flying vulture has been added in place of the mummification scene, and a scarab on a red background has been added on the foot. While Judgement scene and the the scene with the Abydos Fetish are like those on the other Group A coffins, the composition of the scene of Osiris in a Tree has been modified. The obelisks have been omitted, and the area of the tree has been expanded so that it takes up most of the space in the register. Isis has been added to the scene behind her husband and supports his crown.

This coffin has a much rougher art style than the other provenienced coffins. The source of this is an inconsistency in the quality of line in the outlines. There are several figures which have features that are unconventionally represented, such as Hathor's eye, which protrudes from the front of her head. This may point to a lack of access to formal training on the part of the artist, even though he had access to the same models as the other Group A artists.

The handwriting on the coffin of Ankhpakhered is also distinctive. Some of the glyphs are drawn in silhouette and colored, perhaps in black, perhaps in a heavily deteriorated blue. The horned viper glyph (I9) is especially long and wiggly (Figure 80). The owl glyph (M17) and the *imentet* standard (R14) assume hieratic forms. The Throne glyph (Q3) is drawn with a

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<sup>648</sup> The exception here is the spelling of the names of the sons of Horus, which, as will be discussed below, are almost never identical on any of the pieces.

distinctive seat which protrudes from the back-rest of the throne. The orthographies are also unusual. The outstretched hand glyphs are indistinguishable--they're all drawn as the hand with the loaf (D37).

Having characterized the handwriting and art style for three separate artists we can look to the many other pieces with primarily pictorial decoration that have been postulated to come from Akhmim and date to the 25th or 26th dynasties, the proveniences of which are less secure.



Glyph	Paenbes (Lisbon)	Besenmut	SMB 17940	Ankhpakhered (Asti)
 (A1)				
 D36				
 (F28)				
 (G17)		 (From Tabes)		
 (G43)		 (From Tabes)		
 (I9)				
 (L7)				
 (O28)				
 (O29)		 (From Tabes)		
 (S29)				
 (S43)				
 (Aa15)				
 (Aa27)		 (From Tabes)		

Figure 80: Comparison of select diagnostic glyphs between four Group A scribes.

## Unprovenienced Pieces

*The Coffins of Padiaset, Kunsthistorisches Museum Vienna, No. ÄS 8901(Outer) and ÄS 8902 (Inner)*

The coffins of Padiaset came from the collection of a man named Joachim Brenner and were loan to the KHM in Vienna between the 1930s and '60s. They were acquired permanently by the museum upon Brenner's death in 1961. Where he obtained the pieces is unknown.<sup>649</sup> They are both in excellent condition. Brech includes them in her catalog,<sup>650</sup> but otherwise, they are only mentioned in passing in the literature to make wider points about Egyptian art and iconography.<sup>651</sup>

Neither the enigmatic provenience or the owner's titles give any hint at an Akhmim origin for the coffin. The owner, a man named Padiaset (*p3-di-3s.t*), was a ritualist in the Place of Truth (*hry-hb.t s.t m3C.t*).<sup>652</sup> His father had the extremely common name Irtyeru (*ir.ty-r-w*).

The coffin has the same layout and scenes on the front as the coffins of Besenmut and Tabes, but the peripheral figures on the scenes are different. The back of the coffin features three columns of fully detailed and colored glyphs. Despite the fact that the glyphs on the front of the coffin consist of the usual, blue-colored silhouettes, the glyphs on both sides have similar forms and profiles. Thus, we can say that one scribe decorated the inner coffin.

The outer coffin features two registers around a central column on a plain ground. The first register features the deceased in adoration of the Four Sons of Horus, who take the form of animal headed mummies. In the second register, Thoth presents the deceased to Isis and Osiris. The later sits before a piled table of offerings. The captions in these registers are also blue-filled outlines, while the glyphs in the central column are polychrome. A comparison of the

Offering (Padiaset Outer)



F1 (Padiaset Outer)



F1 (Padiaset Inner)



*Figure 81: Cow-head Glyph F1 in the figural drawing and inscription of the inner and outer coffins of Padiaset*

animal and human headed figures shows that the same artist executed all the figural drawing on the outer coffin and the inner coffin as well, and the same applies for the text.

This is one of the few coffins where we can say that the scribe and the artist were probably the same person: a severed cow's head appears once in the inscription on the inner coffin, once

<sup>649</sup> Egon Komorzynski, 'Zwei in Privatbesitz Befindliche Kanopen', *JARCE*, 8 (1969), 73–78 (p. 77 Note 12).

<sup>650</sup> Brech, pp. 58–62.

<sup>651</sup> Koemoth, pp. 147–49; Komorzynski, p. 77.

<sup>652</sup> The term Place of Truth is generally associated with the Deir el-Medina workmen, and thus the Theban royal necropolis. Navrátilová notes the occurrence of the title in Memphis in the 18th dynasty and proposes that this either indicates that Memphite workmen were travelling to Thebes for work, or that the term is a more generic reference to an important cemetery. Regardless of whether Padiaset travelled to Thebes for work or whether there was a Place of Truth in Akhmim, the title is not grounds for asserting a Theban origin for Padiaset. Hana Navrátilová, 'An Elusive Community: Traces of Necropolis Workmen in Memphis?', in *Outside the Box: Selected Papers from the Conference 'Deir El-Medina and the Theban Necropolis in Contact' Liège, 27–29 October 2014*, ed. by Andreas Dorn and Stéphane Polis (Liège: Presses Universitaires de Liège, 2018), pp. 383–406 (pp. 397–99).

on the inscription on the outer coffin, and also as part of the offering placed before Osiris on the outer coffin. The heads all have a red face, a gray muzzle, and a protruding tongue, though the detail of the horns of the cow on the offering table are lost in the copious foliage stacked atop it (Figure 81).

The figural drawing, orthography, and paleography of the two coffins are nearly identical to those of the coffin of Besenmut. The coffins of Padiaset also feature a text which only otherwise appears on the outer coffin of Nespaqaishuty, in which the deceased is entreated to "come to the West and the Senut<sup>653</sup>" and to "brighten the gods who are in it."<sup>654</sup> The piece thus serves as a further link between the coffin of Besenmut and Nespaqaishuty.

Since the artist and scribe of the coffins of Padiaset were the same person, it follows that this was the case on the coffins of Besenmut, Nespaqaishuty, Tabes, and Djedhoriwefankh as well. After all, those pieces all were by the same artist/scribe combination, and both the art and the inscription are close matches with those on the coffins of Padiaset.

### *The Coffin of an Anonymous Woman (SMB 17940)*

Coffin ÄS 17940 in the collection of the Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung Staatliche Museen zu Berlin is mentioned by Koemoth on his study of Osiris and trees.<sup>655</sup> A picture of it was also published in a study discussing the relationship between Book of the Dead 125 scenes on stelae and coffins of the Saite and Nubian period.<sup>656</sup> Other than these brief mentions in iconographic studies, the coffin is unpublished. The reason for this is that it was severely damaged in the Second World War and thought lost until recently. Almost all its decoration is now gone,<sup>657</sup> and we are left only with the pre-war photographs as a testament to the appearance of the piece.

From these it is apparent that the owner of the coffin was a woman--the face on the mask has no hole for a beard, and a figure of a woman appears beneath the scale in the judgement scene. The owner is not named or titled on the front of the coffin, and so barring further study of the piece, she is anonymous. It is also not clear whether the coffin came into the SMB's collection via Émile Brugsch, as did some of the other Akhmim coffins. Its association with Akhmim is entirely stylistic.

However, the coffin has a similar iconographic selection and layout to the other group A coffins, apart from the scene where Isis ministers to Osiris. This has been omitted. The remaining scenes are as follows: The adoration of the Abydos Fetish by Thoth and Horus Who

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<sup>653</sup> This word is written confusingly on both coffins, being written as a group with the glyph for "West". However, it may refer to a structure associated with the cemetery and referenced in texts at Ay's rock temple at Akhmim. Kuhlmann, p. 11.

<sup>654</sup> This text is mentioned and commented upon by Brech. Brech-Neldner and Budde, pp. 86–92; Brech, pp. 53, Note 3, 60, Note 14.

<sup>655</sup> Koemoth, pp. 151–52. Here, the coffin is referred to as Berlin-Est 17940, according to the time in which Koemoth wrote his monograph. I was unable to find information on the other East Berlin piece mentioned by Koemoth, No. 23989.

<sup>656</sup> el-Leithy.

<sup>657</sup> Though only old pictures of the front of the piece are available, it may be possible in the future to reconstruct some of the back and side decoration with careful new photography and D-Stretch.

Protects His Father, the judgement of the deceased before Re-Harakhte, the embalming of the deceased by Anubis, The adoration of Osiris in the branches of a tree by Thoth and an Iunmutef priest, and, on the toes, a scene of a mummified falcon. This time, the area above the mummified falcon is occupied by Horus who spreads his wings in the remaining space.

The quality of the art seems very fine and controlled, though as usual, the peripheral figures can be more sloppily drawn. This was probably because the artist knew these details weren't going to be the central focus of the viewer. We can say nothing about the coloring because the surviving images are monochrome.

The artist of this piece was probably the same artist who decorated the Paenbes coffins. The goddesses have undifferentiated straps on their dresses, and the straps seem overly long. Their bosoms and buttocks are voluptuous, their backs are long, and their legs are relatively short. They have curving necks and seem to stretch their heads forward. Their eyes are slender and long and have long, thick cosmetic lines. The animal deities are also similar between this coffin and those of the two Paenbeses. Thoth has a long beak, and the depiction of Atum as a snake on this Anonymous coffin is identical to that on the coffin of Paenbes in Bridgeport. The canopic jars on this coffin take on the rounded shape that they have on the Paenbes coffins. However, there are a few differences between the figures on the Anonymous Berlin coffin and those on the Paenbes coffins. Namely, the goddesses have ties around their waists, and the Nephthys emblem takes its normal form, without the stepped protrusion at the front. In general, the goddesses who are more towards the center of the scenes have more carefully drawn proportions than they do on the Paenbes coffins.

The handwriting on this piece is different than it is on the Paenbes pieces, though the sign forms are more similar to the Paenbes scribe's handwriting than to the Besenmut scribe's. The walking stick sign (*md.w*, S43) takes on an arrow shape, with a v-shaped stroke at the bottom. The tenon at the top of the column glyph (O28) is shorter, and the two sides of the column splay outwards. Finally, the horned-viper glyph (I9) moves more towards the hieratic form, being drawn with one long stroke with a hook-shape at the top for a head.

We can say one thing with some certainty: the anonymous coffin was either decorated by the Paenbes artist and scribe, or was someone who worked closely, as an apprentice or teacher with the person who decorated the Paenbes coffins. There are multiple possibilities, but little evidence for any of them. Perhaps the artist of the Paenbes coffins drew the figural drawing on the Anonymous coffin, and, since the decoration is more similar than the handwriting, the inscription was written by another person. Perhaps all the decoration was drawn and inscribed by an apprentice or even the teacher of the Paenbes artist. The simplest solution is that the scribe and artist were the same on all the coffins, but that this piece was perhaps made at a different point in the artist's career when their drawing style and handwriting was slightly different.

### *Three Unprovenienced Coffins Using a Different Design Pattern*

Now that we have discussed the Anonymous coffin SMB ÄS 17940, we can discuss a group of four unprovenienced pieces that can be tied to it and also to the Paenbes artist. These coffins all exhibit a different layout than the standard Group A layout. Below the collar is a large figure of a ram-headed bird, his wings spread over the chest area of the coffin. Below this, the



surface is divided by a vertical central column decorated either with detailed polychrome glyphs or blue-filled outline glyphs. The area on either side of this central inscription is further subdivided into smaller, rectangular cells by thick bands of lateral chevron and block patterns. These cells contain simple vignettes accompanied by captions of gods' names in blue-filled outline glyphs mirrored around the central column. All four of the coffins discussed here have detailed polychrome inscriptions running from the shoulder to the foot on the side of the basin. On one coffin, that of Irbastetwedjanefu, the inscriptions continue in multiple columns on the back.

The long texts on the coffins consist of offering formulae which are variable in content. On two of the three coffins, the side inscriptions invoke Osiris on one side and Re-Harakhte-Atum on the other. The coffin of Irbastetwedjaennefu adds to these offerings for Hathor and Ptah-Sokar Osiris. The offering formulae wish for the stereotypical list of foodstuffs and for a good burial. However, the coffins of Asetii and Irbastetwedjanefu also feature the wish for "water for [the owner's] ba" which first appeared on the 3rd Intermediate Period cartonnages.

The Coffin of Asetii (Queens University Conservation Program AA 2190.A)

The coffin of a woman named Asetii<sup>658</sup> was purchased either by Jane Stanford or her brother-in-law, David Hewes between 1890 and 1905. The piece was then exhibited at the museum at Stanford University in Palo Alto, California along with nine other coffins and bodies that had been collected by the family. The piece, like most of the Stanford coffins, was purchased from Émile Brugsch. In 1906, the great San Francisco earthquake caused the roof of the Stanford Museum to collapse, crushing the Egyptian coffins exhibited beneath it. The fragments of several coffins were kept in storage at Stanford until 1989 when another quake damaged the building in which they were stored. The fragments were sent to the Phoebe Apperson Hearst Museum of Anthropology at Berkeley, and then most of them were sent to the Conservation school at Queens University in Ontario, Canada. The majority of the lid and some of the basin the coffin of Asetii survives, but it is in at least sixteen pieces. The plaster and paint are very damaged.<sup>659</sup> The texts and art on the coffin have not been analyzed and are translated Appendix III.

From the remains, we can tell that the long vertical inscriptions on the perimeter of the basin were by the same person, and that this person also was responsible for the inscription in the central band on the front. The surviving decoration consists of the decorative borders dividing the registers, the ram-headed bird on the chest, and half of the upper rightmost vignette--not enough to say anything definitive about the art style. Enough survives to ascertain that the coffin was a very close parallel to the coffins of Dihoriaut and Irbastetwedjaennefu in art style, handwriting, layout, vignette, and text selection.

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<sup>658</sup> I would like to thank Emy Kim, Kaoru Yui, and Mark Trumppour at Queens University for discussing this piece with me. I would also like to thank Madeleine Fang and Leslie Freund for talking to me about the fragments still at Berkeley and about the history of the Stanford collection.

<sup>659</sup> Amandina Anastasiades and Mark Trumppour, 'Third Intermediate Period Coffins in Queens University's Art Conservation Program: Investigation of Early Stewardship', *Journal of the Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities*, 43 (2017). I would also like to thank Madeleine Fang and Leslie Freund at the Hearst Museum.

The Coffin of Dihoriaut (Museum of Fine Arts, Budapest, 51.1995)

The second coffin with this special layout belonged to a of the God's Beloved priest Dihoriaut (*mr ntr di-ḥr-ḥw.t*) whose father was a certain "Hor" with the same title. It came to the collection of the National Museum of Budapest (51.1995) from the Archepiscopal Museum in Eger. Liptay observed that the coffin's layout and scene composition was nearly identical to that on the coffin of Irbastetwedjaennefu in Rouen, for which Aufrère proposes an Akhmim origin. Liptay thus concludes that the coffin of Dihoriaut is probably also from the site.<sup>660</sup>

This is one of the very few coffins where it is apparent that multiple people worked on the figural drawing because there are two large sections of the decoration which exhibit a different style. The difference in quality and style between the two sides can't be explained by the location of the sloppier side--it would have been just as visible to a viewer as the more finely executed side. Furthermore, the variation in style and quality is consistent throughout the whole area where it occurs.

The three vignettes on the lid to the right of the central column are drawn in a very simplified fashion. The eyes are reduced to a black dot on all of the figures in this area. Qebhsenuef's face is a rough circle with a protruding triangle for a beak. The dividing lines between the registers are crooked in relation to each other and the vignettes and the chevron



Figure 82: Detail of the two sides of the coffin of Dihoriaut showing the two different figure drawing styles and handwritings. Photograph courtesy of the Museum of Fine Arts, Budapest.

pattern is less precisely drawn. The faces of all the human figures are reduced to a very simple profile with a sharp point for a nose and chin. The art on the left side of the lid is very similar to

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<sup>660</sup> Liptay, *Coffins and Coffin Fragments of the Third Intermediate Period*, pp. 58–61.

that which occurs on the coffins by the Paenbes artist, including ÄS 17940. That on the left-hand side is without parallel elsewhere in the corpus (Figure 82).<sup>661</sup>

In short, the art and inscription on the coffins of Dihoriaut were written by at least two people. One was more skilled than the other and worked on the right side and central figures; the other was less skilled and worked on the left side. It is difficult to say if the two artists split the duty of writing the two lateral inscriptions on the basin. These inscriptions are generally more hastily drawn and colored than the central inscription on all three of the coffins in this group, probably because they were less visible. When writing the captions, the scribe who worked on the left side actually seems to mimic the style of that on the right side. The result is sign forms that are the same, but drawn in a less controlled fashion.

The Coffin of Irbastetwedjaennefu (Musées Départementaux de Seine-Maritime AEG 1857.10)



Figure 83: A second hand on the coffin of Ir-bastet-wedja-nefu? Photo courtesy of the Musées Départementaux de Siene-Marime, Rouen.

The coffin of Irbastetwedjaennefu came to the collection of the Musées Départementaux de Seine-Maritime in 1889 from the antiquities dealer Marius Panagyotis Tano, through whose hands many items from Akhmim and Sohag are known to have passed. However, the coffin's owner is untitled, and in the museum's catalogue, Aufrère associates the piece with Akhmim by noting orthographic similarities with two coffins in Morlaix thought to have originated in Akhmim<sup>662</sup> which were acquired by that museum in the 19th century.<sup>663</sup> Aufrère transcribed the texts on the coffin, but the back of the coffin is damaged, and the transcription in the damaged areas has some mistakes.<sup>664</sup>

The coffin of Irbastetwedjaennefu presents a bit of a challenge when evaluating how many hands worked on the piece. In the first register, the figure of Osiris on either side of the central column has an undifferentiated blob of a head, with a short, curly goatee (Figure 83). The rest of the figures in all the registers have figures which are more finely executed, and in the style of the Paenbes artist. The crudely drawn faces are in the center of the coffin--right where the viewer looks. Furthermore, the botched area is limited to the heads of the figures of

<sup>661</sup> There is a slight chance that the more crudely painted area is a modern repainting because the coffin did undergo extensive repainting in modern times. However, we know about this repainting because the National Museum Budapest undertook a conservation project to detect, remove, and restore the repainted areas, and to publish the results. To propose that the area in question is modern would be to propose that the conservationists at the museum missed half the coffin. Irén Vozil, 'Restauration d'un Cercueil Momiforme de Basse Époque', *Bulletin de Musée Hongrois Des Beaux Arts*, 55 (1980), 17–22.

<sup>662</sup> These are Musée des beaux arts Morlaix (formerly Musée des Jacobins) Inventory 1.1974 and 2.1974. Number 1.1974 is an outer coffin that has a close parallel in Florence which is known to be from Akhmim, Museo Egizio Firenze 6531. The later is a Group A coffin belonging to a man named Ankhhor which is discussed at the end of this chapter. It is unprovenanced.

<sup>663</sup> Aufrère, pp. 21–22. Note that Aufrère also notes the similarity of the piece with the coffin of Dihoriaut in Budapest.

<sup>664</sup> Specifically, the "Water to your ba" formula appears but is damaged at the beginning, and I do not agree with Aufrère's reconstruction of the text. However, this study will have to wait for another paper.

Osiris. The rest of his body is delicately drawn in both vignettes. The placement and limited scope of the work make it hard to assign this work to a second ancient artist. Perhaps the piece was repainted poorly in modern times after being damaged. The fact that Osiris' face is red on this coffin may support this. The god of the dead's face is green when he is in his shrouded form on all the other coffins of this type and in Egyptian art generally.

The coffin of Tjesaset Musée Ochier, Cluny 888.1.1

For the sake of completion here, we ought to mention the coffin of Tjesaset(peret),<sup>665</sup> which could not be studied in detail for this work but is very similar in appearance to the three coffins discussed above. This piece was gifted to the museum by Pierre Grand in 1888 along with its original occupant, who was very destructively unwrapped at some point after. Though the coffin consistently refers to the woman as Tjesaset (*ts-šs.t*), the name has been amended to "Tjesiset(peret)" in the literature.<sup>666</sup> In the following, I've chosen to leave the name as it was originally written. The owner is otherwise untitled. The piece is associated with Akhmim, apparently on stylistic grounds.<sup>667</sup>

The coffin has the same layout and general appearance as the three coffins discussed above. The first register features Osiris with Nephthys and then with Isis on opposite sides of the central column. Nephthys' emblem is drawn with the frontal step. A tiny tree is drawn in front of Osiris in the Nephthys and Osiris scene. This same tree occurred on the coffin of Dihoriaut. The second register features the three of the four sons of Horus, mummiform and holding colored cloths. Duamutef is missing, and in his place behind Hapy on the occupant's right side of the lid stands the *Imentet* standard.

The coffin has a slightly different shape than the three discussed above. The foot is much flatter, and the ankles are only slightly higher than the level of the pedestal. The coffin has a third register depicting a wedjat eye on both sides of the central column and facing it. The Goyon interprets the decoration on the foot as being sandaled feet, but the design is unclear from the pictures, and it is possible that he mistook the wing of the one-winged solar disk usually in this location for the shape of a foot.

The coffin is unpainted on the back and only one side has a long inscription--the other side consists of patterned bands only. This long inscription features an offering formula in which the deceased wishes for bread, beer, fowl, beef, incense, and cloth from Re-Harakhte. This is a longer version of the inscription in the center column, which cuts off after wishing for "beef".

A Lower-Elite Design Pattern for 25th/26th Dynasty Akhmim?

All three of these coffins, though unprovenanced, were produced, at least in part, by the Paenbes artist. The goddesses have long backs, thick buttocks, short legs and fleshy faces.

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<sup>665</sup> Jean-Claude Goyon, 'Sarcophage Momiforme Contenant Une Momie-Tjesiset(Peret)', in *Les Collections Egyptiennes Dans Les Musees de Saone-et-Loire* (Autun: Autun Bibliothèque Municipale, 1988), pp. 223–27.

<sup>666</sup> Brech, pp. 62–63; Goyon.

<sup>667</sup> Though Goyon is undoubtedly correct, his logic is hard to follow since his citation (Niwiński, 'Sarg NR-SpZt', pp. 446–47, fig 9.) says little about Akhmim and the referenced drawing is of a Theban cartonnage Goyon, p. 226.

When Nephthys is depicted on the coffins of Irbastetwedjaennefu and Dihoriaut, the emblem on her head has the protruding step in front (Figure 84). The handwriting on all the pieces has a high affinity to the handwriting on ÄS 17940, which in turn is like that on the Paenbes coffins. However, the handwriting is rougher on these coffins than on any of the Group A coffins. In general, this statement describes all the art and text on these three coffins: they are like that on the Paenbes type Group A coffins, but less carefully executed.



Figure 84: Comparison of the figure of Nephthys on the coffins of a) Paenbes (Lisbon) b) Paenbes (Bridgeporte) c) Anonymous (SMB ÄS 17940) d) Irbastetwedjaennefu (Rouen) e) Dihoriaut (Budapest) and, as a control, f) Besenmut (Leicester)

In addition to their less careful execution, the vignettes on the coffins are similar in theme to those on the Group A coffins, but less ichnographically rich. The three pieces all use the same basic layout that appeared on the coffin of Djedhoriwefankh in Buffalo; the large ram-headed bird beneath the collar and vertically subdivided surface is not alien to Akhmim. On the coffin of Djedhoriwefankh, however, the scenes on either side of the central column were two halves of scenes from the canonical Group A repertoire which were rearranged compositionally to fit the symmetry requirements of the layout.

The scenes on the three unprovenanced coffins discussed above are more theologically simple than those on the Group A coffins, but subtly reference them. The top two vignettes on all three coffins feature Osiris, enshrouded in the same position he assumes in the "Osiris in a Tree" scene on the Group A coffins. As in that scene, he carries a long staff as well as a crook and flail. On one side of the column, Isis appears behind him, supporting his crown. On the other side, Nephthys. This gesture echoes the gesture of the goddess standing behind Re-Harakhte in the "Judgement Before Re-Harakhte" register of all the Group A coffins. As if in a nod to this scene, the god Atum as a snake-headed mummiform deity appears in the periphery of the scene on the coffin of Asetii like he did in the judgement scene on the coffin of Besenmut. On the coffin of Ankhpakhered, Isis is standing behind Osiris supporting his crown



in the Tree scene as well. As if to allude to the tree scene, small trees appear around the god in the two vignettes on the first register of the coffin of Dihoriaut.

The second vignette on these three coffins features the mummiform sons of Horus, two on each side, facing the center. The sons appear on the first register of the Group A coffins, where they are reflected around the Abydos fetish.<sup>668</sup> Finally, these three coffins are linked to the group A coffins by the one-winged solar disk which is always positioned over the ankles in the bottom register.

The central themes of Solar-Osirian rebirth and protection are expressed very simply and directly on the coffins of Asetii, Dihoriaut, and Irbastetwedjanefu, both in the iconography and text. The decoration is characterized by quick and somewhat rough execution. Two of the three coffin owners are women for whom a genealogy is not provided. The third belongs to a man with the title of God's Beloved (*mry ntr*), which, occurring alone as it does here, is not indicative of a high station in the temple hierarchy. It seems then that the key to understanding how these pieces relate the similar Group A pieces, with which they must have been concurrent, is to consider them an alternate design pattern. This design pattern was probably available to (and expressed the beliefs of) the lower-elite at Akhmim during the 25th and 26th dynasty in a fashion similar to the way the Lotus Cultivators at Thebes shared a coffin style that expressed a different mechanism for rebirth than that of the Theban High elite.<sup>669</sup>

#### *The Coffins of Iwefaa, Tatjenef, and Irethoreru*

There are three coffins which share enough features with the Group A coffins that their creators must have been related to the Group A workshop in some way. However, their closest parallels are each other. This is frustrating since two of the pieces, the coffins of Iwefaa and Tatjenef, have no provenience or collection history that might tie them to Akhmim or any other site. The coffin of Irethoreru has as firm an Akhmim provenience as any piece discussed in this work, but the coffin itself is now lost. It is only known from an old photograph.

#### The Coffin of Irethoreru, Current Location Unknown

The coffin of Irethoreru appears in a several old photographs of the same three coffins. These photographs were originally part of an album of photographs by P. Sebah and Gabriel Lekegian. The captions on the different versions of the same photographs give important information: these coffins are a "*type de cercueil en bois d'Akhmim*." The captions also indicate that the photos were taken in the "*Musée de Gizeh, galerie funéraire*." The photographs must therefore have been taken between 1891 and 1902, when the state collection of antiquities in Egypt was hosted in a palace at Giza while the Tahrir Square Museum was under construction. This was within a decade of the Maspero excavations at Akhmim. The coffin in the center of the display is the coffin of Djedhor, today in the Tahrir Square Museum in Cairo with the number TR 6/9/16/1. However, the current location of the piece on the right, which concerns us here, is

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<sup>668</sup> They take the form of nude children on the coffin of Paenbes in Lisbon and animal headed nude children on the coffin of Iwefaa in Berkeley.

<sup>669</sup> Taylor, 'Evidence for Social Patterning on Theban Coffins of Dynasty 25'.

unknown. The name on the coffin is Irethoreru-- an extremely common name at Akhmim. Our search for Irethoreru's coffin ultimately comes up empty because his name is so common, and because and no filiation or titles with which to associate the owner of the coffin with another monument are readable in the photographs.

The scenes on the coffin of Irethoreru are composed in such a way that the author of them must have been using the Group A models and been familiar with the Group A design pattern. However, there are some interesting differences in the layout. The upper half of the lid below the collar consists of two registers mirrored around a central vignette spanning the entire height of the area. The central register is decorated with an Abydos fetish emerging from a mountain, but without the usual flanking mummiform lions. *djed* pillars stand to the right and the left of the column. The characters in the registers to the right and the left of the central vignette are familiar. Here are Horus and Thoth, the four sons of Horus as mummiform figures with animal heads, and two goddesses whose labels are not readable but who are probably Isis and Nephthys. This configuration of the Abydos Fetish scene (which usually occurs in the first horizontal register on the Group A coffins) is not unknown at Akhmim. The second outer coffin of Qenhor<sup>670</sup> divides the area around the fetish into vertical registers in a similar way (See below for more on this piece).

The area below the Abydos fetish scene is divided into three more horizontal registers which contain scenes familiar from Group A and in the same order: a mummification scene with Anubis as the embalmer, and a scene of Osiris in a Tree. In the later, Osiris and Isis both stand together a thicket of trees without a base. The obelisks in the scene are gone, and the composition is much like that on the coffin of Ankhpakhered. To the side of the scene is a new figure: a libating tree with an arm.<sup>671</sup> The final register, on the foot, features a mummiform falcon as is usual on the Group A coffins. The piece differs from the Group A in that two scenes are omitted: the judgement of the deceased before Re-Harakhte, and the scene where Isis leans over Osiris enthroned.

The individual characters in the inscription are very finely drawn and detailed. No hieratic forms are apparent from the photograph. However, the author does not space the glyphs evenly within a given column, or size them consistently with the other glyphs in the same context. The result can be rather uneven and asymmetrical in appearance in a way that is jarring to an eye used to Egyptian art. This coffin also uses some unusual orthographies which do not appear elsewhere in the corpus, such as the spelling of the name "Osiris" with the wedjat eye and a glyph of a standing mummiform deity.

The Coffins of Iwefaa, Phoebe A Hearst Museum of Anthropology, Berkeley 6-19928 (Inner) and 6-19912 (Outer)

The coffins of Iwefaa were purchased by George Reisner for Phoebe Hearst in the first decade of the 20th century. They have been in the collection of the museum since, but nothing

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<sup>670</sup> Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, AE 8499

<sup>671</sup> The anthropomorphized tree is generally associated with the vignettes for chapters 57 and 59 of the Book of the Dead during the Ptolemaic Period. It is difficult to tell whether the tree here is meant to invoke those spells, or to mean something else in the context of the scene with Osiris and Isis in the larger tree. Quirke, p. 140,145.

is known about where Reisner got them.<sup>672</sup> The piece belonged to an untitled man named Iwefaa, whose father's name is difficult to read, but which was probably Nespaqaishuty. The inner coffin follows the Group A Design pattern, without the scene where Isis leans over Osiris (usually the second register from the collar). Each side of the basin features a long column of inscription in large polychrome glyphs like the ones which occur on the lower-elite coffins of Asetii, Dihoriaut and Irbastetwedjanefu described above. The back is occupied by a mummiform deity with a plumed crown. Small figures of Isis and Nephthys stand at his shoulders. The text on the coffin lid consists of captions and abridged versions of Spells 89 and 91 of the Book of the Dead, which are written around the foot.<sup>673</sup> The top of the head features an interesting vignette of a falcon-headed deity standing between two scarabs.

The decoration of the outer coffin is executed on a thin layer of yellow paint through which the grain of the wood is visible. It consists of two columns of text which is a combined version of Book of the Dead spell 51 and 52. Below the collar on the chest is a square pectoral vignette which features the deceased standing before Thoth in the form of a baboon. The top of the head features a winged scarab, and the inside surface of the coffin is decorated with a drawing of the goddess Nut, face in profile, stretching her arms up onto the side of the coffin to embrace the deceased.

A comparison between glyphs which occur on both the outer and inner coffins with the animal heads appearing on the figural drawings reveals that not only were the outer and inner coffins inscribed by the same person, but that this person was also the artist who executed the figural drawing.<sup>674</sup>

The closest parallel to the art on the inner coffin is the coffin of Irethoreru discussed above. The two coffins were probably drafted by the same artist. In the Osiris in a Tree, scene, Isis and Osiris stand together amidst the branches as they do on the coffin of Ankhpakhered. Like the coffin of Ankhpakhered, the leaves were made by regularly stamping the cut stem of a plant. The fruits of the tree cling to the branches on the coffin of Iwefaa as they do on the coffin of Irethoreru, rather than floating amidst the leaves as they do on the other Group A coffins.

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<sup>672</sup> For the most current information on this piece, see: Rita Lucarelli, Kea Johnston, and Mark-jan Nederhof, 'Book of the Dead in 3D: PAHMA 6-19927', 2018; Rita Lucarelli, Kea Johnston, and Mark-jan Nederhof, 'Book of the Dead in 3D: PAHMA 6-19912', 2018.

<sup>673</sup> Johnston, 'Spells in the Margins'.

<sup>674</sup> This can be seen by comparing the head of the bull F1 on the sides of the inner coffin and central inscription of the outer coffin with the head of Hathor in the second register from the top. Both have squarish ears and snout which angles almost straight downwards. The end of the muzzle is squared rather than rounded. Likewise, the cursive handwriting in the captions features with characters that have similar shapes to the ones in the monumental side inscriptions. See especially, the seated man A40.



The two coffins share other small details. Both are the only coffins in the Group A corpus to have falcon-headed terminals on the collar. This detail appears on the late and Ptolemaic Akhmim coffins and may hint at a later date in the corpus for these two. The canopic jars have again changed shapes. On the coffins of Irethoreru and Iwefaa, they appear as teardrop-shaped vessels on stands, around which a plant stem curls. On both coffins, the heads of the jackal-headed gods have the same shape. Their eyes protrude significantly from the tops of their heads. Their snouts are long and sharp, the mouth-line is straight, and the jaw is very thin. On both coffins, Anubis' ears are the same color as his headdress rather than his face (Figure 85). The anthropomorphic libating tree appears again on the coffin of Iwefaa. This time, it appears in the mummified falcon scene on the foot.



Figure 85: Anubis and Osiris on the coffins of Iwefaa (left) and Irethoreru (right).

While the coffins of Iwefaa and Irethoreru appear to be by the same artist, the handwriting in the text is different on the two pieces. The glyphs are not as carefully drawn on the coffin of Iwefaa as they are on the coffin of Irethoreru. Instead, the handwriting on the coffin of Iwefaa has affinities both with the low-elite group and with the coffin of Ankhpakhered. Rather than being outlined and filled, the glyphs on the coffin of Iwefaa are simply written with a black brush in a calligraphic fashion. In this way, the hand on the coffin is most comparable to that on the coffin of Ankhpakhered, which also featured black characters with numerous hieratic inclusions. The quail chick glyph on the side inscriptions of the Ankhpakhered's coffin and Iwefaa's coffin both have a right leg that is set so far forward that it seems to emerge from the belly of the bird. The word "Thoth" on both coffins is written with an ibis on a standard rather than a lone ibis.

However, many of the polychrome glyphs on the sides assume the same forms as they do on the coffins of the low-elite group and on the Anonymous coffin ÄS 17940. The walking-stick glyph (S43) has a shovel-like bottom, and the two protrusions to the side of the tenon of the column glyph (O28), flare out to the side. The O29 column glyph in in the word has three prongs at the top rather than a diamond shape. The ka sign has a wedge in the center. However, some glyphs are drawn slightly differently by the Iwefaa scribe than they appear on the lower-elite group--the loaf on the offering table glyph (R4) is diamond shaped. The rope-twist (V28) is slightly crooked. The orthographies of all the words in the offering formulae on the sides are also very similar between the coffin of Iwefaa and the lower-elite group. So, while the Iwefaa scribe does not seem to be the same as the one who worked on the coffins of

Dihoriaut and Irbastetwedjanefu, he probably worked closely with them or was trying to imitate their work.

The Outer Coffin of Tatjenef, National Museum of Scotland A 1907.591

The outer coffin of a woman named Tatjenef was purchased in 1907 from S. G. Fenton and Sons in London.<sup>675</sup> Its decoration consists of a central column of polychrome text painted on a plain yellow ground through which the wood is still partially visible. The text consists of the "water to your ba" offering formula. The piece has published as part of a museum catalogue, though the texts have not been translated.<sup>676</sup>

Above this is a rectangular pectoral vignette of the deceased standing before a baboon with a solar disk on its head. The top of the scene is formed by the sky glyph, while the sides are



Figure 86: Scene of Thoth the Twice Great on the coffins of Iwefaa (left) and Tatjenef (right).

formed by the glyphs for east (behind the deceased) and west (behind the baboon). The scene is almost identical to the one which appears on the outer coffin of Iwefaa discussed above except that in the Iwefaa scene, the positions of the deceased and the baboon are reversed, and the deceased stands next to the "west" while the baboon is seated before a pyramid-shaped tomb chapel. The text on the Berkeley version of the vignette is lost, but the inscription in the scene on Tatjenef's coffin gives us a little more context for the scene. The baboon is Thoth the Twice Great. The scene is very rare on coffins,<sup>677</sup> and it must have been copied from the same model with some adjustments. The scene is more carefully executed on the coffin of Tatjenef than it is on the coffin of Iwefaa, and this observation holds for all of the decoration on the coffin of Tatjenef in comparison with Iwefaa's outer coffin.

The closest match for the orthography and paleography on the coffin of Tatjenef is again the low-elite group, that is the coffins of Dihoriaut and Irbastetwedjanefu. The handwritings of the coffin of Tatjenef and Dihoriaut are almost identical, including the throne glyph (Q3), which has the same sharply angled seat on the coffin of Tatjenef as it sometimes does on the coffin of Dihoriaut. There is one peculiarity of paleography that appears in the Tatjenef text that

<sup>675</sup> This piece and its newly discovered inner coffin basin is the subject of a forthcoming paper by John Taylor, which will discuss its collection history further.

<sup>676</sup> Bill Manley and Aidan Dodson, *Life Everlasting: National Museums Scotland Collection of Ancient Egyptian Coffins* (Edinburgh: NMS Enterprises, 2010).

<sup>677</sup> I have been unable to locate any more pieces with this vignette on them.

does not appear elsewhere, and that is the substitution of the Min standard (R22) for the door-bolt glyph in the feminine suffix pronoun (O34). That this doesn't occur on other coffins may simply be due to the fact the texts on the other two comparable coffins of women simply never have cause to use the pronoun.

The coffins of Irethoreru, Iwefaa and Tatjenef should be considered products of the Group A workshop. The coffins of Irethoreru and Iwefaa both utilize the Group A vignettes, which are arranged on the coffin in the same order as they are on the group A coffins. Additionally, the artist who decorated and inscribed the coffins of Iwefaa seems to have been responsible for the figural decoration on the coffin of Irethoreru. The orthography and paleography on the coffins of Tatjenef and Iwefaa have a close affinity to the coffins of Dihoriaut and Irbastetwedjanefu. The coffin of Iwefaa, additionally, has some similarities paleographically with the coffin of Ankhpakhered.

#### Other Group A Pieces

There were a few pieces that must stem from the group A workshop because of their choice of iconography and layout. However, these could not be covered in detail in this work. They are worth mentioning briefly here.

*The Coffins of Paeniw, Roemer-Pelizaeus Museum, Hildesheim, 1902 a (outer) 1902b (middle), 1902c (cartonnage)*

Paeniw was a "watcher of Temple of Min, lord of Akhmim" (*s'w n pr mnw nb ipw*). His father was a "watcher of the Temple of Min, Horus, and Isis," Djedkhonsuiwefankh. His mummified remains, cartonnage and two outer coffins are now in Hildesheim, where they have been since 1886.<sup>678</sup> The cartonnage and inner coffin are beautifully decorated and have been published in several museum catalogues<sup>679</sup> as well as in Brech's study.<sup>680</sup> The outer coffin is painted black and undecorated. The coffin features a tabulated negative confession and other excerpts from Book of the Dead spell 125, as well as excerpts from Book of the Dead Spells 30 and, on the sides of the piece interspersed among images of guardian demons, a shortened version of spell 147. All the text on both published coffins is in neatly spaced outlined glyphs which are filled with blue paint. The vignettes in the horizontal registers of the cartonnage do not follow the canonical Group A order--the mummification scene is in the location usually occupied by the Osiris in a Tree scene, which, in turn, is inserted in the third register, right above the Judgement before Re Harakhte. Based on the shapes of the canopic jars in the mummification scene and on the shape of the Nephthys glyph, this piece was probably painted and inscribed by artists in the circle of the Besenmut artist.

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<sup>678</sup> *Pelizaeus Museum Hildesheim: The Egyptian Collection*, ed. by Arne Eggebrecht, Robert Steven Bianchi, and Pelizaeus-Museum (Mainz: Verlag Philipp von Zabern, 1996), pp. 10–11.

<sup>679</sup> Albert Ippel and Günther Roeder, *Die Denkmäler des Pelizaeus-Museums zu Hildesheim* (Berlin : Karl Curtius Verlag, 1921), pp. 97–98 <<http://archive.org/details/diedenkmlderdes00peliuoft>> [accessed 11 January 2022]; Eggebrecht, Bianchi, and Pelizaeus-Museum, pp. 78–79; Arne Eggebrecht, *Suche Nach Unsterblichkeit. Ägypten in Mannheim*. (Mainz: von Zabern, 1990), pp. 62-64,78-80.

<sup>680</sup> Brech, pp. 80–83.

*The Coffins of Qenhor, Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung Staatliche Museen zu Berlin (SMB) ÄS 8497 (Qersu coffin), ÄS 8498 (Red Outer Coffin), ÄS 8499 (Yellow Outer Coffin) and ÄS 8500 (Cartonnage)*

Qenhor held the titles of God's Father, God's Beloved, and Stolist in the temple of Min. His father was the God's Father and stolist Tjathor. His elaborate and brilliantly painted set of four coffins was purchased for the Berlin Museum from Émile Brugsch. The pieces have been described in several museum catalogues<sup>681</sup> and by Brech as well.<sup>682</sup> The cartonnage is covered in blackened resin which has been ritually poured over it, and so its iconographic program is difficult to study. The decoration on the edges which is still visible is reminiscent of the coffin of Paeniw discussed above, and of the cartonnages of the Proto-A group. The first enveloping coffin is yellow with a red face and features a small version of the Abydos Fetish adoration scene between the lappets of the wig. A crouching jackal tops the offering formula to Re-Harakhte Atum in the central column. The coffin which encloses this has a red ground and a green face and features an offering formula to Ptah-Sokar-Osiris.<sup>683</sup>

For this work, only the outer Qersu coffin could be examined in detail. The basin walls are decorated by human-headed mummiform deities in shrines, and the vaulted features multiple vignettes. Especially interesting are the jackal figures on the lunettes on the ends of the lid, and the vignettes of a mummiform falcon on a shrine who are painted on each corner of the coffin. These correspond to figures that are sometimes carved from wood and mounted on the corner posts and lid of *qersu* coffins from Thebes. The texts consist of polychrome glyphs which give a combination of captions and offering formulae. The "Water to your Ba" offering formula appears on the corner posts.

As for the scribe and artist, the Qersu coffin the orthography on is nearly identical to that on the coffin Djedhoriwefankh in Buffalo, and the paleography is very similar to that on the Besenmut group of coffins. The art style on the Qersu coffin of Qenhor is also very similar to that on the coffins by the Besenmut artist.

*The Coffin of Hornakht, Musée des Beaux Arts, Morlaix 2.1974*

The coffin of the untitled Hornakht entered the collection of the Musée des Beaux Arts, formerly the Musée des Jacobins between 1887 and 1896 as a gift from a certain M. A. Alphen. The piece was published in a short 1984 article, which provided detailed drawings of the piece, but no photographs.<sup>684</sup>

The coffin follows the Group A layout and general order of scenes but omits the Osiris in a Tree scene. If the drawings in the publication are to be trusted, this piece can be associated with the coffins by the Paenbes artist. The canopic jars in the embalming scene are rounded, Nephthys' emblem has a step at the front. The depiction of Atum as a snake in the judgement

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<sup>681</sup> See especially Germer, Kischkewitz, and Lüning.

<sup>682</sup> Brech, pp. 73–79.

<sup>683</sup> Germer, Kischkewitz, and Lüning.

<sup>684</sup> Jean-Claude Hugonot, 'Les Cercueils Egyptiens Du Musée de Morlaix', *Göttinger Miszellen*, 82 (1984).

scene is very similar to that on the coffin of Paenbes in Bridgeport. It is harder to say anything definitive about the handwriting, given the photographs give only a rough outline of each character. However, it too seems to have a close parallel with the Paenbes artist's pieces.

*The coffin of Paswedja, Louvre E11219*

This coffin of a woman belonged to the artist Theodore Ralli, whose son-in-law Nicholas Politis ultimately donated the piece to the Louvre in 1911. Nothing is known about where Ralli obtained the piece, or whether Paswedja's remains are still inside.<sup>685</sup> Little is known of Paswedja, either except that her father was named Padiaset.<sup>686</sup> The coffin of Paswedja was mentioned in Koemoth's monograph *'Osiris et les Arbres'*,<sup>687</sup> but is otherwise unpublished. Today it is on loan to the Musée de la Castre in Cannes.

The piece has the canonical Group A layout, but omits the scene with Isis and Osiris, usually the second register. This omission, which occurs also on the coffin ÄS 17940, as well as the round shape of the canopic jars hints that this piece should be seen as a parallel to the coffins in the Paenbes group.

Understanding Workshop A

The eighteen pieces discussed here were all made in the same workshop, using the same vignettes and operating under the same understanding of how the coffin decoration should work for the deceased. Most of the pieces were by one of three different artists, or by one of three groups of artists working so closely together that individual styles are hard to differentiate. Assuming the former situation, we can call these the Besenmut Artist, the Paenbes Artist, and the artist of the now lost coffin of Irethoreru. Additionally, the artists or artist who produced the figural drawings on the Paenbes coffins also worked on three coffins which might be considered products for a lower elite clientele. These are generally lower quality in their draftsmanship and feature simplified versions of the Group A vignettes in a different layout. It is on one of these pieces, the coffin of Dihoriaut, where we see signs that multiple people worked on the figural decoration of a single coffin. In the other cases, it seems like one person executed all the figural decoration. No direct parallels for the coffin of Ankhpakhered in Asti were found, but the piece has some iconographic affinities with the group of coffins by the Irethoreru artist. The two coffins may have been decorated by co-workers.

The situation for the paleography and orthography is more complicated. Again, most of the coffins fall into one of three groups where a selection of signs has the same morphological forms on the same piece. Again, the pieces in each of these groups were either by the same scribe or were by multiple scribes who were all working very hard to create similar products.

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<sup>685</sup> I would like to thank Patricia Rigault-Deon and Audrey Viger for providing me with information on this piece on 2/9/2017.

<sup>686</sup> It would be useful for the relative dating of the Paenbes group and the Besenmut group if this Padiaset were the same as the owner of KHM ÄS 8901 and 8902, but this is the topic for a study more aimed at prosopography and dating.

<sup>687</sup> Koemoth, pp. 149–51.

The paleographical markers for the different scribes can be seen in Figure 80. The first group corresponds to the coffins by the Besenmut artist, which all have very similar orthography and paleography. Within this group, the coffins of Padiaset (KHM ÄS 8901 and 8902) seem to have been decorated and inscribed by the same person. This may have been the case with other pieces in the group as well.

The second scribe worked on the coffin of Paenbes (Bridgeporte) and Paenbes (Lisbon). He may also have worked on the coffins of Hornakhte and Paswedja, but those pieces could not be analyzed. However, other pieces that seem to have been executed by the Paenbes artist were inscribed by a third scribe. This scribe implemented the text on the coffins of the Low-Elite subgroup and the coffin of the Anonymous Woman, ÄS 17940. In Figure 80, his work is represented by the paleography on ÄS 17940. The text on the outer coffin of Tatjenef may have been written by the ÄS 17940 scribe as well.

The coffins of Ankhpakhered, Irethoreru, and Iwefaa are one-off pieces as far as handwriting is concerned. They are all distinct from each other and probably by different people. No exact parallels for the handwriting and artistic hand on the coffin of Ankhpakhered were found, although the composition of the Osiris in a tree scene is similar to that on the coffins of Iwefaa and Irethoreru. There are also some paleographical similarities between Ankhpakhered and Iwefaa, even though they probably weren't by the same person. The artist who drew the figural drawing on the coffin of Irethoreru drew the vignettes and wrote the text on the inner and outer coffins of Iwefaa. His orthography and paleography are similar to that appearing on the ÄS 17490 group but have some peculiar features. The text on the coffin of Irethoreru seems to have been written by a scribe whose work is not attested on any of the other pieces.

While these different groups may have existed simultaneously the presence of cartonnages in the Besenmut group, and the lack thereof among the Paenbes and Irethoreru groups, indicates that the groups may instead correspond to generations of artists at the same workshop. This finds some support in the form factor of the Asti coffin (Ankhpakhered): the rectangular (ie, not sculpted) foot, short pedestal, and only partially rendered back-pillar may point to a later date. Workshop A represents a continuation of the Proto-A workshop in the 22nd and 23rd dynasties. If the above outlined artistic and scribal groups indeed represent generations of artists and scribes, Brech's proposition that this workshop operated into beginning of the Persian period is probably correct.

The following is a summary of the features of the different artists in the Workshop A.

Besenmut Artist	Paenbes Artist	Irethoreru Artist	Ankhpakhered Artist
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Goddesses have clear necks.</li> <li>• Goddesses are slender and well-proportioned.</li> <li>• Goddess' dresses have sashes and clearly delineated straps.</li> <li>• Humans have rounded eyes</li> <li>• Atum as a snake is slender and undulating</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Goddesses have necks which are not clearly delineated from lower jaw.</li> <li>• Lions flanking Abydos fetish are winged and have large, rounded toes.</li> <li>• Thoth's beak is long and has a gradual arch.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Goddesses are well proportioned.</li> <li>• Goddesses have a triangular or twisted strap on their dress, well delineated from dress.</li> <li>• Anubis has a long snout with no clear nose and angled,</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Mountain glyph out of which the Abydos fetish emerges is flattened at the top.</li> <li>• Lions flanking Abydos fetish have no wings.</li> </ul>

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Thoth has a beak that curves sharply downward.</li> <li>• Horus' lower beak arches downwards, making him appear to look down.</li> <li>• Canopic jars are tall and have concave sides.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Goddesses have long backs and short legs.</li> <li>• Straps on goddess' dresses often not separated from dress.</li> <li>• Human faces often have a fleshy appearance.</li> <li>• Nephthys glyph has a frontal protrusion. Isis' emblem is often missing its bottom step.</li> <li>• Canopic jars have convex sides.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• almond-shaped eyes.</li> <li>• Canopic jars are drop-shaped and have wooden stands.</li> <li>• Lions flanking Abydos Fetish have no wings, have large, rounded toes.</li> <li>• Nephthys glyph has frontal protrusion and Isis glyph is sometimes lacking bottom step.</li> <li>• Use of stamping technique for leaves.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Atum as snake is slender and undulating.</li> <li>• Hathor's eye emerges from the top of her head.</li> <li>• Faces of animal and human deities crudely drawn.</li> <li>• Use of stamping technique for leaves, feathers.</li> </ul>
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#### Design Patterns for the Pictorial Coffins and Cartonnages of the 25th and 26th Dynasty

There are two main design patterns for Workshop. A: the "elite-design" and the "lower-elite" design. The differences between them are probably undergirded by differing beliefs about how the coffin was thought to work for its owner. An example of this can be seen when comparing the low-elite coffins with the canonical Group A coffins. Each vignette on the Group A coffins expresses a subtle combination of Solar and Osirian themes. For example, the central figure in the Osiris in a Tree vignette is Osiris, but the obelisks on either side of the tree probably represent the two horizons. Osiris between the Horizons is implicitly equated with Re. A similar symbolism is occurring with the depiction of the Abydos fetish emerging from the mountain in the first register. The fetish, a symbol of Osiris, literally replaces the solar disk in the horizon glyphs. However, on the lower-elite group, the concepts of Re and Osiris are more separated, and discrete, even being placed on different areas of the coffin. The texts consist of an Offering formula to the solar deity on one side of the basin and an offering to Osiris on the other. The vignettes are entirely dedicated to Osirian symbolism. The ram-headed bird on the chest is ambiguous and could be interpreted as an entirely solar figure or as the merged solar-Osirian Ba of Osiris.

The elite design represents a hardening of the canon developed in the Proto-A group of cartonnage. Most of the pieces follow a rigid framework for what scenes must be included and in which order they must occur. There are a few differences which emerge between the groups of artists and scribes that produced coffins on this design pattern. The Paenbes artists seem to consider dispensable the scene where the central element is Isis leaning over Osiris. The Irethoreru artist and Ankhpakhered artist eliminate it entirely. The Ankhpakhered artist has also decided to replace the Embalming Scene and the Mummified Falcon scene on the foot. Finally, the artist of Djedhoriwefankh's coffin combined the layout of the low-elite coffins with the vignette selection from the elite design pattern, making a unique hybrid of the two.

*The Elite Design Pattern for Workshop A (Outer Anthropoid Coffin)*

Layout	Text	Examples
Columns of text topped by a vignette of the Deceased before Thoth as a Baboon	BD 51, 52	Iwefaa (PAHMA 6-19912) (Central Col)
	"Water to your ba" offering formula.	Tatjenef (NMS A.1907.591) (Central Col)
Columns of text topped by reclining jackal, may have single text column on basin exterior. (Lid has side vignettes on KHM ÄS 8901)	Offering Formula to Osiris	Besenmut (L.A. 1980.1885) (Central Col) Paenbes (Lisbon E 332) (Side of Basin) Tabes (L.A. 1981.1885) <sup>688</sup>
	Offering Formula to Re-Harakhte-Atum	Padiaset (KHM ÄS 8901) (Central Col) Qenhor (SMB AEM 8499) (Central Col)
	"May you come to the Senut..."	Nespaqaishuty (Detmold) (Side of Basin) Padiaset (KHM ÄS 8901) (Lid)
Negative Confession in Tabulated Form Below a Vignette for Spell 125. Sides have guardian demons in shrines.	BD 125, BD 30, BD 145	Paeniw (RPM 1902b)

*The Group A (elite) Design Pattern for Workshop A (Inner Bivalve Coffin or Cartonnage)*

Scene	Placement	Examples
Abydos fetish flanked by Thoth and Horus	Chest, directly below collar	Besenmut (L.A. 1980.1885) Tabes (L.A. 1981.1885) Paenbes (Barnum 1894 1.2a,b) Nespaqaishuty (Detmold) Padiaset (KHM ÄS 8901) Paenbes (Lisbon E 136) Ankhpakhered (Asti 94a) Paswedja (Louvre E 11219) Anonymous (SMB AEM 17940) Hornakht (Morlaix 2.1974) Iwefaa (PAHMA 6-19928) Djedhoriwefankh (BMS 654.139) Irethoreru (Unknown)
Isis leans over Osiris while deceased offers praise.	Belly Area	Besenmut (L.A. 1980.1885) Tabes (L.A. 1981.1885) Paenbes (Barnum 1894 1.2a,b) Nespaqaishuty (Detmold) Padiaset (KHM ÄS 8902) Hornakht (Morlaix 2.1974)

<sup>688</sup> This piece was probably usurped, so the fact that it conforms to the design pattern is a coincidence.



Deceased is judged before Re-Harakhte and Atum.	Belly Area to Groin Area	Besenmut (L.A. 1980.1885) Tabes (L.A. 1981.1885) Paenbes (Barnum 1894 1.2a,b) Nespaqaishuty (Detmold) Padiaset (KHM ÄS 8901) Paenbes (Lisbon E 136) Hornakht (Morlaix 2.1974) Djedhoriwefankh (BMS 654.139) Iwefaa (PAHMA 6-19928) Ankhpakhered (Asti 94a) Paswedja (Louvre E 11219) Anonymous (SMB AEM 17940)
Vulture with spread wings	Groin Area	Ankhpakhered (Asti 94a)
Mummification Scene with either Horus (H) or Anubis (A) as Officiant	Groin to Upper Legs	Besenmut (L.A. 1980.1885) (A) Tabes (L.A. 1981.1885) (A) Paenbes (Barnum 1894 1.2a,b) (H) Nespaqaishuty (Detmold) (A) Padiaset (KHM ÄS 8901) (A) Paenbes (Lisbon E 136) (H) Paswedja (Louvre E 11219)(A) Anonymous (SMB AEM 17940)(A) Hornakht (Morlaix 2.1974) (H) Iwefaa (PAHMA 6-19928)(A) Djedhoriwefankh (BMS 654.139)(H) <sup>689</sup> Irethoreru (Unknown) (A)
Osiris in a Tree Scene	Lower Legs	Besenmut (L.A. 1980.1885) (A) Tabes (L.A. 1981.1885) (A) Paenbes (Barnum 1894 1.2a,b) (H) Nespaqaishuty (Detmold) (A) Padiaset (KHM ÄS 8901) (A) Paenbes (Lisbon E 136) (H) Paswedja (Louvre E 11219)(A) Anonymous (SMB AEM 17940)(A) Iwefaa (PAHMA 6-19928)(A) Djedhoriwefankh (BMS 654.139)(H) <sup>690</sup>
Osiris and Isis in Tree	Lower Legs	Irethoreru (Unknown) Iwefaa (PAHMA 6-19928) Ankhpakhered (Asti 94a)
Mummiform Falcon	Foot	Besenmut (L.A. 1980.1885) Tabes (L.A. 1981.1885) Paenbes (Barnum 1894 1.2a,b) Nespaqaishuty (Detmold) Padiaset (KHM ÄS 8901) Paenbes (Lisbon E 136) Paswedja (Louvre E 11219) Anonymous (SMB AEM 17940) Hornakht (Morlaix 2.1974)

<sup>689</sup> The scene appears on this coffin divided by the central column. Here it appears on the belly, above the judgement scene.

<sup>690</sup> The scene appears on this coffin divided by the central column. Here it appears on the belly, above the judgement scene.

		Iwefaa (PAHMA 6-19928) Irethoreru (Unknown)
Scarab Beetle on Red Ground	Foot	Ankhpakhered (Asti 94a)
Wepwawet of the North and South	Foot	Djedhoriwefankh (BMS 654.139)
Running Bull Without Mummy	Bottom of Pedestal	Qenhor (SMB AE 8500) Tabes (L.A. 1981.1885) Paenbes (Lisbon E 136)

*The Group A Lower-Elite Design Pattern for Workshop A (Inner Bivalve Coffin)*

The "lower-elite" design pattern is represented by three coffins. The layout and choice of vignettes is apparently fixed with little difference between the pieces. Each piece is laid out with vignettes mirrored around a central column of glyphs. The area below the collar is occupied by a ram-headed bird. Each side of the basin has a long text inscription in polychrome glyphs. On the coffins of Asetii and Dihoriaut, one side contains an offering formula to Re-Harakhte-Atum, the other to Osiris. The main visual difference between the coffins is in the colors and in small details in the otherwise compositionally identical vignettes. All three pieces were by the Paenbes artist or people who were working very closely with him.

Scene	Placement	Example
Ram-Headed Bird	Chest and Belly	Asetii (Queens AA2190.A) Irbastetwedjaennefu (Rouen Aeg 1857.10) Dihoriaut (Budapest 51.1995) Djedhoriwefankh (BMS 654.139) Tjesaset (Cluny 888.1.1)
Isis and Nephthys support Osiris' Crown	Groin, Mirrored around central column	Asetii (Queens AA2190.A) Irbastetwedjaennefu (Rouen Aeg 1857.10) Dihoriaut (Budapest 51.1995) Tjesaset (Cluny 888.1.1)
Four Sons of Horus	Legs, mirrored around central column	Asetii (Queens AA2190.A) Irbastetwedjaennefu (Rouen Aeg 1857.10) Dihoriaut (Budapest 51.1995) Tjesaset (Cluny 888.1.1)
Wedjat eyes	Ankles, mirrored around central column	Tjesaset (Cluny 888.1.1)
One-winged sun-disks	Foot, Mirrored around central column.	Asetii (Queens AA2190.A) Irbastetwedjaennefu (Rouen Aeg 1857.10) Dihoriaut (Budapest 51.1995) Tjesaset (Cluny 888.1.1)?

*Text Selection and Placement*

The text selection and placement are much more variable than the choice and placement of vignettes. In general, the captions consist of the names of gods and pledges of protection. Offering formulae are common and can occur multiple times on a single coffin. These vary in the gods invoked and in the favor that the deceased wishes to receive from the gods. Usually, the deceased wants specific foodstuffs, incense, and cloth from Osiris or Re-Harakhte-Atum. However, the formula where the deceased wishes that the same deities grant him water for his Ba is common on the Group A coffins by both the Besenmut and Paenbes artists. One coffin (Irbastetwedjaennefu, Rouen Aeg 1857.10) addresses a further wish for a good burial to Hathor and Ptah-Sokar-Osiris.

The placement of the offering formulae is probably important in the case of the lower lower-elite coffins of Asetii and Dihoriaut: both pieces have an address to Re-Harakhte on one side and one to Osiris on the other.<sup>691</sup> In other cases, such as the long text before the deceased on the coffin of Paenbes which is supposedly recited by Osiris, the placement seems more a choice of convenience.

In comparison with captions and offering formulae, Book of the Dead texts are rare on the Group A coffins. When they occur, they are often short, highly abbreviated excerpts, such as the efficiently shortened first lines of Book of the Dead spells 1 and 3 on the coffins of Ankhpakhered (Asti) and Paenbes (Bridgeporte) respectively. The only spell that is repeated on multiple pieces is Book of the Dead 125 on the coffin of Paeniw(Hildesheim) and Paenbes (Lisbon).

These two coffins use excerpts from different parts of the long spell and site them on different areas of the coffin. The excerpt from Spell 125 is placed on the back of the inner coffin of Paenbes (Lisbon), and the link between this area and the spell, if there was one, is not clear. On the coffin of Paeniw, the negative confession is reproduced in tabular form on the lid of the outer coffin. This, combined with the placement of Spell 145 on the basin of the coffin is well attested in a group of coffins in the Theban corpus.<sup>692</sup> The location of Spell 145 on the basin reinforces the idea that the basin of the coffin represents the underworld with its guardian demons. The placement of 125 on the lid could be for the practical reason that it was a large flat space where a large text could be inserted with minimal editing.<sup>693</sup> It could also have been placed here because the lid of the coffin was a place through which the deceased could emerge into a new existence.

There are a few texts that appear on the Group A coffins which defy classification. One of these is a set of proclamations by the Four Sons of Horus occurring in the Abydos Fetish register on the coffins of Paenbes (Lisbon), Ankhpakhered (Asti), and the Anonymous Woman

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<sup>691</sup> There may be an implication here that one side of the coffin is the west where Osiris resides, and the other is the East, where the sun rises. Also, we should note that on the coffin of Tjesaset, only one side was ever inscribed, the one on the deceased's left for Re-Harakhte.

<sup>692</sup> Dautant and others, pp. 189–90; Elias, 'Coffin Inscription in Egypt after the New Kingdom: A Study of Text Production and Use in Elite Mortuary Preparation', pp. 394, Note 7. Because the Akhmim pieces cannot be precisely dated, we should be careful to not assume that this piece was inspired by the Theban tradition and not the other way around.

<sup>693</sup> Elias, 'Coffin Inscription in Egypt after the New Kingdom: A Study of Text Production and Use in Elite Mortuary Preparation', p. 325.

(SMB AES 17940). These seem to be excerpts from an Osiris Hymn of which we a papyrus copy from Thebes.<sup>694</sup>

The texts by the Besenmut scribe are mostly limited to captions and offering formulae,<sup>695</sup> but one unusual text does occur on two coffins in this group. This text does not have any parallels outside the two coffins on which it appears, and it seems to be Akhmim specific.<sup>696</sup> In both cases, the recitation appears on the outer coffin. The meaning of this is unknown.

Text	Placement	Coffin
BD 1	Lid, at legs, in Vulture Register	Ankhpakhered (Asti 94a)
BD 3	Lid, on belly, in Judgement Scene <sup>697</sup>	Paenbes (Barnum 1894 1.2a,b)
BD 30	Lid, Outer Coffin	Paeniw (RPM 1902b)
BD38A	Basin, Inner Coffin, Back	Paenbes (Lisbon E 136)
BD 51 and 52	Central Column, Outer Coffin	Iwefaa (PAHMA 6-19912)
BD 54	Basin, Inner Coffin, Back	Paenbes (Lisbon E 136)
BD 89	Right Ankle, Inner Coffin	Iwefaa (PAHMA 6-19928)
BD 91	Left Ankle, Inner Coffin	Iwefaa (PAHMA 6-19928)
BD 125	Basin, Inner Coffin, Back	Paenbes (Lisbon E 136)
	Lid, Outer Coffin	Paeniw (RPM 1902b)
BD 145	Sides of Basin, Outer Coffin	Paeniw (RPM 1902b)
Osiris Hymn	Before Four Sons of Horus	Paenbes (Lisbon E 136) Anonymous (SMB AEM 17940) Ankhpakhered (Asti 94a)
"May you come into the Senut..."	Sides of Basin, Outer Coffin	Nespaqashuty (Detmold)
	Lid, Outer Coffin	Padiaset (KHM ÄS 8901)

To summarize: the coffins discussed in this section are all the product of one workshop, which we shall call Workshop A in a nod to Brech's *Gruppe A* type, to which many coffins made by this workshop adhere. In the Third Intermediate Period, Workshop A created coffins and cartonnages based on the Proto-A design pattern. In the 25th dynasty and later, the coffins made by the workshop were drafted according to the rules of two different design patterns, probably corresponding to a high and lower elite clientele. There are four distinct artistic styles apparent among the coffins which adhere to these design patterns. Though it is impossible to be certain, these probably correspond with four distinct individual artists. With at least two of the coffins, the artist also seems to have also been the scribe. However, since there are six scribal hands, this was not always the case.

<sup>694</sup> Find sources for this: P. Nesbanebdjedet, P Kairo JdE 97249.15. Burkhardt: ÄAT 31, 1995 250-267, and Die Papyrusfunde P. Kairo JdE 97429 in AVDAIK 22 1986.

<sup>695</sup> The coffin of Paeniw is a possible exception, but it could not be included in the paleographical analysis.

<sup>696</sup> See above, notes 653 and 654

<sup>697</sup> Though the text reads away from the figure of Atum who appears as a snake in this scene, it may relate to him since it begins with "Oh, Atum."

In general, the same scribe and artist executed all the decoration on a given set of coffins.<sup>698</sup> Variation in the quality of the art occurs but is usually limited to areas less visible to funeral attendees. There was no perceptible difference in the quality of text on various parts of the coffin, perhaps because most of the text consisted of captions and offering formulae. There is only one piece, the coffin of Dihoriaut, where it seems that a second ancient person had a hand in the figural decoration and text. Here, the decoration on one side of the lid of the coffin is executed in one style and the other side is in another.

It is possible that we have in Dihoriaut evidence of an apprentice working on a coffin with a teacher, one demonstrating on one side of the coffin, the other copying on the other side. While this cannot be proven at this point. It does seem likely that given the changing form of the coffin, from cartonnage of Qenhor and Paeniw to sculpted bivalves of Besenmut and the Paenbeses to the more flattened and boxy style of the coffin of Ankhpakhered, that the artists and scribes discussed here represent different generations of artisans in the same workshop.

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<sup>698</sup> An exception to this is the handful of outer coffins which were reused in part or in whole. These include the coffin of Besenmut which uses a board by a second artist, the outer coffin of Iwefaa, where the work of a second artist was drawn over that of the first, and the coffin of Tabes, which seems to have simply been a reused Third Intermediate Period piece.

## Text-forward Coffins of the Saite Period to the End of the Pharaonic Period

The uniting feature of the coffins in this chapter is that their decoration consists primarily of text, which covers the surface of the coffin. In the prior chapter, the text primarily consisted of captions describing the vignettes or even integrated into them. Here, the texts play the dominant role in the decoration: they are small and often serve as illustrations to the accompanying text

The first piece discussed in the chapter, however, is a bit of an anomaly. The decoration on its lid is primarily pictorial and it has a decorative scheme involving horizontal registers like the Group A pieces of the previous chapter. It is included here because it acts as a sort of a bridge between the coffins of the last chapter and the coffins of this one. To understand where it fits into the overall scheme of coffin development at Akhmim, we need to discuss both the Primarily Pictorial and Primarily Textual coffins.

For dating of the "text forward" pieces, we must look to similar coffins from Thebes, such as those of the Priests of Montu. These date from the 25th and 26th Dynasties. There are few datable coffins from between the Persian Period and the Macedonian Period. It is likely that the tradition of decorating coffins by covering the surface in texts continued until shortly after the end of Pharaonic rule. Indeed, the coffin of Asetweret, which will be further discussed in the conclusion to this chapter,<sup>699</sup> is dated by Brech to Dynasty 30 or the early Ptolemaic period.

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<sup>699</sup> MMA 86.1.48 a, b

The Coffin of Pakharu, 41.01.091 at the Museu de História Natural, Porto

### Overview

The coffin of Pakharu<sup>700</sup> was excavated at Akhmim in 1884<sup>701</sup> and sold to the Royal Museums of Berlin by Émile Brugsch.<sup>702</sup> Pakharu and his coffin remained in Berlin, with accession numbers 8504 and 8503 respectively, until the First World War. The ship SS Cheruskia was sailing home to Germany from Syria bearing artifacts from Walter Andrae's excavations in Basra, Iraq. In search of a neutral harbor after war had been declared, the ship sought refuge in Lisbon, whereupon the vessel and its contents were impounded at the request of the British. The Assyrian artefacts were confiscated and sent to Porto. There, they were the subject of a diplomatic tug-of-war between Britain, Portugal, and Germany for a decade. Britain wanted the finds repatriated to their colonial territory in Iraq, Germany wanted the spoils of their excavation back, and perhaps the Portuguese would start their own Assyrian Museum! This was ultimately resolved when Germany agreed to "pay" Portugal with a selection of artefacts from the Berlin Museums in exchange for the Assyrian artefacts. This exchange included Pakharu and his coffin.<sup>703</sup>

From the inscriptions on the coffin, we know that Pakharu was a ḥm-ntr priest of Min, and that he also bore the titles of Stolist priest (*sm<sup>c</sup>.ty*) and Beloved of the God (*mr ntr*). His father, named Paenbes, was also a ḥm-ntr priest of Min. If the occupant of the coffin is indeed Pakharu, he died young. Examination of his remains showed that he was in his early 20's and had had some damage in his tibia near the knee which may have been the result of an infection shortly before he died. Unlike several of the coffin owners discussed here, Pakharu's remains were carefully embalmed.<sup>704</sup> The coffin has been discussed in several publications. It is featured in a 2019 museum catalogue,<sup>705</sup> in which some of the caption texts are transcribed and

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<sup>700</sup> I would like to thank Dr. Fátima Vieira and Dr. Rita Gaspar for allowing me to include the coffin of Pakharu in this work. I am also extremely grateful to Paula Veiga, who helped me with the Portuguese sources for this coffin, and who discussed her research with me in a personal communication on 12/14/2021.

<sup>701</sup> Erman, p. 276.

<sup>702</sup> Germer, Kischkewitz, and Lüning, pp. 132–35.

<sup>703</sup> Paula Veiga, 'Cultures, Geographies and Priorities: Update on a Forgotten Portuguese Collection', *ICOM CIPEG E-News*, 15, 2021; Rafaela Ferraz, '(Story) Itinerary: From Egypt to Portugal, via the First World War', *Mummy Stories*, 2021 <<https://www.mummystories.com/single-post/rafaelaferraz>> [accessed 14 December 2021]; Juliette Desplat, 'The National Archives - "Fair International Reasoning"', *The National Archives Blog* (The National Archives, 2015) <<https://blog.nationalarchives.gov.uk/fair-international-reasoning/>> [accessed 14 December 2021].

<sup>704</sup> An infection is only one of several explanations for the pathology of Pakharu's leg. For more information, see Paula Veiga and Armando Coelho Ferreira Silva, 'A Special Gift from World War I: An Egyptian Mummy - 3D Multidisciplinary Analysis – Preliminary Data Presentation' (presented at the Current Research In Egyptology IX, Manchester)

<[https://www.academia.edu/16237917/A\\_Special\\_Gift\\_from\\_World\\_War\\_I\\_an\\_Egyptian\\_Mummy\\_3D\\_Multidisciplinary\\_Analysis\\_Preliminary\\_Data\\_Presentation](https://www.academia.edu/16237917/A_Special_Gift_from_World_War_I_an_Egyptian_Mummy_3D_Multidisciplinary_Analysis_Preliminary_Data_Presentation)> [accessed 14 December 2021].

<sup>705</sup> Rui Morais, Rita Gaspar, and José da Costa Reis, *Culturas e geografias = Cultures and geographies* (Porto: Museu de História Natural e da Ciência da Universidade do Porto, 2019), pp. 196–201.



Figure 87: Coffin of Pakharu, Courtesy of the Museu de História Natural, Porto

translated. The iconography was discussed at a high level in an overview of the museum's collections.<sup>706</sup> Brech also gives an iconographic overview of the piece in her typology.<sup>707</sup> The texts have not yet been fully published.<sup>708</sup>

#### *Description*

The coffin of Pakharu is a wooden bivalve coffin with a basin that has roughly the same depth as the lid. The deceased has a broad face and large ears which are sculpted over the lappets of his wig. The wig was originally painted in blue and beige<sup>709</sup> stripes, and each lappet is gathered in a band decorated with a daisy pattern. Pakharu would have originally had a beard--the hole into which it would have been fixed is still visible on the chin, and the black straps are painted around the jawline.

The coffin's pedestal is decorated on the front with *Ankh* and *Was* signs on baskets, assuring the deceased of "All life and dominion." The sides of the pedestal are decorated with simple colored stripes. A back-pillar is visible when the coffin is viewed from the side. The line of the toes against the pedestal is straight, rather than curved, and the footbox is rectangular rather than contoured to the feet. Otherwise, bodily contours are subtly but carefully sculpted, and this is especially noticeable on the basin where the gentle curves of the calves and hips are modeled.

Below a collar with visible falcon-headed terminals at the shoulders, the surface of the coffin lid is decorated with seven broad, short registers. These are divided by thick decorative bands of alternating ribbons of block-pattern and chevron pattern. The dividing bands are about half the height of a given pictorial register. On each side of the coffin, vertical strips of block-pattern run from the shoulders to the ankles. A parallel strip runs along the perimeter of the basin. Below this, on the basin, is a lateral inscription, running from the shoulder to the ankle on each side.

<sup>706</sup> Rogério Ferreira de Sousa, '«Os Mistérios do Além no Antigo Egípto»: questões sobre a exploração museológica de um quadro conceptual', *HISTÓRIA Revista da Faculdade de Letras do Porto*, III, 9 (2008), 195–216 (pp. 202–6).

<sup>707</sup> Brech, pp. 46–48.

<sup>708</sup> The coffin is currently in poor condition, so all text must be read from the old photographs from the Staatliche Museen zu Berlin. There were no pictures available of the back of the piece, though it is clear that this would have had a lot of text.

<sup>709</sup> These may have been yellow originally, but only a dirty beige is discernable on the piece today.



The decoration on the sides and back of the basin have a layout more usual for the sides of the basin of a box shaped *Qrsw* coffin than for the curved bottom of a bivalve: Mummiform deities stand in shrines, each divided from the other by bands of block pattern and columns of text. These are oriented vertically as they would be on a *Qrsw* coffin and were meant to be viewed while the coffin was lying flat. This interesting layout is visible in the old Berlin pictures of the piece, where it is apparent that even in the early 20th century, the linen backing on which the plaster and painted decoration was applied was peeling away. Nearly all the decoration on the basin is gone in modern photographs of the piece. The lid is in better condition, and the small areas where vivid color peeks through the damage hint at how vibrant the piece would have originally been.

The iconography of the coffin is dominated by solar themes, and the role of Osiris is reduced in comparison with what it was on the other Akhmim Coffins discussed thus far. Horus' only appearance is as a keeper of the scales: a role he shares with Anubis on this coffin.<sup>710</sup> The deceased appears three times before Re in the vignettes on the lid, and each time presents an offering table with slightly differing contents. Osiris appears in the form of the Abydos fetish in Register E, but he does not share equal billing with Re as he did in the Group A coffins. The same is true for Thoth, who appeared multiple times on the Group A pieces, but is conspicuously absent on this coffin. What follows is a detailed description of the deities and scenes which do appear on this piece.

In the triangular area beneath the collar and above the first decorative band (A), a *wedjat* eye rests on a blue and red checkered basket on both sides of the coffin. The first register (B) is dominated by a kneeling figure of Nut who spreads her wings over the chest of the deceased. She wears a red dress with a painted bead network, and her head, crowned with a solar disk, overlaps the collar.<sup>711</sup> Her cupped hands face upward, but there is nothing in them. To the right and left of the goddess' wings are mummiform deities with festive cones on their heads and red and blue sashes tied around their middles. On Nut's left from the viewer's point of view are Imsety and a jackal-headed mummiform deity, who is unnamed and whose figure is now lost. To the right are a falcon-headed mummiform deity and one with the head of a baboon. These are, of course, the Sons of Horus.

The next register (C), contains a new take on a familiar scene. Here, the central figure is a falcon-headed mummiform deity, who is simply named "Re". He stands before an offering table piled with loaves and vegetables, under which are round-bottomed jars with conical lids. Re holds a crook and a flail and a staff. Before him is the snake with the double crown standing on its tail: Atum. Behind Re is a bovine-headed goddess with a sun-disk between her horns. She simply "Ihet" (the cow),<sup>712</sup> and she raises her hands to Re in reverence. Behind her, instead of the entourage of deities that would have appeared on a Group A coffin, is the deceased

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<sup>710</sup> The only other coffin discussed in this work where Horus and Anubis share this role is the 3rd Intermediate Period coffin of Ankhtashepsit, which is probably not actually from Akhmim but from the Fayum.

<sup>711</sup> In Thebes, whether or not Nut's head overlaps the collar is a datable feature. She appears on bivalve coffins around 800 BCE, and by 625 BCE, she is drawn completely below the collar. Whether Taylor's observation applies to coffins from Akhmim, however is debatable, especially given the willingness of Akhmim artists to draw figures which overlap and "escape" their frames. Taylor, 'Theban Coffins from the Twenty-Second to the Twenty-Sixth Dynasty: Dating and Synthesis of Development', p. 115.

<sup>712</sup> LGG vol. I, p 537.

wearing a short kilt and a festive cone. He is bowing and raising an arm. His other arm is grasped by the feather-headed goddess Maat, drawn with a free-standing feather on a domed pedestal upon her shoulders.<sup>713</sup> On the far-left side is a baboon-headed mummiform deity labeled as Hapy. He grasps a feather. Behind him are two more sons of Horus bearing feathers: one with the head of a falcon, and another with a human head. They share one caption between them: "Duamutef." Ironically, this is the only god who isn't depicted! The right side of the register contains the weighing of the heart, which unfolds in front of Re. Ammit, as usual, perches on her shrine which is depicted as a full building and not just a sloping roof as was the case on the Group A coffins. Ammit's tail is tucked up under her hind leg, and she grasps two knives in her front paws. She turns her head away from the scale like she does on the Group A coffins, as if finding the heart in its pan unappetizing. Both Anubis and Horus tend the scales. They kneel under the right and left arms facing away from each other.<sup>714</sup> A tiny baboon perches atop the scales, representing Thoth. On the far right of the scene is the small figure of a man, perched on a large crook. He is unlabeled but probably represents the reborn deceased.<sup>715</sup>

The adult deceased adores the seated falcon-headed deity, again simply labeled as "Re" in the third register (D), where the falcon-headed deity is seated before a table piled with cakes and lotus blossoms. Pakharu wears a funerary cone, a long kilt, and a sash, which crosses his chest. Behind him is a mummiform deity holding a feather, and to the far right of the scene is a goddess, in a white sheath dress, raising her hands in adoration. The parade of deities behind Re is slightly more complicated. Directly behind him is a goddess: "Isis." She stretches an arm towards Re's shoulder; strips of red and blue cloth hanging from her elbow. The line of divinities behind them come in pairs of a mummiform male deity and a goddess who supports him with one arm. Their individual identities are sometimes difficult to discern. The first pair is the snake-headed god Atum, with the double crown. Behind him is a goddess, who may be Temet, but the associated caption is difficult to read in the old photo and is now lost. These divinities are followed by a jackal-headed god named "Qebehsenuf", who clutches a feather and is followed by Maat. The final deity in the sequence is a mummiform two-headed being who holds a feather. His heads are roughly drawn, but this seems to be the Two-Headed Goose deity that has made intermittent appearances on coffins from Akhmim since the 21st dynasty. He has a solar disk balanced between his heads.

The fourth register (E) features a new version of the adoration of the Abydos fetish scene. Here is a small version of the fetish, emerging from the mountain-glyph, and flanked by the usual lion-headed mummiform deities. As was the case in the version of the vignette on the coffin of Ankhpakhered,<sup>716</sup> the protective deities have no wings. Isis and Nephthys stand to either side of the fetish with one arm raised. In the other arm, both hold a stick or club. To the right and left of this are entourages of deities in pairs like those in the previous register. To the right is a mummiform human headed deity holding a feather. Behind him is Neith. To the left of

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<sup>713</sup> There are no examples of the goddess drawn in this fashion among the Group A coffins--on these, she is drawn as a mummiform figure with a feather as a head. The feather is facing the other way, and the figure wears a wig.

<sup>714</sup> The other coffin discussed thus far with both deities under the scales are the cartonnage of Ankhthespsit, Toledo 1906.2 a,b which has a dubious provenience and that of Paenbes (Lisbon E336).

<sup>715</sup> Christine Seeber, *Untersuchungen Zur Darstellung Des Totengerichts Im Alten Ägypten*, Münchner Ägyptologische Studien, Heft 35 (München ; Berlin: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 1976), pp. 103–4.

<sup>716</sup> See entry beginning on p 302, above.

the scene with the Abydos fetish is a jackal-headed mummiform deity, also holding a feather. His companion is a goddess with an indeterminate emblem on her head, labeled "Mut the Great One." On the left extremity of the scene is a hare-headed mummiform deity and the Imentet standard. A similar pattern is repeated on the right extremity with a human-headed mummiform deity who is also followed by this sign for the West.

The central figure of the next register (F) is a scarab. He pushes disks with his front and back legs. Two large, winged cobras spread their wings in protection around him, holding Shen-rings between their wings. Their bodies undulate to the end of the register on the right and left. Both of the snakes are labeled "Re" in captions before their faces, but inscriptions between their coils mention Sekhmet (right) and Neith (left). Given that the protective function of these cobra deities is usually associated with goddesses, it may be prudent to see the captions before their faces as describing the scarab, and the captions between their coils as naming the serpents themselves.

Register G revolves around the relationship between the deceased and a mummiform falcon-headed solar deity. He stands, holding his staves, before an offering table set with cakes and gourds, and flowers and a large pomegranate. The deceased stands opposite, raising his hands in adoration. The deities to either side are again paired off in male female pairs. The males are mummiform and the goddesses adopt protective attitudes. Behind Re is a goddess whose hands are raised in adoration. Her name is difficult to read from the photographs. She has the familiar chain of *Ankh* and *Was* signs hanging from her bent arm which appeared on each of the Group A coffins. Behind her is a Ram-headed deity and a goddess who may be Isis, but whose associated caption is hard to make out in the blurry photograph. She is followed by a human-headed male mummiform deity. The other side of the scene is destroyed because the linen base on which the decoration was painted had peeled away from the wood even in the old German photographs.

The final register (G) is upside-down relative to the others so that the deceased might be able to see it, looking up from his coffin. The central figure is Isis, wearing her emblem on her head. She spreads her wings over the feet of the deceased. She holds a feather in each of her outstretched fists, and a shen-ring rests on her arms. Under her wings are crouching jackals with ties around their necks. They hold crooks and flails in their back paws. To the right and left of the scene are unusual compositions consisting of anthropomorphized glyphs for the west and the east. The *Imentet* (West) and *Iabet* (East) glyphs hold bowls of incense in their hands. The *Iabet* glyph has colored strips of cloth hanging from his other elbow (Figure 88). The rest of the letters in the words "*ib.t*" and "*imnt.t*" are written out around them.

Finally, the vignette on the bottom of the foot features a running bull with a mummy on its back. The bull has a sun-disk between its horns and a winged figure flies overhead. This is perhaps a ba-bird, but the vignette is so damaged that the bird's head, which would be diagnostic of its identity is not visible. The building that the bull is running towards is probably a tomb, and it seems takes the unusual form of a steep stepped pyramid.
























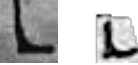






































Figure 88: The *Iabet* (East) glyph on the viewer's left side of the foot of the coffin of Pakharu. Photo courtesy of the Staatliche Museen zu Berlin



























rather than a tomb chapel. However, this building is also very damaged, and so it is hard to be absolutely what it would have looked like when new. The entire vignette is drawn on the lid portion of the pedestal, and if there was any inscription associated with this vignette, it was gone even in the early 20th century photos.

Feature A	Register B	Register C	Register D
<p>A Wadjet Eye on a checker-patterned basket</p>	<p>In the center, the goddess Nut spreads her wings. To the sides of her wings are the mummiform sons of Horus, two on each side.</p>	<p>Judgement by Anubis and Horus before Re and Hathor/Ihet. Atum as a snake standing on its tail stands before Re, and Ammit perches on a shrine. The right side is analogous to same scene on Group A. To the left is the deceased who is presented by Maat, followed by two of the four sons.</p>	<p>Deceased presents an offering table of lotuses to Re and Isis. He is followed by a line of male and female pairs of deities with the male deity being mummiform.</p>
Register E	Register F	Register G	Register H
<p>Isis and Nephthys stand on either side of an Abydos fetish emerges from a hill with wingless mummiform lions. To the right and left, again, are pairs of male and female deities with the male deity mummiform.</p>	<p>Neith and Sekhmet as winged cobras protect a scarab who pushes a sun disk in his back legs and a shen ring in his front legs. The goddesses also have shen rings between their wings.</p>	<p>The deceased presents an offering table stacked with gourds and a large pomegranate to a mummiform Re. Again, to either side are pairs of male and female deities with the males taking the form of a mummy.</p>	<p>The scene is upside down with respect to the others. Isis kneels on a "gold" sign and spreads her wings. Underneath her wings facing the center are two jackals. To the far left and right are anthropomorphic signs for west and east, who present offerings. The rest of the word is spelled around them.</p>
Bottom of the Foot			
<p>A bull runs to the viewer's right, towards a pyramid-like structure. It carries a mummified body on its back. Above flies a winged figure whose face is destroyed.</p>			

Paleography

GardinerSign	Sample	GardinerSign	Sample
			
A1		A4	
			
B1		D2	
			
D4		D21	
			
D28		D36	
			
D37		D46	
			
D55		D58	
			
D6		E1	
			
E15		E23	
			
E34		F1	
			
F27		F31	
			
F35		F39	
			
G5		G14	
			
G17		G36	
			
G43		H1	
			
H6		H8	

GardinerSign	Sample	GardinerSign	Sample
I9		I1	
M12		M13	
M17		M23	
N1		N5	
N9		N14	
N25		N29	
N35		O1	
O3		O4	
O9		O1	
O21		O29	
O34		P6	
Q1		Q3	
Q6		R1	
R4		R8	
R24		S28	
S29		S42	

GardinerSign	Sample	GardinerSign	Sample
S43		T19	
T23		T29	
U1		U6	
U32		U36	
V17		V24	
V28		V3	
V31		W14	
W15		W17	
W24		X1	
Y5		Z1	
Z2		Z7	
AA1		AA5	
AA15		R22R 12	

*The Art Style and the Number of Artists*

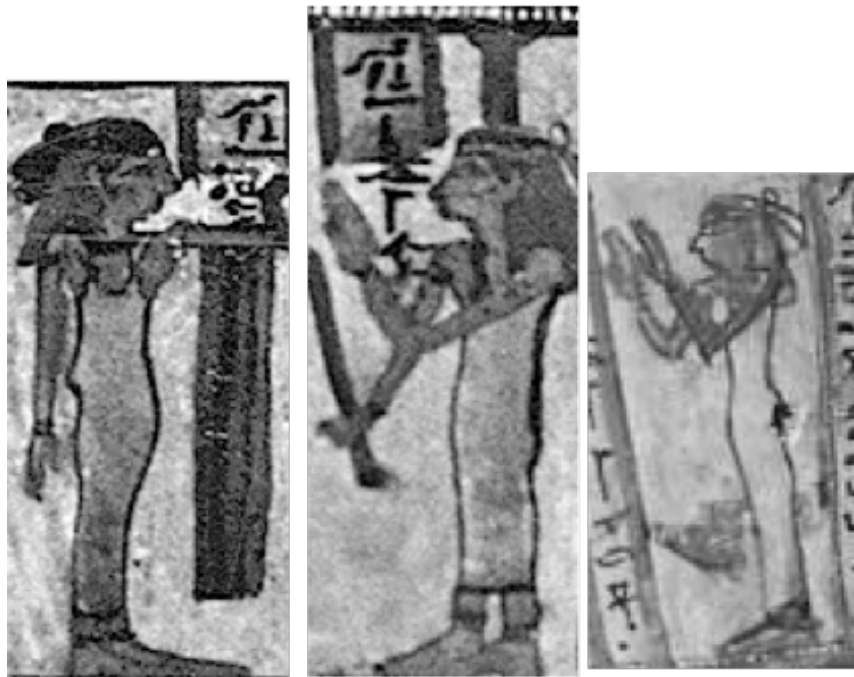


*Figure 89: Jackal-headed deity, showing the tendency of the artist to draw disproportionately large heads on this type of figure.*

The art on this piece is difficult to interpret because it is carefully laid out, but the quality of the draftsmanship is idiosyncratic and rushed. The piece would have been very impressive when it was new. It was vividly colored. Little of this color remains today, however. The decoration on the piece was well planned. The registers are all roughly the same height, which may be an indication that the draftsman planned out the height of the registers before laying down the guidelines on the surface of the coffin. However, two of the registers are not quite parallel to those above them--these are registers E and F. The artist realized this and compensated for it by narrowing some of the decorative pattern-bands between these registers into a near wedge-shape. While Registers E and F are not parallel to D and G, they maintain a uniform height all the way across.

A close look at the figure drawing, reveals a somewhat inelegant hand. The quality and style of the art is consistent across the surface of the coffin, showing that the piece was all probably all the work of the same artist. The mummiform animal-headed figures on the lid all have large, ungainly heads (Figure 89). This is the case also for the animal-headed deities on the basin of the coffin, showing that the same artist drew the figures on the lid and the basin.

The female figures also have various idiosyncrasies in their figures: their buttocks are drawn as discrete round lumps. The noses are large and sharp, the chins are angular, and the



*Figure 90: Female figures from the coffin of Pakharu, from left to right: Register b, c, and the left periphery of c.*



curves of the lips are not rendered at all. The eyes are large and usually slightly triangular with a straight line forming the bottom of the eye. The exception to this is found with some goddesses on the peripheries who have quickly drawn ovals for eyes. The forearms and feet of the women can be quite long in proportion with the rest of their bodies depending on the pose they assume (Figure 90).

### *The Text and the Number of Scribes*

In his brief discussion of the coffin of Pakharu, Erman rather harshly refers to the "barbarity" of the inscription.<sup>717</sup> In fact, most of the inscription on the coffin is legible. However, it does display the partial literacy of the scribe through prolific grammatical mistakes and erroneous or non-standard sign choices. There are patterns to the mistakes, which give us insight into exactly how the scribe or scribes were working on this piece and where the faults in their understanding existed.

The text can be divided into three parts: the text on the lid, the text on the perimeter of the basin around the join with the lid, and the text on the basin proper. The text on the lid consists entirely of captions. Aside from the caption mentioning the name and titles of the deceased, these follow a formula. The captions differ from each other in the gods they mention, the epithets for those gods, and the point in the formula at which they are truncated due to lack of space. The full formula is: *ḏd md.w in wsir [God Name][God Epithet] ink s3 n hr mry wnn m s3=k*. "Recitation by the Osiris of [God Name, God Epithet], I am the son of Horus, The Beloved, who exists as your protection." The formula is applied even to gods who are not sons of Horus and cannot be reinterpreted as sons of Horus, including Atum, and Mut, lady of the Isheru-waters. However, the caption does invoke these gods and guarantee their protection, so in the eyes of the deceased and the author, they may well have been effective.

The repetition of the formula and the fact that it often doesn't quite make sense in the context in which it is used points to the theory that this text was not carefully planned out beforehand based on a model. Instead, it seems as if the author simply had the formula memorized, along with some gods' names and epithets which he could substitute in as needed. The captions often don't read towards the figural drawing to which they refer, though they are usually placed very close to the figure that they describe. The scribe could read the names of the gods and label the images appropriately even if they might not have grasped the fine points of the formula they were writing, or where it ought to have been positioned and oriented relative to its subject.


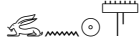


There is a real preference for text that reads in columns from right to left on this coffin--the scribe only attempts left-to-right columns twice, and these two inscriptions are very short. This apparent discomfort with reversing the hieroglyphic characters, along with the hieratic forms of a few of the signs point to a scribe who is familiar with and perhaps used to writing in hieratic, but not entirely proficient with transliterating hieratic into hieroglyphs.

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<sup>717</sup> Erman, p. 276.

The author of the text around the perimeter of the basin also seems to have been proficient in Hieratic but had some difficulty with the monumental glyphs.<sup>718</sup> He too uses the hieratic forms of a few signs, most notably the reed-leaf (M17). Unlike the caption author, this scribe seems to have been copying a document, because even though the text on both sides consists of offering formulae, they aren't the usual offering formulae which appear on 25th and 26th dynasty Akhmim coffins.

The formula on the right contains an extended wishlist for unguent, and various colors of eyepaint among other things, which are "favored on the offering table of Amun-Re." This is the first time this god has been mentioned in the Akhmim corpus since the 21st dynasty when Maat occasionally had the title "united with Amun." The mention of "Mut, lady of the Isheru waters" in a caption on the lid of the coffin is also unparalleled, and the presence of these deities not usually associated with funerary activity hint at a Theban inspiration for some of the text on the coffin of Pakharu.

The types of mistakes that the author makes are more understandable if he was reading from a hieratic document that he didn't understand and was having difficulty transliterating it from hieratic. The scribe uses several round signs interchangeably, probably because their hieratic versions can be similar. For example, the word  (wnḥ.w: Clothing) is spelled , and the word  (ḥntiw :myrrh) is spelled . Some characters, such as the determinative on the word *wḥ.t* (Unguent) are pseudo-glyphs with the same rough shape as the character which they were intended to be.

The scribes of both inscriptions are partially literate in the same way--they are familiar with hieratic but have an incomplete understanding of the mapping between hieratic and hieroglyphic characters and an imperfect understanding of Middle Egyptian grammar. This points towards both groups of texts being written by the same person. The paleography supports this idea, with very little variation between instances of the same character on the lid and the basin. Especially notable are the cursive writing of the hare sign (E34) which is the same in both places, and the hieratic-inspired paleography of the owl (G17).

Admittedly, given the repetitiveness of the inscriptions of the lid, there isn't much overlap in the character sets used in the two groups of inscriptions. An argument against the two scribes being the same person is that the reed-leaf glyph always takes the hieroglyphic form on the lid of the coffin, and the hieratic form on the basin inscription. However, if the glyphs on the lid were written from memory and the glyphs on the basin were copied by a person who only partially understood them, it might not be reasonable to expect the scribe to recognize that the hieratic and hieroglyphic forms of the reed leaf were the same character and render them in the same way.

The third group of texts on the coffin consist of the three columns between every enshrined mummiform deity on the basin. These texts serve as a link between the inscriptions

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<sup>718</sup> These read in a long row from left to right on both sides, starting on the head and ending on the foot on the right side, and starting on the foot and ending on the head on the left. However, with this text, it is less clear that the direction is the result of scribal habit. There may have been a religious reason for the read direction, because it encircles the body as would the Ouroboros snake which is often depicted around the perimeter of coffins from Thebes dating from the 26th dynasty.

on the lid and those on the basin. The paleography is very similar to that in the perimeter inscriptions of the basin, but several characters in these inscriptions have idiosyncratic paleographies similar to those on the lid. The reed-leaf glyph (M17) again takes its hieroglyphic form as it does in the captions, and the basket (V31) is drawn such that the single stroke representing the handle is used to draw the side of the basket as well, giving the glyph an almost rectangular shape.

We can only speculate on the content of these texts on the basin. They are not repetitive and do not appear formulaic. They may be texts from Book of the Dead spells like those which appear on the Qersu coffin of Ankwenennefer.<sup>719</sup> However, in the pictures from the coffin's time in Germany, only the top two glyphs in each column are legible since the coffin is shot from the sides. There are no known picture of the back of the coffin basin, and all the decoration on the basin seems to have been destroyed since the German pictures were taken. Modern pictures of the basin show only plain white gesso, which may be modern. Puzzling out the content of the texts should be the subject of another project. However, it seems clear from the visible glyphs on the side photos that the same person was responsible for all of the text on the coffin: the captions, the long side inscriptions, and the text on the back.

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<sup>719</sup> See below, page 374

The Coffin of Nespaqaishuty Penn Museum E883 a-c

### Overview

The coffin of Nespaqaishuty<sup>720</sup> was purchased for the Penn Museum by Emily Harrison in 1893. Unsurprisingly, it was selected by Émile Brugsch. The owner was an "Overseer of the Singers of Min" ( *imy-r ḥs.w mnw* ) named Nespaqaishuty ( *n(y)-s(w)-pꜣ-qꜣšw.ty* ), and we know that a family of men with this name occupied this position at Akhmim.<sup>721</sup> The Museum's uncertain attribution of the coffin to the site is probably correct. Nespaqaishuty's father was also an "Overseer of the Singers of Min." Though his name is mentioned several times on the coffin, its transliteration is unclear and none of the possibilities are previously attested. It may be Nespanebmetja ( *n(y)-s(w)-pꜣ-nb-mꜣ* ).<sup>722</sup>

The coffin is mentioned in Brech's typology<sup>723</sup> but the texts and vignettes remain otherwise unpublished. The coffin and mummified remains were subject to conservation in 2015, and further scientific study.<sup>724</sup> Future publications will hopefully provide further insight into who Nespaqaishuty was as a human being.

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<sup>720</sup> I thank Lynn A. Grant, Head Conservator at the Penn Museum for providing me with photographs taken during the conservation of this coffin. These were invaluable for the descriptions and translations. I also thank Jenifer Houser Wegner for speaking with me about this piece on several occasions, and Alessandro Pezzati, the senior Archivist at the Museum for helping me to obtain scans of black and white negatives pertaining to this piece and the other Penn pieces.

<sup>721</sup> See National Museum, Athens No 3412 on page 194 and the coffin of Nespaqaishuty in Detmold described above on page 270.

<sup>722</sup> *nb mꜣ* or "Lord of the Phallus" is an epithet for Min. See LGG III, P 653.

<sup>723</sup> Brech, pp. 105–7.

<sup>724</sup> Aspects of the conservation were documented in the Penn Museum's Artifact Lab Blog. These posts have since been removed. However, they are still accessible via the Wayback Machine: Molly Gleeson, 'Looking inside Nespekashuti', *The Artifact Lab: Conservation in Action*, 2015

<<https://web.archive.org/web/20210227050804/https://www.penn.museum/sites/artifactlab/2015/05/14/looking-inside-nespekashuti/>> [accessed 27 February 2021]; Molly Gleeson, 'Treating Nespekashuti's Coffin', *The Artifact Lab: Conservation in Action*, 2015

<<https://web.archive.org/web/20210227050804/https://www.penn.museum/sites/artifactlab/2015/07/11/treating-nespekashuti-coffin/>> [accessed 27 February 2021]; Molly Gleeson, 'High Tech/Low Tech', *The Artifact Lab: Conservation in Action*, 2015

<<https://web.archive.org/web/20210227050804/https://www.penn.museum/sites/artifactlab/2015/08/01/high-tech-low-tech/>> [accessed 27 February 2021]; Molly Gleeson, 'Nespekashuti: Aesthetic, Ethical, and Practical Considerations', *The Artifact Lab: Conservation in Action*, 2015

<<https://web.archive.org/web/20210227050804/https://www.penn.museum/sites/artifactlab/2015/08/29/nespekashuti-aesthetic-ethical-and-practical-considerations/>> [accessed 27 February 2021]; Molly Gleeson, 'Mysterious Bits from Nespekashuti', *The Artifact Lab: Conservation in Action*, 2015

<<https://web.archive.org/web/20210227050804/https://www.penn.museum/sites/artifactlab/2015/09/05/mysterious-bits-from-nespekashuti/>> [accessed 27 February 2021]; Molly Gleeson, 'Conservation Treatment of Nespekashuty', *The Artifact Lab: Conservation in Action*, 2015

<<https://web.archive.org/web/20210227050804/https://www.penn.museum/sites/artifactlab/2015/11/27/conservation-treatment-of-nespekashuti/>> [accessed 27 February 2021].

### Description of Layout and Decoration

Nespaqashuty's coffin is the typical bivalve shape. The lid and basin are of roughly equal depth, and the coffin has a pedestal and a carved back-pillar. The line of the foot against the pedestal is roughly rectangular rather than being carved in the stylized shape of a wrapped



Figure 91: Lid of the coffin of Nespaqashuty (E 883a-c), courtesy of the Penn Museum.

foot. However, the curvature of the calves and hips are carefully represented in the silhouette of the coffin. Like many coffins, this one was made of an assortment of random large boards doweled together and carved, with a layer of linen acting as reinforcement and a ground for plaster and paint.<sup>725</sup>

The ground layer of paint is a vivid, dark yellow, and the decoration is executed in blue, black, red, and white. The entire surface is abraded, and the paint is so darkened on the lower lid such that the decoration and text cannot be analyzed without the use of software such as D-Stretch. Because of the condition of the paint, it is hard to tell the difference between blue, green, and black in some areas.

The coffin represents the deceased with a round red face, large ears, and a blue and yellow striped wig. The face has no beard or hole for attaching one. A broad collar extends from the shoulders to below the chest. The rows of the collar curve upwards only slightly at the sides, and the collar does not have visible terminals. The central decoration of the back of the coffin is a tall, narrow *djed* pillar, which occupies exactly the amount of space

provided by the carved back-pillar of the coffin. The top echelons of the pillar are decorated with concentric circles in contrasting colors.

The decoration to each side the *djed* pillar on the back of the coffin consists of short columns of text which are perpendicular to the pillar and read from the edge of the coffin towards the pillar. The text on the basin is not a continuation of that on the lid. Around the perimeter of the basin runs a long horizontal band of inscription. This is framed by long ribbons of block-pattern.

Below the collar on the lid is a horizontal register (A) with a kneeling figure of Nut spreading her wings. She has a solar disk on her head with the "heaven" glyph (N1) written in it. She grasps a tiny knife in either hand. To either side of the goddess, beneath her wings, are

<sup>725</sup> Gleeson, 'Treating Nespekashuti's Coffin'.

yellow cobras, slithering away from the center of the lid. They hold *shen*-rings between their wings. Below the scene is a horizontal line of text framed with block pattern strips on either side.

The top of the foot of the coffin (D) is rotated 360 degrees such that it could be viewed by the person in the coffin. In the center of the area is Isis, who kneels on a glyph for "gold". She rests her right arm on her knee and raises her left. To either side of her, facing her, is a reclining jackal on a stylized trapezoidal shrine. Above these are Wedjat Eyes. The ankle decoration is only visible from the side. On the viewer's right side is the sign for the West (R14) with arms. In front of it are a shen-ring and three lines which may be the sign for water. Slightly below this is the mountain glyph (N25) and three dots. All these motifs are repeated in a slightly different arrangement on the left ankle. Here, the anthropomorphized glyph is the sign for "East" (R15). The decoration on the pedestal consists of *ankh* and *was* signs atop baskets (V30), meaning "all life and dominion."

The lower part of the lid is divided into roughly three vertical areas. These are separated from each other by vertical columns of text with a strip of block-pattern on each side. The center area contains a vignette of a ba-bird flying over a mummified body lying on a bier with a lion's head, paws, and tail (B). Underneath are four canopic jars with animal heads. Below this vignette is a plumed Abydos fetish, stretching from the shins to the belly (C). It emerges from a checkerboard-patterned horizon glyph and its post is flanked by mummiform lion-headed deities. These have elaborately painted bead-nets on their bodies, but no wings. The area around the Abydos fetish is simply painted blue. Below this, from the shin to the ankles, are at least three narrow columns of text. These alternate with blank columns with a yellow ground.

Finally, we come to the long vertical areas to the right and left of the central column which each take up about a third of the lid's surface area. These are filled with eight small images of striding male deities, four on each side. The deities are drawn perpendicular to the central axis of the lid. They each carry a plant stalk in one hand and an ankh in the other, and they stride towards the foot end of the coffin on both sides. These are separated from each other and the central pictorial column by strips of text, block-pattern, and unpainted ground.

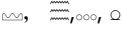
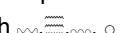
The layout of the text is interesting because when viewed from afar, it appears to be a hybrid of two of Elias' 26th dynasty "Presentation Modes." Elias' Presentation Mode III features the Osiris on a Bier vignette atop multiple columns of text. In his description of coffins of this type, the areas to the right and left of this central element feature vertical columns meant to be viewed from the front while the coffin is standing. Presentation Mode IV features the same central decoration on the lid, but the texts and vignettes in the two areas to the right and left are oriented perpendicularly to the center, such that they are meant to be viewed from the side when the coffin is lying on its back.<sup>726</sup>



*Figure 92: An area of text viewed from the front (left) and the side (right). Note how most of the text visible from the front can be read from the front, and nearly all the text visible from the side can be read from the side.*



The draftsman of Nespaqaishuty's coffin has created a new layout in which these two forms are intermeshed. With this layout, the central third of the lid features a combination of vignettes and short texts. In the areas to the right and left of the center are gods who are rotated to be perpendicular to the central element. They are divided from each other by text in columns also meant to be viewed from the side of the coffin as they are on coffins of Presentation Mode IV. However, over the heads of these perpendicular deities are more columns of text. These are to be read parallel to the central column in a way reminiscent of Presentation Mode III. This layout is rather ingenious because it pushes much of the text which should be readable from the side onto the side such that it cannot be seen from the front. Likewise, most of the text that cannot be read from the side cannot be seen when the coffin is viewed from an oblique angle. (Figure 92).

<sup>726</sup> 'Coffin Inscription in Egypt after the New Kingdom: A Study of Text Production and Use in Elite Mortuary Preparation', pp. 509–10.
























































Area A	Area B	Area C	Area D
Kneeling winged figure of Nut with knives in her hands and a sun-disk on her head.	Mummified body on a lion-shaped bier with ba-bird overhead. Animal headed canopic jars beneath. Top of scene has a <i>kheker</i> frieze.	Abydos fetish emerging from a mountain, flanked by mummiform lions.	Isis kneels on a <i>nbw</i> sign. To the right and left and facing her are jackals on shrines. Above these are <i>Wedjat</i> Eyes.
Area E (Pedestal)	Area F	Area G	Area H
<i>Ankh</i> and <i>was</i> signs on <i>nb</i> baskets.	Winged cobra with <i>shen</i> sign between wings. Facing edge of lid.	Male striding deity with unknown animal head. Facing foot. Carries stalk and <i>ankh</i> sign.	Male striding deity with falcon head (damaged). Facing foot. Carries stalk and <i>ankh</i> sign.
Area I	Area J	Area K	Area L
Male striding deity with jackal head, Facing foot. Carries stalk and <i>ankh</i> sign.	Male striding deity. Facing foot. Carries stalk and <i>ankh</i> sign.	Anthropomorphic <i>imnt</i> glyph, with 	Winged cobra with <i>shen</i> sign between wings. Facing edge of lid.
Area M	Area N	Area O	Area P
Male striding deity with jackal head, Facing foot. Carries stalk and <i>ankh</i> sign.	Male striding deity with jackal head, Facing foot. Carries stalk and <i>ankh</i> sign.	Male striding deity with falcon head (damaged). Facing foot. Carries stalk and <i>ankh</i> sign.	Male striding deity with jackal head, Facing foot. Carries stalk and <i>ankh</i> sign.
Area Q			
Anthropomorphic <i>iabet</i> glyph, with 			



Paleography

GardinerSign	Sample	GardinerSign	Sample
			
A1		A2	
			
A14		A24	
			
A26		A28	
			
A4		A55	
			
D1		D2	
			
D4		D21	
			
D28		D35	
			
D36		D37	
			
D4		D45	
			
D46		D52	
			
D58		E15	
			
E34		F1	
			
F2		F22	
			
F26		F27	
			
G5		G7	

GardinerSign	Sample	GardinerSign	Sample
			
G9		G11	
			
G17		G26	
			
G41		G43	
			
G45		H6	
			
H8		I9	
			
I1		K4	
			
L1		M12	
			
M17		M18	
			
M23		N1	
			
N5		N14	
			
N17		N25	
			
N26		N29	
			
N35		O1	
			
O28		O29	
			
O31		O34	
			
O49		P3	

GardinerSign	Sample	GardinerSign	Sample
			
P4		Q1	
			
Q2		Q3	
			
Q6		Q7	
			
R4		R8	
			
R12		R14	
			
S3		S9	
			
S25		S34	
			
S42		S43	
			
T12		U1	
			
U6		U15	
			
U19		U23	
			
U28		U35	
			
V13		V14	
			
V22		V28	
			
V3		V31	
			
W14		W18	

GardinerSign	Sample	GardinerSign	Sample
⊖		⊖	
W24		X1	
⊖		△	
X2		X8	
⊖		l	
Y1		Z1	
∞		X	
Z4		Z9	
⊕		⊖	
Z11		AA1	
⊖		⊖	
AA15		AA2	
⊖		llx	
R12R22		S27V6	

### *Art Style and Number of Artists*

The figural drawings on the coffin of Nespaqaishuty are distinctive, and they are all distinctive in the same way. The figures are rather lanky with long arms and legs. With the human-headed figures, the eyes tend to be very large, occupying most of the upper face and forehead. The deities have large chins and large, slightly upturned noses. Given the size of the ears on the mask of the coffin, it's perhaps surprising that the human figures have such small ears. The animal-headed deities have heads that are slightly large for their bodies. This observation includes the lion-headed bed in the central vignette area, whose head is larger than that of the mummified body that it bears.

Of the animal-headed deities, only the jackal-headed deities are all good enough condition to comment upon here. With these, the ears are drawn with a vertical line and a convex descending line in the back. The ears are set further back on the head than is usual, being well behind the eye. The ba bird on the chest has legs that are quite large in proportion to its body, and the artist seems to have been a bit confused about the anatomy of the wings. They are portrayed as being at the same time folded on the back and extended below the body in flight.

The cobras beneath Nut's wings also deserve mention. Their bodies and hoods are not detailed on the interiors, which retain the yellow ground color. Instead, their bodies are decorated along the outline with black dots, giving them a somewhat "fuzzy" appearance. They have small heads, and small mouths. The cobra on the left seems quite unhappy.

In general, the person who undertook the drafting seems to have had difficulty in determining the correct proportions for the allotted space. This extends to the entire layout of the lid, where even in the ideally rectangular text columns, parallel lines are rare. Many of the text columns are quite skinny for the large glyphs that were written in them, and the text columns sometimes taper towards the bottom or the top. In short, it is clear that the layout of this coffin was a matter of visual judgement rather than measurement, and that the visual judgement was somewhat lacking. Since these features persist over the surface of the coffin, we can say that all the figure drawing was done by the same person, who was probably also responsible for the layout of the coffin.

### *The Text and the Number of Scribes*

Lack of spatial awareness is one of the defining features of the text as well. The text is in hieroglyphs and the characters are sometimes placed very close together and sometimes very far apart. The size of the glyphs also varies, as does the number of glyphs which can stack in a square area (the quadrat). The glyphs for humans and animals usually do not have interior detail and are filled with black paint. However, some of the more abstract glyphs, such as the rectangular seat (Q3) have patterned interiors. Occasionally a hieroglyph will take the form of a hieratic character albeit with discrete, non-calligraphic lines. The product is a strange hybrid of hieratic and hieroglyphic (See, for example, the variants of G17).

These figures taken together seem to indicate a scribe who may have been able to read and write hieratic, but who wasn't really used to writing in hieroglyphs. He didn't have a sense of how the glyphs were supposed to be stacked or spaced, and he occasionally reverted to hieratic forms. Whether this is because he didn't know the hieroglyphic equivalent of certain characters, whether he saw the hieroglyphic and hieratic forms as interchangeable, or whether he was simply more comfortable drawing the hieratic forms and reverted to them unthinkingly, is anybody's guess. Given the characters that tend to assume hieratic forms are common—the reed leaf, owl, and hare—the last seems more likely. There isn't really a discernable pattern as to where the glyphs take a hieratic form and where they do not. Such a pattern might indicate the hands of a second scribe. Less common glyphs take hieroglyphic forms which occur identically in multiple places. The spatial problems are also consistent over the whole body of the coffin—an indicator that here, we are dealing with one scribe, and that this scribe may well have also been the artist.

The arrangement of the texts is clever, because the funeral-goer who reads the texts from the front while the coffin is standing reads a different type of text from the one who reads the text from the side while the coffin is laying on its side. From a position in the front, the viewer of the coffin can read an excerpt from a Nut formula derived from the Pyramid Texts. In the vertical columns to the sides of the central element, they can read statements from various gods identifying themselves as the Son of Osiris (who is the deceased) and pledging to protect him. These statements probably pertain to the gods who are rendered perpendicular to the central column, but these gods are not actually visible from the front of the coffin. A frontal viewer of the coffin could also read an excerpt from the end of Spell 24 of the Book of the Dead for "Bringing the Magic of the Deceased to him in the Necropolis."

This last text is repeated in longer form on the left side of the coffin lid when the piece is viewed from the right while laying horizontally. Here, it starts on the foot, and reads towards the shoulder, where two lines from the end of Spell 22 are added.<sup>727</sup> These Book of the Dead excerpts are the only text visible from this angle. Thus, the texts to the right and left of the striding deities have little to do with the deities portrayed.<sup>728</sup> From the other side of the lid, a funeral-goer might be able to read Spells 22 and 23 .

The texts visible from the sides of the coffin lid are very informative about the process that the scribe used to write the text. On the coffin's left side, the text starts at the foot and reads towards the head. The first two columns are contiguous and make sense: they are the end of Spell 24. The next three lines are also contiguous, but they jump towards the beginning of the spell. When the spell reaches the beginning of Spell 24, it starts with the end of Spell 22, again in the same pattern of two contiguous lines and a jump towards the beginning of the spell. The text wraps from the left shoulder of the lid onto the right shoulder and continues. If each set of two contiguous line was one line, the text would be retrograde. However, the text we have is not retrograde, it is more like a scratched record which plays a passage and bounces the needle backwards.

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<sup>727</sup> The end of Spell 22 may have been included by accident due to the scribe's incorrect reading of the source material. If so, this would indicate that on the source papyrus, Spell 22 was immediately before Spell 24.

<sup>728</sup> This means that the coffin doesn't fit Taylor's more general typology either, because his definition of Lid Design 3, which would otherwise fit this coffin specifies that the texts around the gods are their speeches.

This mistake only makes sense if the scribe was copying and was copying the spell from a document written in retrograde, perhaps a papyrus or ostrakon. In this document, a single column would have been the length of two columns on the coffin surface. The scribe, however, didn't understand the content of the document enough to know that it was retrograde, or else he would have started copying the columns starting from the other side and progressing in the opposite direction.

If this is true, this coffin gives us a lot of information about the source from which the scribe was copying and the order in which the scribe was writing the spells on the coffin. Assuming that the scribe was reading a retrograde document as if it were not, the source document must have started with spell 23, followed by 22, followed by 24. The scribe must have started writing on the (occupant's) right ankle and proceeded clockwise around the side of the coffin to the left ankle.

There was only one scribe who worked on this coffin. He was probably trained in Hieratic. He may have also had some difficulty translating hieratic into glyphs, or perhaps he was in a hurry and wrote what came naturally to him. The latter seems more likely, given that his source document was in retrograde columns and such documents tend to be in glyphs or cursive glyphs. He may not have understood the contents of the religious text, and he may not have been fluent in Middle Egyptian grammar. These may have been esoteric specialties for scribes of his time unless they had specialized training with religious documents. Regardless, he was not very familiar with the Book of the Dead spells he was copying or, apparently, the document from which he was copying them. On this coffin, though, his mistakes provide us with proof that he was copying from another source rather than writing from memory. They also provide us with insight into his level of literacy.

The Coffin of Nesqaishuty, Michael C. Carlos Museum 1999.001.009A

### Overview

The owner of this coffin was another Overseer of the Singers of Min (*imy-r ḥs.w mnw*), this one named Nesqaishuty without the definite article (*n(y)-s(w)-qš-šw.ty*). Nesqaishuty's father's name is Pamiw, (*pš-miw*) and he is a "God's father of Min" (*it-ntr mnw*). Although Nesqaishuty's name is spelled slightly differently, he is probably related somehow<sup>729</sup> to the Singers of Min named Nespaqaishuty--their names mean the same thing. The god that Nesqaishuty served is never specifically called the "Lord of Akhmim" on his coffin. Because his personal name is well known in combination with his title, Nespaqaishuty is more likely to have served in the Akhmim temple than the one in Coptos.

Other than a vague acquisition date in the late 1800s, there is no information in the museum records to tie the piece to Akhmim. However, the modern history of the piece is interesting on its own merit. The piece was originally purchased by the Barnett family, who owned the former Niagara Falls Museum and Daredevil Hall of Fame, where the piece was exhibited.<sup>730</sup> In 1999, the Michael C. Carlos Museum purchased the Niagara Falls Museum's Egyptian Collection, and the coffin came to Atlanta.<sup>731</sup> When it was acquired by the Museum, the coffin was in multiple pieces. It has since been reassembled, and most of the text and iconography is now readable. The piece is published in a museum catalogue<sup>732</sup> and is discussed in Brech's typology.<sup>733</sup> Neither the vignettes nor the texts have ever been discussed in detail.

### Iconographical Description

The red face of the coffin of Nesqaishuty is surrounded by a black and white striped wig. He is not depicted with an Osirian beard, nor is there a hole with which to attach one. However, the strips with which such a beard would be attached are painted in black on the sides of his chin.<sup>734</sup> A small fillet encircles the top of the head and contains an image of a goddess raising a sun-disk.<sup>735</sup> His collar is composed of multiple rings of floral decoration and is modest in size. It doesn't have falcon-headed terminals.

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<sup>729</sup> The name was held by various "Overseers of the Singers" between the late Third Intermediate Period and the 26th Dynasty, and perhaps later depending on the date of this piece and Penn E 883. This is a period of at least 150 years. Since each Nes(pa)qaishuty only gives the name of his father, and since none of the fathers are the same, it's not surprising that their exact relationship remains a mystery.

<sup>730</sup> I owe this information on the collection history of the coffin of Nesqaishuty to Anne Shanley, the Assistant Registrar at the Carlos Museum, to whom I spoke on 2/2/2019.

<sup>731</sup> Stacey Jones, 'In Match Made in "Afterlife," Egyptian Art Comes to Emory', *Emory Report*, 51.34 (1999) <[https://www.emory.edu/EMORY\\_REPORT/erarchive/1999/June/erjune.28/6\\_28\\_99mummies.html](https://www.emory.edu/EMORY_REPORT/erarchive/1999/June/erjune.28/6_28_99mummies.html)> [accessed 20 January 2022].

<sup>732</sup> *The Realm of Osiris: Mummies, Coffins, and Ancient Egyptian Funerary Art in the Michael C. Carlos Museum*, ed. by Peter Lacovara and Betsy Teasley Trope (Atlanta: Emory University, 2001), p. 52.

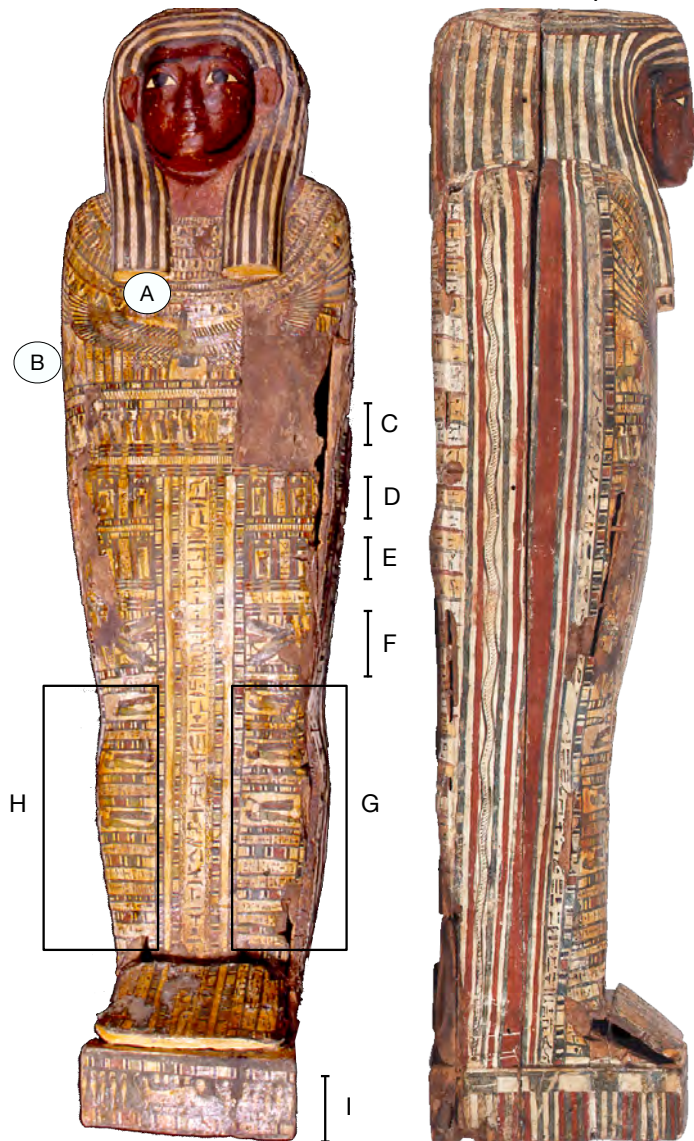
<sup>733</sup> Brech, pp. 107–9.

<sup>734</sup> Brech, pp. 108, Note 29. Brech feels there probably was a beard at some point and notes that the piece has been restored.

<sup>735</sup> Lacovara and Trope, p. 52.



The wig continues onto the back of the coffin, where it is drawn with a different color scheme: here, instead of black and white stripes, we have an pattern of red and yellow stripes, alternating with blue and yellow stripes.



The wig and back-pillar are carved in very low relief. The back pillar is decorated with a *djed* pillar wearing a crown with ram's horns, a solar disk, and double plumes. Rearing cobras emerge on either side of the plumes. These wear their own crown of a plume balanced on another solar disk. The Solar-Osirian symbolism of the motif could not be clearer. On either side of the column are alternating lines of horizontal text on white and yellow grounds. The texts are written in black paint and are separated from each other by alternating red and blue lines. The text to the right of the column reads towards it, and the text on the left reads away from it--i.e., all horizontal text reads from right to left.

The sides of the piece are decorated with a long horizontal band of text which runs from the shoulder to the ankles. This too reads from right to left on both sides of the coffin. The remaining space on the sides are occupied by red, white, and blue stripes of varying sizes, and on the viewer's left side of the coffin, a long undulating snake painted in black on a white ground.

Figure 93: Coffin of Nesqaishuty (1999.001.009A), courtesy of the Michael C Carlos Museum, Emory University.

As was the case with the last piece

discussed, the layout of area below the collar on the lid of the coffin of Nespaqaishuty is a hybrid between Elias' presentation modes III and IV.<sup>736</sup> The whole area is decorated with standing deities separated by bands of text. The gods above the knees of the coffin are depicted in kiosks with arched roofs (Registers D, E). These are drawn parallel to the central column and are oriented so as to be viewed from the front. Below the knee, the gods are oriented perpendicular to the central column and are not placed in kiosks (Areas G, H).

<sup>736</sup> Elias, 'Coffin Inscription in Egypt after the New Kingdom: A Study of Text Production and Use in Elite Mortuary Preparation', pp. 109–10.

Regardless of their orientation, each god is surrounded by columns of text. The registers are laid out as follows.

Below the collar is a representation of the goddess Nut (Area A), kneeling on a glyph meaning "Gold" and spreading her wings. She has a sun-disk on her head and very small Ma'at feathers clutched in her fists. The black (or maybe blue) feathers at the tip of the wing continue past the edge of the wing onto the sides of the lid. The roughly triangular area below the goddess' wings to either side of her body is filled with a palace facade design. On some Theban coffins, Nut is crouched on a building with a palace facade.<sup>737</sup> These perhaps served as inspiration for the artist(s) of the Nesqashuty coffin, who may not have completely understood that what was represented here was a building. Under the goddess' wings on the far left and right are vignettes of striding rams with plumed crowns (Area B). Before each of them is placed an unidentified object. Based on parallel vignettes on other coffins, it may be a bowl of incense.

The register below this is a long picture strip (Area C). In it, the deceased presents an offering to Osiris: two small conical trees or bushes and a very large lotus blossom. The deceased has a pleated kilt and a shaved head. Osiris is diminutive in stature and stands, clutching a was-staff. Behind Osiris is a long procession of nearly identical

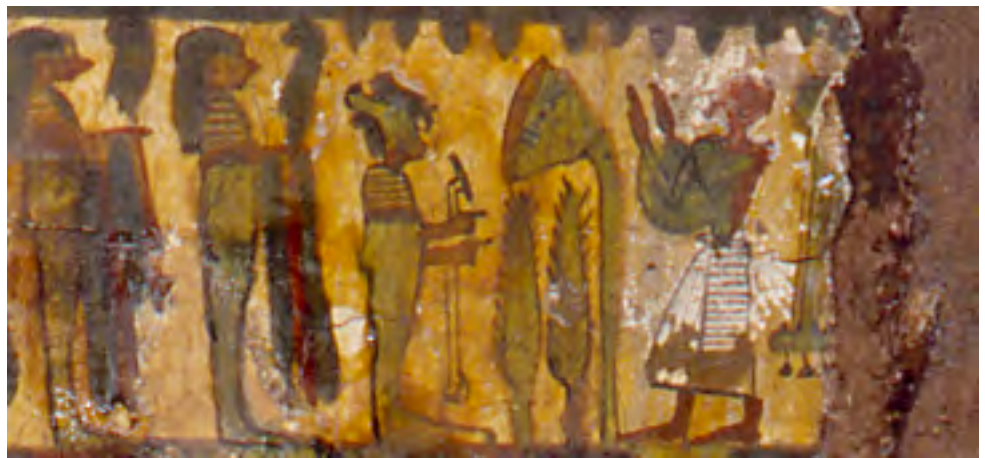


Figure 94: Detail of the offering scene on the coffin of Nesqashuty, showing what seems to be the front part of a harp.

mummiform gods, holding strips of blue and red cloth and Maat feathers. Behind the deceased is an area where the plaster has been destroyed. However, the edge of an intriguing object is visible: a horizontal bar with hanging pins or tassels. Could this be a harp? (Figure 94) Such a detail would be unique among examples of this scene, which is common on Theban coffins of the 26th Dynasty. The inclusion of the instrument in the scene would be especially poignant given Nesqashuty's profession as the Overseer of the Singers.

Below this picture strip, the central column begins. It has thick framing bands of block patterns and chain patterns. The central column and its decorative borders form a third of the lid. The thirds to the right and left have roughly symmetrical layout and equivalent content. Registers D and E consist of two rows of mummiform deities in kiosks. In each row, there are four deities, two on either side of the central column. Most of these deities are standing, but one of them is squatting. The deity on the far-left kiosk in both rows have animal heads--the upper one has a baboon's head and the lower the head of a snake. Most of them hold red and

<sup>737</sup> John H. Taylor, 'A Priestly Family of the 25th Dynasty', *Chronique d'Égypte*, LIX.117 (1984), 27–58 (p. 53).



blue cloths, but at least two don't. In short, the deities aren't symmetrical when examined closely, but do form a balanced scene from afar and exhibit symmetry of content.

The register below this (Register F) features winged falcon-headed deities on each side. These spread their wings around a *wedjat* eye on a basket. Behind the falcon on either side of the coffin stands a mummiform deity with his colored cloths. On both sides, most of the plaster in this area is gone.

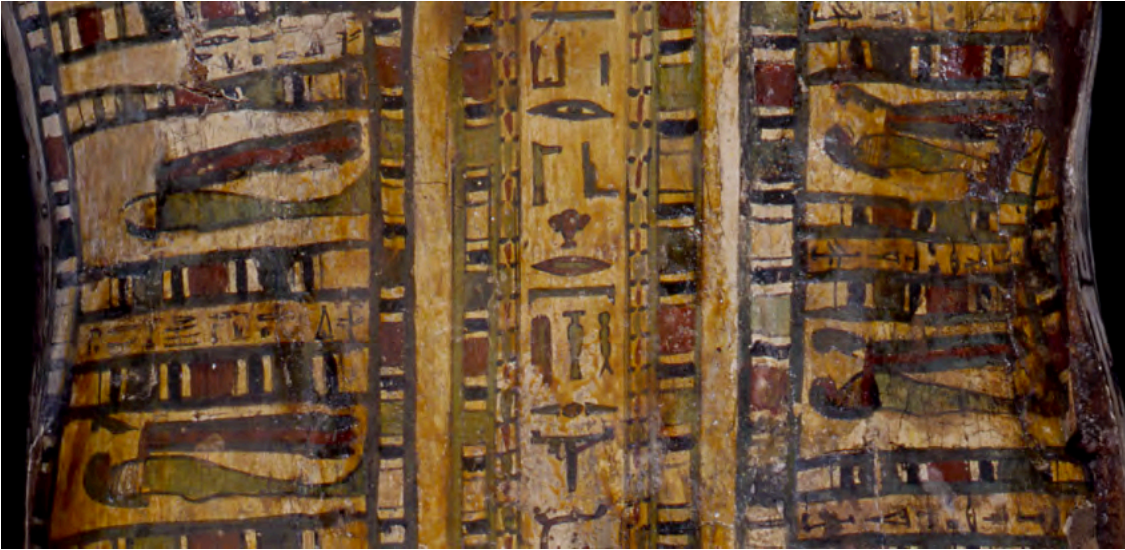


Figure 95: Detail of the lid of the coffin of Nesqashuty showing deities translated across the central column rather than mirrored around it.

The area from the knees to the ankles is decorated with more mummiform gods holding colored strips of cloth and Ma'at feathers. These are each rotated to be perpendicular to the center column. Normally, on coffins with this motif, we would expect these figures to be mirrored around the central column, so that when the coffin was lying on its back, the figures on the left would be best viewed from the left side of the coffin, and the figures on the right would be best viewed from the right side of the coffin. However, on this coffin, all of the gods are rotated such that they would be best viewed from the right side of the coffin: they aren't so much reflected around the central column as translated from one side to the other (Figure 95).



Figure 96: Motif of a running bull on the bottom of the coffin of Nesqashuty. Photo by Alan Gluck.

There is no pictorial decoration on the top of the foot: the areas to the right and left of the central column are filled with lines of horizontal text. There is, however, a full vignette on the front of the pedestal. In this vignette, Osiris lies on his usual lion-headed bier on which the mattress has been decorated with a striking geometric pattern. Below the bier are small objects which are

probably canopic jars.<sup>738</sup> On this coffin, however, instead of simply lying flat, Osiris tilts his head upwards as if he were about to sit up! A standing, mourning goddess stands over the head of the bed, and to each side are more standing human-headed mummiform deities. The scene is drawn in black outline on a white ground, and the fine interior details of the figures and the bed are drawn in black. Blue pigment has been used to fill in the negative space. The scene has a band of block pattern running along the top and bottom.

The pedestal features a vignette on the bottom, which depicts a running black and white bull with a rather curvaceous mummified body balanced precariously on its back. A ba-bird flies overhead. Like everything else on this coffin, the layout is non-standard. The vignette only occupies the upper right quadrant of the area on the bottom of the pedestal. The rest of the space is filled with vertical and horizontal lines, apparently meant for text which was never added (Figure 96).















































Area A	Area B	Register C	Register D
Figure of Winged Goddess with sun-disk on head. She is Probably Nut. She crouches on a "gold" sign and holds Maat feathers. Under her wings are Palace facade patterns.	Striding Rams with plumed crowns stride towards the center. This motif is mirrored on both sides.	Long picture strip in which the deceased presents a lotus and two conical trees to Osiris. Osiris is followed by mummiform deities. Deceased is followed by a harp player(?).	Mummiform deities in kiosks interspersed with texts and decorative bands. Contents of hands vary. One has a baboon head and is seated. Another has a snake head. The rest are human-headed. Parallel to center line.
Register F	Area G	Area H	Area I
Two Falcons raising their wings around a wedjat eye on a basket. Behind it is a mummiform deity. The scene is reflected around the center column.	Mummiform human-headed deities bearing red and blue cloth and Maat feathers. Interspersed with texts and decorative bands. Perpendicular to center line.	Mummiform human-headed deities bearing red and blue cloth and Maat feathers. Interspersed with texts and decorative bands. Perpendicular to center line.	Scene of Osiris awakening on a lion-headed bier. Mourning goddess stands over his head. Multiple mummiform deities to left and right.
Top of Head	Bottom of Pedestal	Back	Viewer's Left Side of Basin
Winged goddess kneeling on "gold" sign, who raises a sun-disk over her head. To the right and left are Imentet standards.	Running bull with mummy on back and ba overhead.	Djed pillar with plumed crown and cobras surrounded by lines of text.	Long Undulating snake who is not wearing a crown.








<sup>738</sup> None of the available pictures of the coffin showed this scene in detail, so it is difficult to describe with any precision.

Paleography

Paleography: Carlos: 1999 • 001 • 009A Nesqashuty

GardinerSign	Sample	GardinerSign	Sample
A28		A4	
A51		D2	
D4		D21	
D28		D36	
D37		D46	
D58		E13	
E34		F2	
F35		F39	
G7		G14	
G17		G2	
G36		G37	
G39		G43	
I9		I1	
M17		M23	
N1		N14	

GardinerSign	Sample	GardinerSign	Sample
			
			
			
			
			
			
			
			
			
			
			
			
			
			
			
			

GardinerSign	Sample	GardinerSign	Sample
⊖		⋈	
AA1		AA5	
≡		⋈	
AA15		R.12R.22	  

The decoration on the coffin of Nesqashuty was drafted with light black outlines on a white ground. These were colored in blue, light green, red, yellow, and outlined in dark black. The coffin's lid has received a coat of varnish of uneven thickness, which has yellowed over time giving the whole surface a mottled look. The back and sides of the coffin were not varnished.

One gets the impression that the artist who drafted this coffin reveled in drawing repeating geometric patterns more than figure drawing. The individual flowers on the collar of the coffin are meticulously outlined in black, but only the outer contours of the bodies of the mummified figures received an outline. The artist drew parallel lines for the collars of the figures, but, except for the figures on the front of the pedestal, none of the people depicted on the coffin have facial details. This may in part be because any original detail on the mummiform figures' faces was then covered with red paint. It may also be because most of the figures are very small. The proportion of the surface of the lid devoted to large decorative dividing bands restricts the available space for figure drawing to relatively small, narrow areas.

The quality of the draftsmanship within a single vignette can be highly variable. On one hand, the depiction of the striding ram next to Nut and the depiction of the deceased are precise and delicate (even if the subsequent application of color was not). On the other hand, the figure of Nut herself, and of Osiris standing right next to the deceased are neither precise or delicate. Osiris has a hunched back, knobby buttocks, and a large foot (Figure 94). These awkwardly drawn figures are interspersed with more carefully drawn ones in the side registers as well. It is conceivable that we have here the work of an artist who was occasionally letting an unskilled assistant draw a single figure. However, there is a range of quality between figures that are right next to each other, and some of the central figures on the coffin, like Nut and Osiris, were not very carefully drawn. It is hard to imagine that a more skilled artist would cede these figures to a less skilled one because they are the focus of the viewer's attention. Thus, the difference in the figures is most likely natural variation. The piece was probably painted by one artist who could draw fine figures but didn't always choose to take the time.

The catalogue describes the art on this coffin in rather unflattering terms, citing the orientation of the deities on the bottom half as proof of a naive provincial artist.<sup>739</sup> When depicted perpendicular to the central column on the lid, these mummiform deities are meant to evoke the gods who surround the bier of Osiris during the hourly vigil at his funeral. To view them correctly, the viewers must be surrounding the coffin like participants in such a ritual. On this coffin, however, the gods on the occupant's right side of the coffin would appear to be standing on their heads to a funeral-goer standing on that side of the coffin. It may be that the artist had seen the iconography elsewhere and misunderstood it like he misinterpreted the palace facade pattern in the first register. If this was the reason for the incorrect depiction, we then must ask whether this artist was simply ignorant or whether the symbolism was unfamiliar and irrelevant within his social and geographic setting.<sup>740</sup>

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<sup>739</sup> Lacovara and Trope, p. 52.

<sup>740</sup> Given that being upside down was seen as being chaotic and undesirable in Ancient Egyptian culture, the depiction of the deities in this fashion raises questions about how this piece was meant to be viewed. Was the



The asymmetry of the lower half of the coffin goes deeper than the orientation of the figures. The decorative bands also vary on either side of the central column, both in number and in size. When these columns are analyzed along with the accompanying texts, the reason for at least one source of asymmetry becomes clear. On the occupant's left side of the foot of the coffin, the artist has forgone drawing strips of block pattern so that the scribe can use the space on the side of the foot to finish the offering formula he began on the ankle. The same space on the other side of the coffin is damaged, but traces of decorative pattern remain, and the text only starts at the level of the ankle and moves back towards the head (Figure 97).



*Figure 97: The text on the right ankle of the coffin continues into the columns on the foot. On the left side, the text only begins above the ankle.*

This means that the artist and scribe were working very closely together and were probably the same person, because an area was only filled with block pattern if it was not needed to complete an inscription. This also gives us a clue as to the order and direction in which the decoration proceeded. At least on the lower half of the lid, the artist and scribe worked down the occupant's left side towards the ankle. This can also be seen in the lateral

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coffin placed in different positions during the funeral at Akhmim than it was at Thebes? At the time of its manufacture, would a viewer have ever seen the piece from the "wrong" angle during a funeral at Akhmim?

block pattern directly below the text where the final red block is squeezed in at the end. On the occupant's right side, he worked from the ankle towards the head.

*The Texts and the Number of Scribes*

There are three texts which appear on the coffin of Nesqashuty. The text which appears around the gods parallel to the central inscription (D, E, F) are formulae where the Sons of Horus name themselves and pledge protection to the deceased. The spells here are comparable but not identical to those on the coffins of Nespaqaishuty and Pakharu discussed above. The second text is an offering formula. This occupies the central column, the long, horizontal side-text on the occupant's left side of the lid, and it is repeated in a loop in both the small inscriptions perpendicular to the central column and in the lines of text on the back of the coffin. The formula announces a royal offering to Osiris lord of Djedu in hopes of receiving offerings (*h̄tp.w*) and provisions (*ḏb̄.w*). Following this, the titles, name, and genealogy of the deceased are given and the deceased is then described as justified and a revered one of the great god (*im̄ḥ(w) n̄tr-ḥ*). The formula usually doesn't get to the end before it is cut off by space constraints or restarted. Finally, a nice copy of a Nut spell is inscribed down the length of the occupant's right side of the lid.

The text in the central column is executed in polychrome glyphs with delicately painted interior details. The desert hare glyph and the goose are miniature works of art, as was the cat in Nesqashuty's father's name (now partially destroyed). The central inscription is the finest
























	Small	Central	L-Side	Back
 (A28)				
 E34				
 F2				
 I9				
 I10				

Figure 98: Comparison of glyphs on different areas of the coffin of Nesqashuty

detail on the coffin and compares favorably with anything from Thebes or the Group A pieces. The inscriptions in the long side inscriptions are executed in black-filled outline, and these too are quite delicately done, though more so on the occupant's left than on the right. Then, we come to the short inscriptions around the gods on the lid, and the inscriptions on the back. These characters are drawn in black ink and composed of a series of brisk straight lines and dots. The characters are more hieroglyph than hieratic, though the occasional

hieratic form sneaks in (see the hare character E34). The text on the back was drawn with a large brush on a rough surface. Here, the handwriting is at its most spare. If the scribe can draw a character with one line, he does it.

This disparity in the quality of the handwriting on multiple areas of the coffin may be an indicator of different hands. However, a comparison of individual characters shows that the glyphs on the different parts of the coffin are very similar (Figure 98). The author of the left

side inscription was probably also responsible for the back. The signs are almost identical, and it is easy to see how the snake on the left side with its pronounced head could become the two-stroke angular snake on the back, if the artist were in a hurry and working on a rough surface. The hare glyph takes the same angular form in the small inscriptions as it does on the back. Likewise, the viper (19) in the small inscriptions has the same feeling of forward motion in the small inscriptions and the central inscription. In both cases, its head is raised and thrust slightly forward. Finally, the man with the raised arms takes the same shape on all areas of the coffin. He has a clearly delineated head and arms that are at a right angle to his shoulders. He just takes a form closer to the hieratic everywhere but the central inscription.

The difference between the beautifully drawn central inscription and the spare, angular inscription on the back seems to be one of time, effort, and medium rather than artist. The small inscriptions were probably not going to be carefully scrutinized during the funeral, and the back might not be seen at all. It was important that these texts be functional, but they didn't have to be ornamental. It seems then that the artist drew them very quickly and expediently. Additionally, the back surface was less smoothly finished than the front, and this probably impacted the ease with which the scribe could write on the surface and thus the quality of his output. He devoted his time to the central column and to a lesser extent, the long side inscriptions.

We finally reach the most perplexing part of the decoration of this coffin, and this is the variable read directions and facing directions of the texts on the lid. The texts on the back and sides are easy enough. Both sides of the *djed* pillar

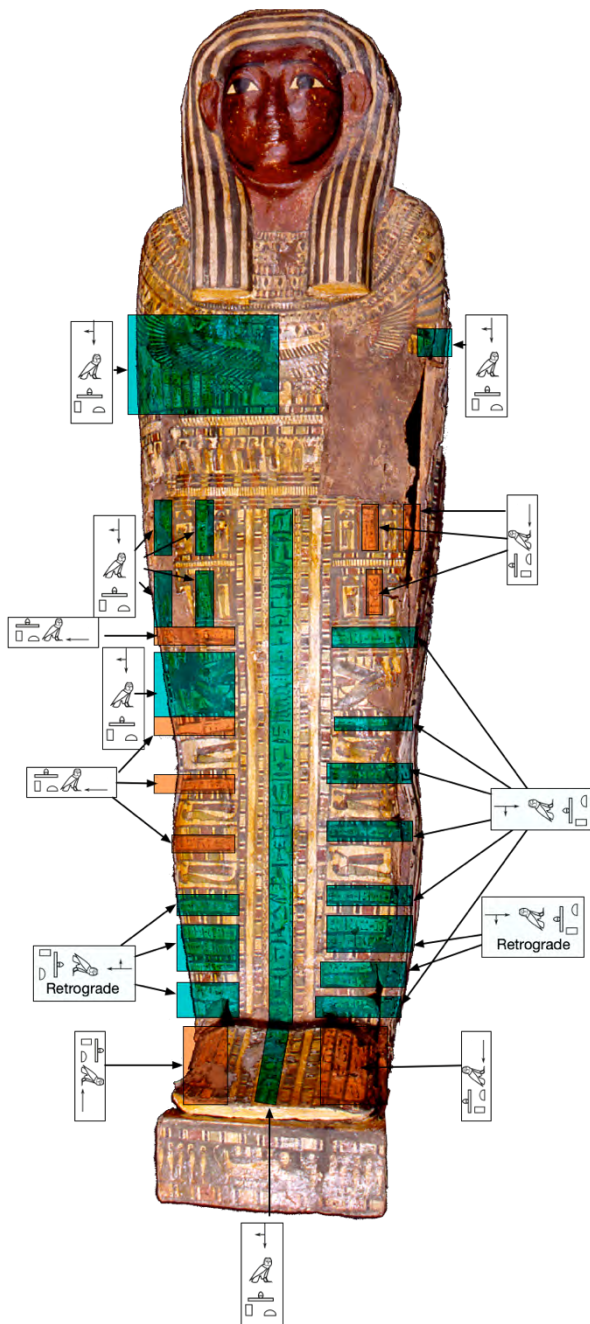


Figure 99: The orientation, facing, and read direction of the text on the lid of Nesqashuty. Horizontal texts are shown in orange, vertical ones in blue.

contain separate texts reading from the right to the left in horizontal lines. On the side of the lid, the long horizontal inscription on the occupant's left reads from left to right, starting at the foot and ending at the shoulder. The long horizontal inscription on the occupant's right reads from the shoulder to the foot. That is, they both read from left to right.

For the smaller texts on the lid, we need a diagram to decipher the various read directions and text orientations (Figure 99). The orientation of the texts on the top of the lid is completely asymmetrical. Columns of text on one side of the central column should be mirrored by columns of text on the other side. Instead, we have a mixture of horizontal texts and vertical texts in the spaces on the occupant's right and left sides of the coffin. On the occupant's right side, the text from the shin to the foot reads in retrograde. On the other side, it reads from the foot to the shin with normal facing. The texts around the gods in the kiosks on the belly of the coffin are in columns on one side and rows on the other.

The one constant here is that the characters always face right, and the contents of individual rows and columns always reads right to left. If the scribe could not write from right to left, he changed the orientation of the space in which he was writing so that he could. We already know from the cramped text at the foot that he worked from left to right down the occupant's right side of the coffin. If he could only write columns in right-to-left, the result would be a retrograde text, which is exactly what occurs on this part of the coffin leg. On the other side of the piece, he works from the left to the right again, starting at the ankle. There are a few lines of retrograde text here, but on this side, he usually solves the problem in a different way: by cutting off the text and restarting from the beginning when reaching the end of a single column. Why he decided to write the text between the gods in kiosks horizontally on this side is a bit of a mystery. He could have just written from right to left in columns. If he was the same person as the artist, and he quickly finished the text and drawing on one area at a time, perhaps writing in columns would have risked smudging the drying paint on the mummiform deities in kiosks.

An examination of the asymmetrical layout, drawing and inscription of this coffin has shed light on who the artist was and how he worked. The same person drew the art and the text on the piece. They spent a lot of time on the central column, collar, and the drawing of the deceased in the long narrow vignette at the chest. Other figures received less care, and the contours of their bodies can appear lumpy and their appendages disproportional. The drawing and inscriptions on the back were executed on a rough surface, and probably very quickly. The drawings and texts to the sides of the central column were probably drawn quickly as well.

The artist/scribe seems to have mimicked some elements of decoration popular at Thebes without understanding the symbolism behind them--an example of this is the palace facade drawn under the wings of Nut. Whether this was also the case for the gods on the lower part of the lid (who should be surrounding the coffin but are instead all oriented in the same direction) is up for debate. Here, the symbolism might have just given way to the artist's need for right to left facing.

The asymmetrical placement of the text columns and the retrograde texts on either side of the legs show that the scribe moved in a counterclockwise direction around the coffin as he wrote the text, and for some reason, he only felt comfortable writing from right to left. The result is that the text in the columns is oriented in multiple directions so that the scribe could maintain his left-to-right facing and read order for the individual signs.



Coffin of Djedhor, BM 20650

### Overview

The coffin of Djedhor was acquired for the British Museum by E. A. Wallis Budge in 1886. The meeting minutes of the trustees on the 8th of January 1887 indicate that Budge thought the piece to be from Akhmim.<sup>741</sup>

The owner was an elderly man (probably over 50) whose teeth were all missing. His body had been carefully embalmed.<sup>742</sup> In life, he was the Overseer of the Washermen in the Temple of Min, lord of Akhmim (*ḥry rḥ.tyw n pr n mnw nb ipw*). Whether this reflected his actual duties or was an honorific title harking back to a glorious past is questionable.<sup>743</sup> His father, a man named Padiamun (*p3-di-imn*) was untitled. His mother was the Lady of the House Neshmet-net-renenutet (*nšm.t-n.t-rnn.wtt*).<sup>744</sup>

The coffin is described in Brech's catalogue of Akhmim coffins,<sup>745</sup> and mentioned in several publications by Dr. Jonathan Elias.<sup>746</sup> The text has not been fully published or the iconography described in detail.

### Iconographic Description

The coffin of Djedhor is a bivalve coffin with a pedestal. The coffin models the general curvature of the body at the ankles, calves, and the hips. The line of the feet against the pedestal is curved rather than square, and the foot takes up all the space on the pedestal with only a slight indentation to separate the two. The back of the coffin is flat—that is, the back of the wig and back pillar are not carved in relief.<sup>747</sup> The top of the head is flattened, and this is especially noticeable on the basin where the squared-off stripes of the wig echo the flat shape of the head.

The coffin depicts the deceased with a broad, red face. His sculpted ears are nearly the height of his face. His eyes are wide and not just painted but carved in relief. He wears a striped yellow and blue wig which continues over the sides and back of the coffin. Black stripes around the chin have been painted, and hole has been drilled for the beard, but today it is missing. Djedhor wears two collars, a large and small one nested together. The small one consists of a few blue and red bands and an outer row of drop-beads.<sup>748</sup> The outer collar is the large, broad floral collar which forms a nearly straight band across the breast and is drawn up sharply at the

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<sup>741</sup> For this information, I am grateful to Dr. John Taylor, with whom I communicated on 9/13/2019.

<sup>742</sup> Dawson and Gray, p. 46.

<sup>743</sup> The title isn't discussed by Gauthier, but a very similar title (*rḥt.i n ḥw.t ntr n.t mnw*) is attested in the Old Kingdom. See: Dilwyn Jones, *An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles, Epithets and Phrases of the Old Kingdom*, BAR International Series, 866 (Oxford, England: Archaeopress, 2000), sec. 1845.

<sup>744</sup> The name means Neshmet-barque of Renennutet. It is not in PN, though names featuring Renenutet and Neshmet are. The British Museum webpage interprets the name as Ny-neshmet-renenutet (ie. One who belongs to the neshmet-barque of Renenutet), but the name is written consistently Neshmet-net-renenutet on the coffin.

<sup>745</sup> Brech, pp. 110–13.

<sup>746</sup> Elias and Lupton, pp. 126–32; Elias, 'Coffin Inscription in Egypt after the New Kingdom: A Study of Text Production and Use in Elite Mortuary Preparation', pp. 551–52.

<sup>747</sup> This was also the case on the coffin of Ankhpakhered in Asti. On this piece, however, the wig and very top of the pillar were carved.

<sup>748</sup> This is the "Chemisette" described for Ptolemaic coffins by Brech, p. 122.

ends into falcon-headed clasps at the shoulders. Two long strips of block-pattern encircle the coffin on the edge of the lid and the basin. Sandwiched between them and cut in half by the opening of the coffin, is a slim green and white snake with black spots, wrapped around the coffin. The animal's head appears on the side around the occupant's left knee. The snake and the border patterns run around the wig and the pedestal.

The decoration on the lid of Djedhor's coffin belongs to a subset of Taylor's Lid Design 3<sup>749</sup> which Elias terms the "Eleven-Eleven" type. The main surface of the lid is decorated with

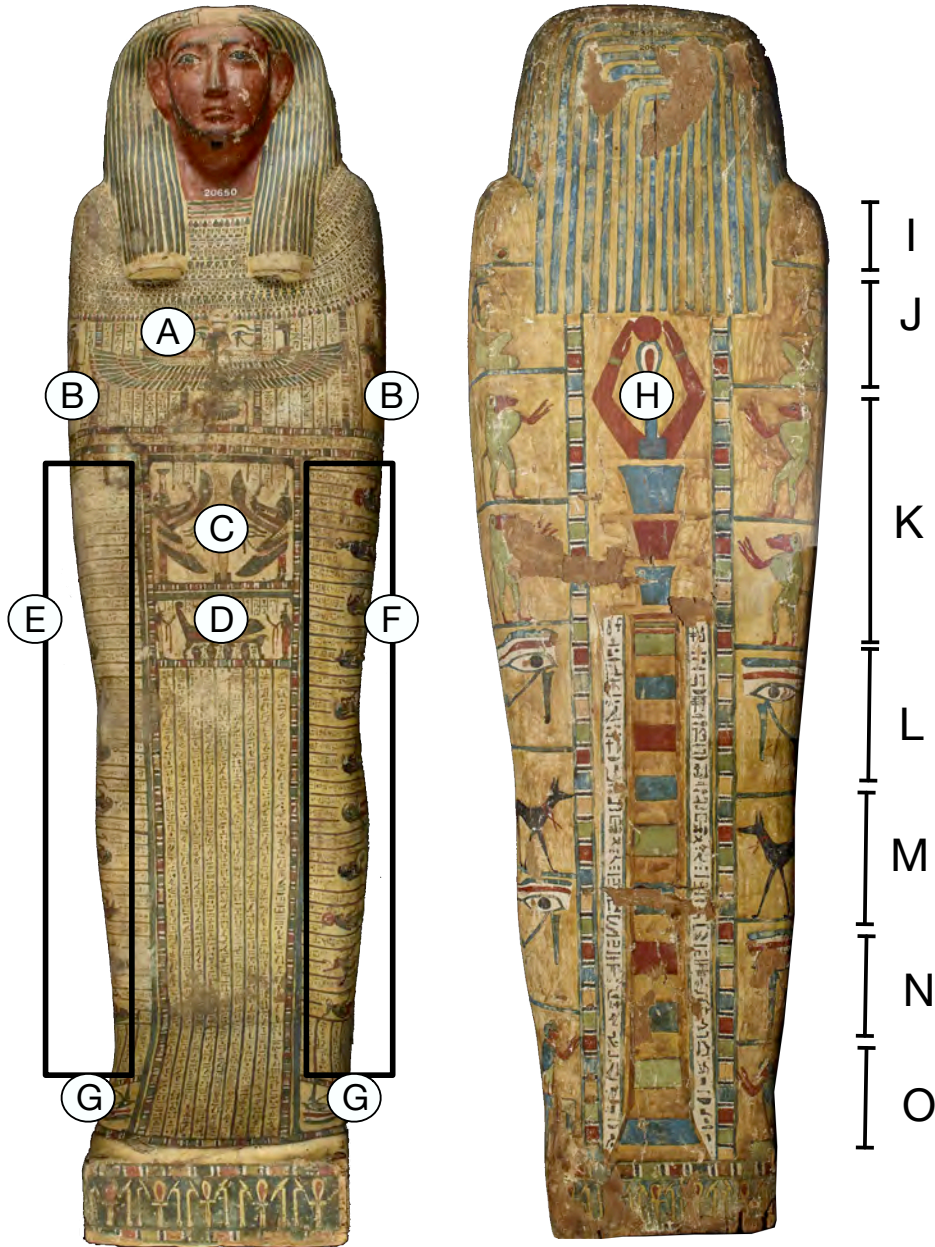


Figure 100: The Coffin of Djedhor (BM 20650) Copyright the Trustees of the British Museum

<sup>749</sup> Taylor, 'Theban Coffins from the Twenty-Second to the Twenty-Sixth Dynasty: Dating and Synthesis of Development', p. 114.

eleven deities on each side, rotated either 90 or 270 degrees perpendicular to the central column so that their heads are towards the column, and they appear standing right side up to a viewer standing on the same side of the coffin while it is lying flat. Extant examples of this design come from several sites in Upper Egypt, but most of the ones that survive come from Thebes.<sup>750</sup>

These eleven gods allude to the hours of the night and day and to the hourly vigil over the body of Osiris (*Stundewachen*).<sup>751</sup> That the deceased is to be identified as Osiris in this tableau is clear in the mummiform shape of the coffin and the large *Djed* Pillar on the back of the coffin which physically aligns with the spine of the deceased. Isis appears on the foot of the coffin, stretching her wings downwards protectively. On the head, Nephthys crouches on the sign for gold. Her wings are also outstretched. The position of the goddesses with the deceased between them is also an allusion to the vignette of Book of the Dead 151.<sup>752</sup>

The iconography of the lid and basin are explored in more depth in the following table.

Area A	Area B	Area C	Area D
Winged Nut kneeling on a gold sign. Sun-disk on head, Wedjat eyes to either side of head. Ankh in left hand, full sail in right.	Rams striding on standard with sun-disk and plumes on head. Wedjat eye above head and body. Pot flaming incense before face. Striding towards center.	Nephthys (viewer left) and Isis (viewer right) stand and spread wings around an Abydos Fetish rising out of a mountain glyph. Each has a Maat feather in left hand. Wedjat eyes between wings as well.	Scene with Osiris/deceased on a lion-bodied bier. Animal-headed canopic jars are arranged below. Isis stands at foot, Nephthys at head, raising hands. Each has a red cloth over her arm. Ba bird flies overhead. Bier has a yellow, white and red striped mattress. Sky sign forms upper limit of scene.
Area E	Area F	Area G	Back Area H
Line of eleven deities walking towards head and clutching was scepters and ankh signs. The area is bordered on the top by a very long sky glyph. Alternating red and blue skin except for last three. They are from left to right: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Atum</li> <li>• Heqa-hery-ib-sepawt</li> <li>• Imseti</li> </ul>	Line of eleven deities walking towards head, clutching was scepters & ankh signs. The area is bordered on the top by a very long sky glyph. Alternating red and blue skin, except for last three. They are, from right to left: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Re-Harakhte</li> <li>• Khepri</li> <li>• Hapy</li> <li>• Anubis<sup>754</sup></li> </ul>	Wedjat eyes on either side of the foot, facing the center.	Djed pillar with upper echelons painted alternating red and blue. From the top emerge arms and an ankh sign. The arms raise a sun-disk which rests on the ankh sign. Separated from side registers by a block pattern border.

<sup>750</sup> Elias and Lupton, pp. 124–25.

<sup>751</sup> Elias and Lupton, pp. 131–32.

<sup>752</sup> Elias, 'Coffin Inscription in Egypt after the New Kingdom: A Study of Text Production and Use in Elite Mortuary Preparation', pp. 709–10.





























































<sup>754</sup> This Anubis has the epithet *hn.ty sh ntr* (who is in front of the embalming tent).

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Anubis<sup>753</sup></li> <li>• Duamutef</li> <li>• Geb</li> <li>• Ir-renef-djeseft</li> <li>• Heqa-maa-itef</li> <li>• Wepwawet</li> <li>• Isis</li> <li>• Nephthys</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Qebhsenuef</li> <li>• Horus-Khenty-en-Irty</li> <li>• Hery-bakuef</li> <li>• Shu</li> <li>• Tefnut</li> <li>• Neith</li> <li>• Serqet</li> </ul>		
<b>Back Register I</b>	<b>Back Register J</b>	<b>Back Register K</b>	<b>Back Register L</b>
Kneeling goddesses with green faces and yellow dresses. They hold Shen signs on the ground. Maybe Isis and Nephthys but head signs are not visible.	Kneeling goddesses raising a hand to the face. Yellow skin and green dresses. On the left: Serqet, on the right: Neith.	Standing baboons with hands raised in praise towards Djed pillar or maybe sunrise above Djed pillar.	Large Wedjat eyes
<b>Back Register M</b>	<b>Back Register N</b>	<b>Back Register O</b>	<b>Top of Head</b>
Striding black jackals with red scarves around their necks.	Wedjat eyes	Ba-bird standing on a square on one side, unidentified object on the other with hands raised in praise	Nephthys kneels on gold sign and holds Maat feathers in hands, spreading her wings.
<b>Bottom of Foot</b>	<b>Inside of Lid</b>	<b>Inside of Basin</b>	
Isis spreads her wings downward. She holds Maat feathers in her hands.	Maat, wearing a green dress, and tripartite wig, spreading her arms and standing on a standard. Background is whitewashed.	Nut, wearing a short wig, with green skin and yellow dress. She has a sun-disk with her name on her head, and stands on a standard. Background is whitewashed.	

































































<sup>753</sup> This Anubis has the additional epithet *imy w.t* (who is in the bandages) which distinguishes him from the Anubis on the other side.


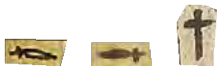









































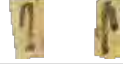






















Paleography

GardinerSign	Sample	GardinerSign	Sample
			
A1		A2	
			
A14		A28	
			
A33		A4	
			
A47		A51	
			
A53		A55	
			
B1		B3	
			
B7		B8	
			
C6		C11	
			
D1		D2	
			
D4		D6	
			
D17		D21	
			
D28		D35	
			
D36		D37	
			
D4		D46	
			
D49		D53	

GardinerSign	Sample	GardinerSign	Sample
Δ		∩	
D55		D58	
E9		E34	
F1		F16	
F31		F34	
F35		F39	
F4		F51	
G1		G5	
G9		G14	
G17		G2	
G29		G36	
G37		G39	
G43		G52	
H1		H6	
H8		I9	
I1		K4	
L1		L7	

GardinerSign	Sample	GardinerSign	Sample
			
M1		M2	
			
M4		M12	
			
M16		M17	
			
M18		M23	
			
M26		M29	
			
M36		N1	
			
N2		N5	
			
N1		N14	
			
N16		N23	
			
N25		N26	
			
N27		N29	
			
N3		N31	
			
N35		N36	
			
N37		O1	
			
O4		O9	
			
O22		O28	

GardinerSign	Sample	GardinerSign	Sample
			
			
			
			
			
			
			
			
			
			
			
			
			
			
			
			

GardinerSign	Sample	GardinerSign	Sample
U22		Y6	
V15		V16	
V22		V24	
V25		V28	
V29		V3	
V31		W9	
W1		W12	
W15		W17	
W19		W2	
W22		W24	
W25		X1	
X8		Y1	
Y5		Z2	
Z11		AA1	
AA2		AA5	
AA11		M119	



Figure 101: Detail of the god Herybakuef on the coffin of Djedhor, showing the swift, broad outlines in black

The coffin of Djedhor was covered in a bright white plaster on the inside and outside. The outside received an extra coat of light yellow in most places, though certain areas, such as the white squares in the block patterns, were left their original color. The drawings were initially probably executed in black outline. A faint outline of a first draft of Nut's right wing can be seen above where the final version was drawn on the breast of the coffin. The colors were not applied in the usual order on this coffin. It seems as if an additional, darker yellow was applied to the skin of goddesses. Then, judging by Nut's fillet in Register A, some red details were added. Then, blue and green were added in that order. A second, darker blue was applied next, delimiting the columns to receive text, and serving to outline some of the block-pattern strips. On top this, the artist added another layer of red, which appears atop of some green and blue areas, such as the tips of the feathers of Nut's wings and the wings of Nephthys on the vignette on the top of the head. Isis' red dress in the vignette on the bottom of the pedestal is clearly painted over her green body. In short, the order seems to have been yellow, darker yellow, red, light blue, green, black, dark blue, red, black. It is hard to tell from photographs whether a coat of varnish was added to this piece. If so, it must have been very thin and even.

The perpendicular deities on the occupant's left side are slightly larger than those on the right indicating that, as usual, the initial layout of the coffin decoration was more of a matter of estimation than measurement. This is barely perceptible to a viewer but impacts the content of the texts and will be discussed further below. The registers on the back are slightly uneven as well and were probably drafted around the central motif.

There is a marked difference in quality of both the coloring and draftsmanship between areas of the coffin that were centers of the viewer's attention and areas that were not. With the figure of Nut on the breast, which may have been close to eye level, the artist was very careful to outline the contours of the body and details of the face, hands, and fingers. The deities on the top of head, bottom of foot, back, and the sides of the lid were not so delicately drawn.

The final black outlines give us an idea of the artist's approach to these figures. The outlines consist of long, controlled contours, which nevertheless seem hurried because they sometimes don't quite follow the line or curve of the colored area. The brush quickly runs out of ink or dries up and we can see the trails of the individual fibers. The impression is of an artist who was skilled and practiced but who was not willing to linger on the finer contours, preferring to finish the job with fewer, longer strokes (Figure 101).



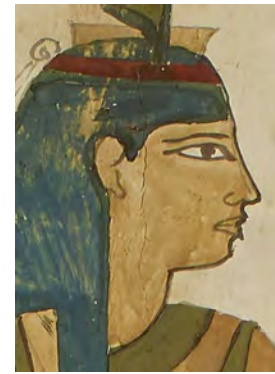
And so, we are left with the question that comes up with so many of these pieces: how



Inside Lid



J



Inside Basin



A



Head



Pedestal



F



F



E



D

Figure 102: Goddesses of different sizes on the coffin of Djedhor, from top to bottom, Large, medium, small, very small. Not to scale.

does one tell the difference between the work of multiple artists, and the work of one artist who is sometimes rushed, tired, sloppy, or working with a difficult medium?

The figures of goddesses appear on almost all areas of the coffin, and they are probably the best way to compare the art style in different areas. With this piece the problem of determining the number of artists is compounded by the fact that the figures are drawn at several different scales, and their faces have a different shape and different features depending on the scale at which they are drawn. The smallest figures, those of the goddesses around the bier in the scenes on the abdomen, have mouths and jaws which jut out from their skulls. The figures of goddesses in the perpendicular areas E and F are slightly different. They have receding chins and sharp noses. Their faces seem rather short and squished and this is probably the product of trying to draw detail with a relatively large brush. As for the medium goddesses, while the figure of Nut is more carefully drawn than the other two, they all have the same facial shape: slightly receding chin, small but pointy nose, fleshy area under the jaw. The large goddesses on the inside of the basin and lid are very beautifully drawn but maintain the same general facial shape as Nut figure on the chest. Little can be said of the goddesses on the back of the coffin except that they have the same eye-shape as those on the inside. Their faces are both roughly drawn and damaged (Figure 102).

Though the goddesses have different facial shapes at different sizes and their features have different morphologies in areas where the artist seems to have taken less care, they have some unifying features. The breast is always drawn as being relatively small and rounded. There is never a nipple. With the bigger drawings, the goddesses' eyes are always almond shaped and slanted slightly downward at the front, and the eyebrow has a sharp dip at the temples. The unifying feature of all the depictions of goddesses, however, is the treatment of the ear. On the large goddesses, the line forming the top of the ear curves backwards in a reversed c-shape where the ear meets the face and the wig. The bottom lobe of the ear is very carefully drawn. A comparison of the ear shapes makes it clear that the goddesses on the inside of the lid and the inside of the basin are by the same person, even if the green skin of the goddess on the lid obscures the details of her mouth and nose. This shape of the earlobe can also be seen on the medium-sized goddesses. Even on the rather roughly drawn figure on the bottom of the pedestal, the shape of the lobe is the same fleshy, curved shape.

Even on the small and very small goddesses, the ears, specifically the lobes have been rendered with great care. The exception is perhaps the sample from register E where the ear is outlined but the lobe is not indicated. The gods adjacent to this figure have the detached lobe, so perhaps we should think of this one figure as an anomaly.

The care taken in drawing the earlobes and the shape of the lines used to outline the ears are common between most of the human figures on the surface regardless of the size. The larger figures share a general body and facial shape as well. This is perhaps an indication that we are again dealing with the work of one person, though we cannot be certain. This person may have learned to draw small figures differently than he did larger ones.<sup>755</sup> The quality of his work was impacted by several factors including the brush with which he was working, the size

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<sup>755</sup> The shapes of the faces of these smaller figures are reminiscent of those that appear in the small illustrations which occur on late and Ptolemaic papyri in which the large and small figures exhibit a similar change in facial shape. See, for example, the Papyrus of Neferini in Berlin, P 10477.



of the area in which he was drawing, and whether the drawing was in a place that was likely to be scrutinized by viewers. This might be an indicator that the artist was working under a time constraint and had to choose where to focus his efforts.

### *The Text and the Number of Scribes*

All the text on the coffin of Djedhor is written in cursive glyphs in black ink. There are no polychrome glyphs. The text on the coffin of Djedhor maintains a uniform quality and hand across the front of the coffin. The back of the coffin has two columns of glyphs to either side of the Djed pillar which are written less carefully and with a larger brush. However, the characters on the back and the front share the same shapes and forms, and the orthographies of the different words are the same. The scribe has a habit repeated over the surface of the coffin of repeating the last word on the last column when starting a new column. Given all this, we should probably consider the coffin of Djedhor to be the product of one scribe and view the roughness of the back inscription as a sign of rushed or less careful work.

We can hardly blame him, because there is a lot of text on the coffin of Djedhor and on the left leg, at least, it's very repetitive. A mixture of texts surrounds the gods on the legs. Some of these are what Elias calls canopic spells. They are speeches excerpted from Book of the Dead 151 and 169, and their presence on the sides of these text-heavy coffin lids is well documented.<sup>756</sup>

These are interspersed with more generic formulae giving the name of the god and announcing Djedhor to be "a possessor or reverence before the Great God lord of the sky." The scribe seems to have had this formula memorized and been able to expand it to suit the space available by adding or omitting genealogical details and further epithets. This general formula appears on the back of the coffin to either side of the Djed pillar and in several other places. It occurs more on the left leg than it does on the right, and this might to have something to do with the fact that the gods on the left side are slightly larger than they are on the other, leaving less space for the canopic texts. In support of this proposal is the fact that the formula is used for the speeches of the goddesses on the ankles as well. These deities occupied the area where there was the least space for additional text on either side.

The texts which accompany Isis and Nephthys on the foot and head have parallels to examples on the coffins of the Priests of Montu from Thebes. They are speeches excerpted from Spell 151 of the Book of the Dead,<sup>757</sup> confirming that their iconography on the coffin is intended to create a 3-dimensional recreation of the vignette for this spell. The speech next to Nut on the breast of the coffin is another spell known from Theban parallels.<sup>758</sup>

The text in the central column consists of Book of the Dead Spell 89, for enabling the Ba to Rest on the Corpse. The central text area corresponds to the place where the ba is often

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<sup>756</sup> Quirke, pp. 419–23; Elias, 'Coffin Inscription in Egypt after the New Kingdom: A Study of Text Production and Use in Elite Mortuary Preparation', pp. 708–9.

<sup>757</sup> Elias, 'Coffin Inscription in Egypt after the New Kingdom: A Study of Text Production and Use in Elite Mortuary Preparation', pp. 598-600, 591-594.

<sup>758</sup> Elias, 'Coffin Inscription in Egypt after the New Kingdom: A Study of Text Production and Use in Elite Mortuary Preparation', p. 609.

shown resting in the accompanying vignette,<sup>759</sup> and the position of the text here is usual for Theban Saite period coffins. When this text ends, another spell begins, which is more unusual in this context. It is a "Spell for Presenting Offerings to Spirits," part of an Osiris liturgy adapted for funerary use.<sup>760</sup>

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<sup>759</sup> Quirke, p. 205.

<sup>760</sup> The text became popular in Theban tombs in the New Kingdom and reappears in the Ptolemaic period. See Smith for the latter. Jan Assmann, Martin Bommas, and Andrea Kucharek, *Altägyptische Totenliturgien*, *Supplemente Zu Den Schriften Der Heidelberger Akademie Der Wissenschaften*, Philosophisch-Historische Klasse, Bd. 14, 17, 20, 22 (Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag C. Winter, 2002), vol. II p 147-149; Smith, *Traversing Eternity*, p. 658.

The Coffin of Irethoreru, BM 20745

### Overview

In a letter to the Trustees of the British Museum written in December 1887, E. A. Wallis Budge announced that he had just bought a 'very good Akhmim mummy.'<sup>761</sup> The Ancient Egyptian in question was Irethoreru, and his coffin is now in the British Museum.

Irethoreru's coffin gives us an extended genealogy tracing the male members of his family back four generations prior. He had reason to be proud. His family held the second highest title in Akhmim, that of the Second Priest of Min (*ḥm ntr 2 nw mnw*). Irethoreru may have been a second son, because he did not hold the title even though his father, Ankhwenennefer, did.<sup>762</sup> Instead, he held a slew of lesser titles including: *ḥm-ntr* priest of Sokar who resides in Akhmim, and "servant" of Horus, Anubis and Isis. He was also a Stolist of Akhmim.<sup>763</sup>

Regardless, he did well enough for himself and was able to afford the sort of fine burial to which most Egyptians could only aspire after reaching a goodly old age (aged around 40-50). He was carefully mummified<sup>764</sup> and equipped with a gilded mask, and his mummy was wrapped in a net of intricate beadwork. He was then placed in a fine wooden coffin which has featured in several exhibitions and is discussed in Brech's typology,<sup>765</sup> but which remains untranslated.

### Iconographic Description

The coffin of Irethoreru is a wooden bivalve coffin and the lid and the basin are of about equal depth. It has a short pedestal and a back pillar which has been carefully carved in relief. The back of the body has been modeled to suggest the form of a wrapped body. The curve of the buttocks and backs of the thighs and calves are rendered on the basin. The front of the coffin has also been carefully carved. The line of the toes against the pedestal is curved rather than flat and square, and the rise of the chest and swell of the hips is suggested by the profile of the lid. The inside of the head of the coffin is squared off, but the top of the head on the outside has been slightly rounded in contrast with some early Ptolemaic and late period pieces where the top of the head is just flat. The entire inside surface of the coffin was coated with black resin.

The red face of the coffin is well-sculpted. The deceased has a round, fleshy chin and eyes that are smaller than might be expected from the examples previously discussed. His large ears are modeled on the blue and yellow striped wig. He once had an attached beard: the chin has a hole beneath it, and black straps have been painted on the chin. The wig has a white border running around its lappets, from the chin to the shoulder on each side. Curiously, the colors of the stripes change on the sides, where the wig drawn with alternating red and green

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<sup>761</sup> For the information on the collection history of this piece, I thank Dr. John Taylor at the British Museum, who discussed it with me via email on 9/12/2019.

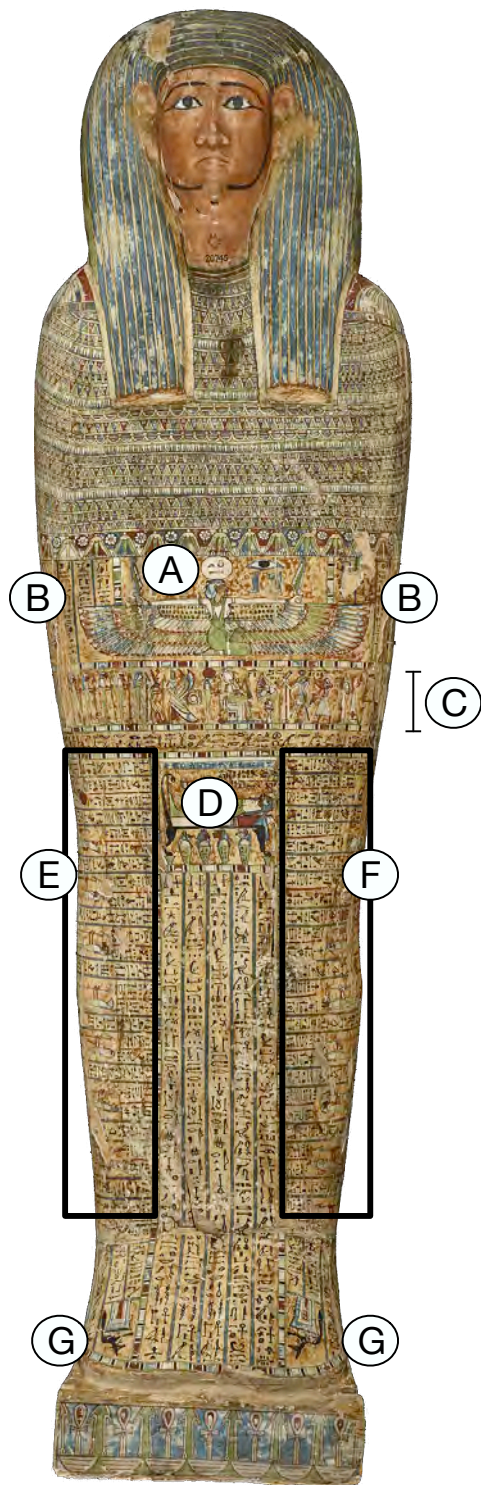
<sup>762</sup> For a full discussion of the genealogy of this family, see the conclusion of this chapter.

<sup>763</sup> His full titulary is: *sm3.ty Ipw ḥm ḥr inpw mw.t ntr ḥm-ntr skr ḥry-ib ipw imy 3bd=f s3 2-nw* "Stolist of Akhmim, Servant of Horus, Anubis, and the God's Mother, and *ḥm-ntr* priest of Sokar who resides in Akhmim, who does his monthly service with the Second Phyle."

<sup>764</sup> Dawson and Gray, p. 27.

<sup>765</sup> Brech, pp. 103–5.

stripes, and the back, where it was drawn with alternating red, white (now yellowish), and blue stripes. Like Djedhor, Irethoreru wears a small necklace above his broad floral collar. This has colored bands with an outer row of leaf-shaped beads. The larger collar is spread across his



chest forming a large rectangle that curves up only at the sides of the coffin lid. The collar has falcon-headed terminals on both shoulders. The outer row of the collar is a motif familiar from the Third Intermediate Period and 21st dynasty: open lotus blooms interspersed with frontally depicted daisies.

On the back of the basin, the entire surface of the back-pillar is decorated by an elaborately patterned and festooned *Djed* pillar. The pillar wears a plumed crown with a solar disk and Ram's horns. Cobras emerge from the tip of each horn. These uraei wear their own uraei, which dangle from the solar disks and cow-horns that they wear. Geometric patterns decorate the *Djed* pillar, which has alternating segments filled with hatching: green lines run in one direction and red lines in the other. To either side of the back pillar are rows and rows of text, separated by blue and red lines. The sides of the coffin at the opening are decorated simply with ribbons of block pattern and a red stripe covering the actual crack between the two halves. The pedestal is decorated with a frieze of repeating groups of *Ankh* and *Was* signs on baskets.

The layout of the decoration of the lid fits into Taylor's 25th/26th Dynasty Lid Type III, and Elias' Presentation Mode IV. That is, the central column is composed of five long columns of text topped by a small vignette of Osiris lying on a lion-shaped bier with a striped mattress. His ba-bird flies overhead and beneath the bier are four animal-headed canopic jars (D).

The decoration in the areas to the right and left of the central columns features a line of standing mummiform divinities, nine on each side, rotated perpendicularly to the central column either clockwise or counterclockwise, depending on the side of the coffin on which they are painted (E,F). these deities are surrounded by vertical columns of text which fills all the remaining space on the coffin lid below the chest area.

Figure 103: The Coffin of Irethoreru (BM 20745)  
Copyright the Trustees of the British Museum

The sky and mother goddess Nut kneels on the breast, spreading her wings protectively over the body within the coffin and clutching Ma'at feathers. Isis is depicted on the base of the pedestal, standing and stretching her wings downward. She holds Ankh signs in her hands. Nephthys stands on the top of the head, probably in a similar position, but her body is damaged. Each foot has an upside-down picture of a crouched jackal on a shrine (G). These are oriented such that the deceased himself could see them as right-side-up.

The coffin of Irethoreru has an additional register: a picture strip running across the breast below the Nut scene (C). This depicts the judgement of the dead and the subsequent presentation of the deceased to Osiris by Thoth. Behind Osiris stands Re-Harakhte, then Isis whose wings are spread protectively. Behind her is a legged snake wearing the red crown and a long entourage of mummiform deities.

Area A	Area B	Register C	Area D
Nut kneels, spreading her wings over the chest. She holds Ma'at feathers, and her name appears in the disk on her head. Name of Osiris appears above both of her arms.	Ram wearing a plumed crown and sun disk between horns, striding on a standard. Burning incense in a jar with a diagonal white stripe in front. Both sides.	Picture strip of judgement scene. From right to left, two baboons raising arms, anubis tends the scales. Maat and Thoth present deceased to Osiris, who has a nu-jar on a stand and a giant lotus before him. Re Harakhte stands behind Osiris, along with winged Isis with Shen sign between wings. Behind her is legged snake: Neheb-khau? Line of seven mummiform deities with human heads, beards. These hold was staves.	Mummiform deceased on lion-bodied and headed bier. Ba flies over head. Top of scene is a sky sign dotted with stars. Beneath the bier are four animal-headed canopic jars. Names on jars are correct.
Area E	Area F	Area G	Top of Head
Nine mummiform gods with differing heads and emblems, facing waist and carrying was staves. These are from waist to foot: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Re-Harakhte</li> <li>• Atum</li> <li>• Hery-khepri<sup>766</sup></li> <li>• Hapy</li> <li>• Qebhsenuf</li> <li>• Geb</li> <li>• Tefnut</li> <li>• Neith</li> </ul>	Nine mummiform gods with differing heads and emblems, facing waist and carrying was staves. These are from waist to foot: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Re-Harakhte</li> <li>• Osiris</li> <li>• Horus-Khenty-en-irty</li> <li>• Imsety</li> <li>• Duamutef</li> <li>• Hery-bakuef</li> <li>• ?</li> </ul>	Two jackals crouched on blue shrines with red doors. They have red ties around their necks.	Nephthys stretches wings downwards. Body is destroyed by a large chip of wood missing.

<sup>766</sup> This deity is not in LGG. It may be a mistake. See Appendix III for full translation and notes.

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Serqet</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Isis</li> <li>• Nephthys</li> </ul>		
<b>Bottom of Pedestal</b>			
Isis with green skin and red dress, stretches wings downwards and clutches Ankh signs.			




















































# Paleography





GardinerSign	Sample	GardinerSign	Sample
A1		A2	
A14		A4	
A47		A51	
B1		B8	
D2		D4	
D21		D28	
D35		D36	
D37		D4	
D46		D54	
D55		D58	
D6		E16	
E34		F1	
F1		F1	
F12		F2	
F31		F32	

GardinerSign	Sample	GardinerSign	Sample
F34		F35	
F39		G5	
G14		G17	
G2		G36	
G38		G39	
G43		H1	
H8		I9	
I1		K4	
L1		L7	
M17		M18	
M23		M29	
N1		N5	
N8		N1	
N14		N15	
N16		N25	
N27		N29	



GardinerSign	Sample	GardinerSign	Sample
N31		N35	
N4		O1	
O9		O18	
O28		O29	
O31		O34	
O49		O5	
P5		P8	
Q1		Q3	
R4		R7	
R8		R11	
R13		R14	
R17		R24	
S3		S24	
S29		S33	
S34		S43	
T22		T28	

GardinerSign	Sample	GardinerSign	Sample
U1		U5	  
U15		U19	 
U36		V6	 
V13		V16	 
V17		V24	 
V28		V3	  
V31		W1	 
W15		W17	 
W19		W2	 
W21		W22	 
W24		X1	 
X4		X8	  
Y1		Z1	 
Z2		Z11	 
AA1		AA2	 
AA5		AA11	 

GardinerSign	Sample	GardinerSign	Sample
AA15		AA25	
AA27		R.12R.22	

Like most wooden bivalve coffins, the coffin of Irethoreru was cobbled together with dowels from a variety of differently shaped smaller pieces of wood. It was carved and reinforced with a layer of linen at the weaker points. This was covered with at least one layer of white paste upon which the painting was carried out.

Light red lines were used to draw out the initial design. This included the figures and the columns for text. The text itself was not drafted. Red, green, and blue were then applied in that order, followed by black. The draftsman then applied a second layer of green stripes to the sides of the many block-pattern strips that form borders for text and vignettes. A layer of yellow, or perhaps varnish was carefully painted around all the figures. The paint or varnish has pooled and darkened in some areas more than others. This is especially noticeable around the figures since it was carefully brushed around them in short strokes, but then aged and yellowed. The result is a mottled appearance in the background of the vignettes.<sup>767</sup>

The artist outlined different parts of each figure according to its size and type. Most of the mummiform figures received no outline except for a single line which serves to denote the simplified contour of the front of the face and the attached divine beard. Sometimes the strap for the beard is drawn as well, doubling as the line of the chin. Interior detail on the tiny mummiform figures in the judgement scene and the larger figures perpendicular to the central column is limited. Their collars are striped in black on the white ground. They have a dot for an eye and a beard which is basically just an extension of a single line used to outline the face. As was the case with the coffin of Djedhor, the smaller figures have differently shaped faces than the larger ones. With winged figures, even that of Nut on the chest, only the upper line and outer curve of the wing is outlined, along with the innermost echelon of feathers.

The mummiform figures have tall, slim bodies. In the registers perpendicular to the central column, where they are drawn at a slightly larger scale, they have some minimal curvature at the calves and buttocks. In the judgement register, their backs are straight. This contrasts with the coffin of Djedhor and Nesqashuty where the curvature of even these smaller figures was emphasized or even exaggerated.

The figures of Nut in the first register and the vignette of the deceased on the bier received the most attention from the outliner. Nut's whole body is outlined. The line of her hip is emphasized, along with her individual legs and belly. Her nipple is drawn as a dot on the profile of her breast with smaller, surrounding dots forming the areola. Her garment is detailed, with stripes below her breast and knots in the straps which hold it up. The contours of her face, her eye, and the fold of her nostril are all outlined. The deceased and the lion-headed bed on which he lays are also carefully outlined. His mummified body has an extra row of drop beads on the collar and crossed stola. The bodies, arms, and hands of the goddesses at the head and foot of the bed are also fully outlined, though with less care.

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<sup>767</sup> I could only examine this piece via photograph. It is hard to tell whether the mottled appearance is due to the pooling of a reddish yellow pigment or a clear varnish which yellowed more vividly where it was applied more thickly. The piece does not appear particularly shiny, and that the substance must have had some water in it is seen on the left ankle, where the red of the hands of one of the deities has run. This is an argument against Pistacia varnish, which is not water soluble.



Figure 104: Falcon faces on the coffin of Irethoreru, from left to right Qebehsenuef from area D, Re-Harakhte from Area E, Re Harakhte from Register C.

All the mummiform deities with the exception of the deceased as Osiris on a bier are of similar shape: tall, skinny, and lacking in curvature. Outlines are applied sparingly but in a systematic

way to all the figures according to their size. This suggests that we are dealing with one artist who decorated the entire surface of this coffin. A comparison of the falcon-headed deities on different parts of the lid confirms this. The wig sits far back on the head, and the line of the top of the bird's head is quite long. The wig bulges slightly at the back and then falls straight downwards. The eye is a dot. A longer slightly curved dash forms the lateral eye-marking, while short, vertical dash indicates the marking under the eye. In the smallest falcon, Re-Harakhte in the judgement vignette, the entire eye is reduced to three dots (Figure 104).

The decoration on the coffin of Irethoreru is thus either the product of one artist or an artist with coworkers who were trying very hard to conform to a single style. We will assume the former.

### The Text and the Number of Scribes

The text on the coffin of Irethoreru was written in very neat, evenly spaced cursive hieroglyphs in black paint. The text was the last part of the decoration to be executed and it was drawn without prior outlines. The text on the back and the front are both carefully written.

The handwriting in all the text on the coffin is similar, and this scribe has a few idiosyncrasies in his handwriting that appear across the coffin. All of the text was probably the product of one scribe. When a character has a long vertical element, the scribe usually draws a horizontal tick at the bottom of it. This is most clearly seen in the pennant character (R8) and reed leaf (M17). Less frequently, though still notable, many characters with horizontal crosslines have vertical ticks at the end of those lines. This can be seen with the crossed lines (Z11). In the basket glyph, the handle only ever emerges from the rim, not from the side as it did on the coffin of Djedhor and most of the Group A pieces. The owl character (G17) occasionally takes a more hieratic form, with the feet emerging from the tail as a horizontal line with a claw at the end of it, and the head rendered by a V-shape at the top of the body. Finally, the horned viper (I9) often assumes the comma-shaped form that occasionally appeared in the Group A coffins of the Besenmut scribe.<sup>768</sup>

Almost all the text on the coffin consists of a single repeating offering formula where the following elements are adjusted as needed for the context: the name and epithets of the deity from whose offerings the deceased wished to partake, the titles of the deceased, and the deceased's genealogy. The gods in the perpendicular registers (E and F) recite this formula

<sup>768</sup> Specifically on the coffin of Besenmut and on the coffin of Djedhoriwefankh.

rather than specific canopic spells. Some of the names of the less common deities are spelled unconventionally, for example, the god Hery-bakuef (*hry-b3qw=f*) is named "Herqeb" (*hry-qb*). The scribe was very adept at the contracting and expanding the offering formula. He wrote it so many times that he probably had it memorized. He was perhaps unfamiliar with some of these rarer deities and may have been copying in their names.

The only goddess in these lateral registers for whom the scribe uses the feminine suffix pronoun is Isis. Isis' epithets in this line are so long that the scribe had to abridge the speech, which he must have done on the fly. The long offering list is shortened to say, "may she give all offerings." Perhaps the scribe paid extra attention to the pronoun because he already had to think about how to shorten the text immediately after it. The fact that he does manage to shorten the formula in a grammatically correct fashion is proof that he understood the content.

Some excerpts from other texts appear on the coffin. A short excerpt from the "Hacking of the Earth Liturgy", also sometimes called Book of the Dead Spell 169 appears in the horizontal band which runs across the chest between the Judgment scene and the perpendicular registers. The text on the foot of the coffin is an excerpt of Isis' speech from Spell 151 of the Book of the Dead. The text starts around the vignette of Isis on the upper half of the bottom of the pedestal. It continues the top of the feet on both sides around the vignettes of jackals on shrines. The text on the basin on the bottom of the pedestal is different--it is the usual offering formula addressed to Re-Harakhte. The speech of Nephthys on the head end is Falck's Nephthys Text T, which derived in the Saite period from an earlier speech by Isis, which in turn can be traced back to Book of the Dead 151.<sup>769</sup>

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<sup>769</sup> Martin Klaus Wilhelm von Falck, 'Textgeschichtliche Untersuchungen Zu Götterreden Und Verwandten Texten Auf Ägyptischen Särgen Und Sarkophagen von Der 3. Zwischenzeit Bis Zur Ptolemäerzeit, Band II' (Westfälischen Wilhelms Universität, 2001), p. 453.

## The Coffins of Ankhwenennefer at the Washington State Historical Society

### Overview

The coffins and human remains of Ankhwenennefer (*ꜥnh-wnn-nfr*)<sup>770</sup> have been in the collection of the Washington State Historical Society for over a century and a quarter. Being the only Egyptian items in their collection, the coffins have seldom been displayed in recent times. In 1891, on a trip to Egypt, real estate tycoon Allen C. Mason purchased the nested set of two coffins whose owner was still inside. His meticulous ledger entries record that he bought it from Mohareb Todros--a well-known antiquities dealer from a family of antiquities dealers in Luxor.<sup>771</sup>

The coffins had certainly made their way to the Luxor dealer from the despoliations at Akhmim only a few years before. The owner was one Ankhwenennefer, second priest of Min, lord of Akhmim. (*hm ntr 2 nw*) and *hm-ntr* priest of Horus-Who-Protects-His-Father--a deity familiar from many of the Akhmim coffins discussed earlier in the catalogue. He was also a *hm-ntr* priest of Khonsu at Dendera. Ankhwenennefer provides two generations of a genealogy on his coffin, showing that he inherited his highest title, Second Priest of Min, from his father, Wenennefer, and his grandfather. He seems to have been named for this grandfather, who was also Ankhwenennefer. The name of his mother was Tatjau (*t3-t3w*).<sup>772</sup> The coffins have been published as a 3D model online but are not published in print.<sup>773</sup>

### Iconographic Description

This outer coffin is a narrow rectangular box on a wooden base which juts out slightly around the bottom on the outside. The upper lip of the basin also projects slightly and has a rounded edge. The lid of the piece consists of a cavetto cornice with a slanted roof in the form of a *per-wer* shrine.<sup>774</sup>

The outer coffin of Ankhwenennefer has suffered some damage. At some point in modern times, the lid of the outer coffin was smashed and has now been reassembled in a clear Plexiglas case which cannot be removed. Parts of the basin have fragmented along the original lines of construction, revealing that the piece was made from an assortment of oddly shaped bits of wood which were pegged together. Despite all of this, most of the inscription on the coffin is still readable, and the paint is clean and vivid.

The basin is unpainted on the inside. Both long sides of the outside feature six mummiform human-headed gods alternating with blocks of three lines of text. These deities

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<sup>770</sup> I am grateful to Lynette Miller and the Washington State Historical Society for letting me study and photograph this coffin.

<sup>771</sup> Hagen and Ryholt, pp. 248–50.

<sup>772</sup> This name is not in PN. For notes on the transliteration, see the translation of the texts of this coffin set in Appendix III.

<sup>773</sup> Rita Lucarelli and Kea Johnston, 'WSHS- Inner Coffin of Ankh-Wenennefer - The Book of the Dead in 3D', *The Book of the Dead in 3D* <<https://3dcoffins.berkeley.edu/coffins/ankh-wenennefer-inner-coffin-wshs>> [accessed 26 January 2022]; Rita Lucarelli and Kea Johnston, 'WSHS- Outer Coffin of Ankh-Wenennefer - The Book of the Dead in 3D', *The Book of the Dead in 3D* <<https://3dcoffins.berkeley.edu/coffins/ankh-wenennefer-outer-coffin-and-lid-wshs>> [accessed 26 January 2022].

<sup>774</sup> This coffin type is rare compared to *qersu* coffins, which have a vaulted lid and four posts. Little has been published on the type, though there are a few other examples.

face the head end of the coffin. A long green stripe and block pattern frame the scene on the top and bottom, running all the way around the basin. The bodies of these deities are painted in green and an orangey-red and they alternate in color. They have Ma'at feathers on their heads and hold knives in their hands. The lid of the coffin with its cavetto cornice in alternating red, blue, and green forms a temple roof over these deities. An undulating winged snake appears on the wedge-shaped side of the top of the lid.

Isis and Nephthys kneel on the short ends of the coffin. They reach towards *shen*-signs on the ground before them. Their skin is green, and their dresses are red. Above Nephthys, on the lid at the head end of the coffin,<sup>775</sup> a solar disk with Uraei appears on the cavetto cornice as it might above the entrance to a temple. Captions to either side of the winged disk give its name: the "One of Behdet" (Edfu).

The top of the coffin's lid is bisected by a central vertical column of text running from the head end to the foot. This is framed by vertical ribbons of block pattern, which also frame the rectangular area on the top of the lid. To either side of the central column are columns of text rotated perpendicularly to the central column. On both sides, the text starts at the inside and reads outwards.

The inner coffin is in better condition. It has cracked and lost small amounts of plaster along the lines of construction, but both the lid and basin remain in one piece. Some of the plaster has fallen off the face and been rubbed off the top of the head. Other than this, the piece is in good condition and the colors are clean and vivid.

The coffin is a bivalve coffin with thick side walls and a recessed lip on the inside of the basin into which fits a corresponding projecting lip on the lid. The foot of the coffin rests on a pedestal and is separated from it by a notch since the foot and the pedestal are almost the same size. The toes are rounded and not squared off. The ankles, calves, thighs, and buttocks are carved and visible in the profile of the coffin lid and basin. The top of the head is rounded. A carved rectangular back pillar runs down the back of the coffin.

The back is painted with a large Djed pillar topped with a sun-disk and feathered crown. Uraei emerge from either side of the plumed headdress. Each cobra wears their own horned headdress emerging from a modius. To the right and left of the *djed* pillar, the basin is decorated with horizontal lines of black text on alternating beige and yellow grounds divided by thin blue and red lines. These are oriented perpendicular to the pillar.

Both the inside of the lid and the inside of the basin of the coffin are decorated with large figures of goddesses painted on an off-white ground. They wear a modius and a sun-disk on their heads with their name--they are the goddess Nut. Both goddesses are drawn with faces and bodies in profile, though their hands and arms are portrayed frontally. They have light yellow skin and wear orangish red dresses with knots in the shoulder straps. They wear a collar and bracelets with green stripes. Their dresses are tied with a red sash and are painted with hatching of red and green lines in opposite directions in order to represent a bead network. The main difference between the two depictions of Nut is that the one in the basin is stretching her arms downwards, while the one in the lid bends her arms at the elbows upwards. The goddess in the lid stands on a standard with glyphs for the east and west to her left and right.

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<sup>775</sup> The lid is placed on the coffin backwards on the 3D model of the coffin on the Book of the Dead in 3D website.



The area below the feet on the inside of the footbox is painted with a *shen* sign and two crossed flails (S23) --a glyph in the word "unity" or "to be made whole."

On the outside of the coffin lid, the face of the coffin is red and has large, sculpted ears carved from separate pieces of wood and attached to the sides of the face. Ankhwenennefer's



Figure 105: The inner coffin of Ankhwenennefer, courtesy of the Washington State Historical Society, Tacoma

godly beard is still attached and its black straps are painted all the way around the chin, not just at the sides.

Ankhwenennefer's wig is painted with alternating green, white, and black stripes, and the stripe colors change on the sides and back of the wig to alternating red and black and white. The bands which cap the lappets on his wig are striped with short black lines. It is not clear that the series of six colored and patterned lines at Ankhwenennefer's neck are supposed to be a second, smaller collar. However, the patterns on the rows of the broad collar beneath this are visually distinct, consisting of rows of geometric patterns which may reference the petal patterns of earlier periods. A row of white daisies on a blue ground occurs about halfway down. The collar is broad and rectangular and ends in falcon-head terminals at the shoulders. The outermost row consists of drop-beads in blue, red, yellow, and green.

The layout of the main surface of the lid is related to Taylor's Lid Type III but doesn't exactly conform to it. Ruth Brech discusses several coffins with this layout, which she calls "Transitional Group C." According to her research, these coffins have a vignette of Nut at the height of the ribs, below which is a square panel with a vignette from Book of the Dead Spell 89 (the scene of Osiris on a lion-bed with a ba-bird flying overhead). This vignette, along with a block of text columns running from the hip to the ankles forms a central element on the lid around which the text and vignettes on the sides are balanced. On the sides of the legs, running from the hip to the ankle, Transitional Group C coffins also have columns of gods who face the center of the lid (Areas E, F).<sup>776</sup> These are separated from the central element and the edge of the coffin lid by columns of text.

This coffin, and others of Transitional Group C, unlike the coffins of Irethoreru and Djedhor, were meant to be viewed frontally while the coffin was standing. Nothing is rotated to be better seen from the sides. Furthermore, the symbolic function of the coffin as a tableau of the hourly vigil is weakened by the placement of the deities parallel to the center

<sup>776</sup> Brech, pp. 141–47.

column rather than perpendicularly to it. The figures no longer stand around the coffin itself, but around the vignette and text block running from the hips to the ankles. The individual speeches of the gods have disappeared entirely.

The coffin of Ankhwenennefer differs from most of the coffins in Transitional Group C because it has an extra register between the winged Nut figure and the Osiris on a Bier vignette. This is a long picture strip with a judgement scene (Register C). Having passed the judgement, the deceased is presented to Re-Harakhte by Maat and Thoth. An offering stand with a jar and a very large lotus stand before the mummiform solar deity. There is also Ammit, sitting on a chest with a vaulted lid and wearing a headdress with a sun-disk and two plumes. She holds a knife in her front paws. Behind Re-Harakhte is Osiris, and then Isis. Her wings are spread, and she holds a wedjat eye on a basket between her wings. Behind her is a legged snake with a white crown. He is Nehebkhou. The scene ends on the viewer's left side with three mummiform deities wearing perfumed cones on their heads and clutching *was* staves.

A layout change from the Book of the Dead 151 Tableau as seen on the coffin of Irethoreru is the placement of Isis on the top of the foot rather than the bottom of the pedestal (Area G). The two jackals on shrines have been retained and inserted in this panel above the goddess' shoulders. She is reversed so that she is right-side-up to the occupant of the coffin. She stretches her wings downwards and clutches an Ankh sign in each hand. Her counterpart, Nephthys is painted on the head end of the lid, holding her arms in an identical position but wearing a yellow dress rather than a red one. Nephthys' face and lower body have been destroyed by flaking plaster.

The relocation of Isis onto the top of the foot has left room for a new vignette on the bottom of the pedestal. This scene marks the reintroduction of solar themes into the coffin iconography. These were noticeably absent from the coffins of Djedhor and Irethoreru in this section. In this vignette, a carefully drawn winged scarab beetle emerges from a horizon glyph. The sun in the horizon is between his back legs, and a smaller disk with now damaged interior decoration is held in his front legs. A sadly damaged blue bar with black interior dots forms the top of the scene. It is probably a sky glyph, and the dots are presumably stars.

Further details of the iconography of this coffin are summarized in the following table:

Area A	Area B	Register C
Kneeling winged figure of goddess Nut. She holds large Ankh signs in both hands and her name is in the yellow sun-disk on her head. The name of Osiris appears above her right and left shoulders. She has green skin and a red dress.	On the left and right sides of the coffin lid are mirrored images of rams on standards. These face the center. The rams have plumed headdresses with sun-disks. They also have flaming incense pots in front of them which are painted green and blue with a diagonal stripe.	Judgement scene. From the viewer's far right to far left: the scale, Maat, the deceased wearing a long kilt, cross-wise sash, and a funerary cone, Thoth with a writing palette. Ammit crouched on a chest with a slanted lid carrying a knife and wearing a plumed headdress. In front of Re Harakhte is an offering stand with a spouted jar and a large lotus. Behind him is Osiris wearing the atef crown. Both are standing, mummiform. Behind Osiris is Isis who clutches a feather and spreads her wings around a

		wedjat eye and basket. Behind them are nehebkhou as a blue and green legged snake with a white crown and beard. Then come three mummiform human headed deities. All mummiform deities hold was staves.
<b>Area D</b>	<b>Area E</b>	<b>Area F</b>
Ba bird with perfumed cone hovers over mummiform deceased as Osiris on bier. The bier is lion-headed and has a yellow, white and red mattress. Beneath the bier are four animal-headed canopic jars. These have the names on them and two wear perfumed cones.	Vertical column of four gods separated by decorative bands of colored stripes. The gods are mummiform and clutch was staves. They are wrapped in green shrouds. They are identified based on the emblems on their heads. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Re-Harakhte (Sun disk)</li> <li>• Khepri (Scarab)</li> <li>• ? (Damaged)</li> <li>• Serqet (Scorpion)</li> </ul>	Vertical column of four gods separated by decorative bands of colored stripes. The gods are mummiform and clutch was staves. They are wrapped in green shrouds. They are identified based on the emblems on their heads. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Atum (Double Crown)</li> <li>• Shu (Plume)</li> <li>• Unclear (White Crown)</li> <li>• Unclear (Red Crown)<sup>777</sup></li> </ul>
<b>Area D</b>	<b>Top of Head</b>	<b>Bottom of Pedestal</b>
Upside-down vignette of Isis with her wings spread downward, wearing a red dress. She holds ankhs in her hands and her skin is green. On either side of her head are black jackals crouched on blue and red shrines. They have flails and the one on the viewer's left has a red tie around his neck.	Vignette of a goddess, probably Nephthys, wings spread downwards, clutching ankhs in both hands. She wears a yellow dress. The area below her hips and above her breast is destroyed due to deterioration of plaster. The picture was probably very similar to that on the top of the foot.	Black beetle with spread wings. Back legs hold the large red solar disk in the horizon glyph. Forelegs hold a smaller sun-disk with a black interior decoration now lost.

<sup>777</sup> Based on parallels on other coffins and lack of beard, this may be Neith or Tefnut.

# Paleography of Inner and Outer Coffins

	Ankhwennefer Inner Paleography	Ankhwennefer outer Paleography
A1		
A2		
A4		
A6		
A7		
A14		
A17		
A33		
A4		
A42		
A47		
A51		
A53		
A54		
A55		
B8		
C1		
C11		
D1		
D2		

	Ankhwennefer Inner Paleography	Ankhwennefer outer Paleography
D4		
D5		
D6		
D21		
D26		
D28		
D35		
D36		
D37		
D4		
D43		
D45		
D46		
D49		
D55		
D56		
D58		
E1		
E16		
E23		
E34		
F1		
F1		
F29		
F3		
F31		
F34		

	Ankhwennefer Inner Paleography	Ankhwennefer outer Paleography
F35		
F39		
F4		
G1		
G5		
G6		
G14		
G17		
G18		
G2		
G26		
G29		
G36		
G37		
G38		
G39		
G4		
G43		
G45		
G47		
G52		

	Ankhwennefer Inner Paleography	Ankhwennefer outer Paleography
H1		
H5		
H6		
H8		
I9		
I11		
K4		
M3		
M4		
M12		
M17		
M18		
M23		
M29		
M36		
N1		
N5		
N6		
N8		
N12		
N14		
N16		
N25		

	Ankhwennefer Inner Paleography	Ankhwennefer outer Paleography
N26		
N27		
N29		
N31		
N35		
N37		
O1		
O9		
O22		
O28		
O29		
O31		
O34		
O44		
O49		
O5		
P1		
P3		
P6		
P8		
Q1		
Q3		
Q6		

	Ankhwennefer Inner Paleography	Ankhwennefer outer Paleography
T22		
T28		
U1		
U1D12D 12		
U7		
U15		
U19		
U26		
U28		
U32		
U33		
U36		
V2		
V6		
V13		
V15		
V16		
V2		
V22		
V25		
V28		
V3		
V31		
W9		

	Ankhwennefer Inner Paleography	Ankhwennefer outer Paleography
□ <sub>W1</sub>		
𓏏 <sub>W17</sub>		
⊙ <sub>W19</sub>		
⊥ <sub>W2</sub>		
⊕ <sub>W21</sub>		
⊖ <sub>W22</sub>		
○ <sub>W24</sub>		
⊗ <sub>W25</sub>		
∩ <sub>X1</sub>		
⊔ <sub>X4</sub>		
△ <sub>X8</sub>		
⊔ <sub>Y1</sub>		
⊔ <sub>Y5</sub>		
⊔ <sub>Z1</sub>		
⊔ <sub>Z2</sub>		
⊔ <sub>Z7</sub>		
⊔ <sub>Z11</sub>		
⊙ <sub>AA1</sub>		
○ <sub>AA2</sub>		
⊔ <sub>AA11</sub>		
⊔ <sub>AA15</sub>		
⊔ <sub>AA18</sub>		
⊔ <sub>AA25</sub>		

	Ankhwennefer Inner Paleography	Ankhwennefer outer Paleography
⊔ <sub>AA27</sub>		
⊔ <sub>AA28</sub>		





*Figure 106: Nephthys from the foot end of the coffin of Ankhwenennefer at the Washington State Historical Society.*

The outer coffin was covered with a white gesso over which the drawings were executed in black. Much of the lid was then carefully painted with a very thin, dilute layer of yellow, leaving some areas white, such as alternating columns of text and the bodies of the mummiform and human figures. At this point, some of the black guidelines might have had to be redrawn. Two reds were then added, one very thick and one more dilute. The thick red was used on the faces, arms and hands of the male figures, and on the dresses of Isis and Nephthys. The more dilute red was painted over the white ground on the bodies and collars of the figures, yielding a shade of orange. The green and orange figures alternate so that one figure has an orange body and green collar and the next has a green body and orange collar.

The next color applied was green, which had a chalky tint and was applied in an even thickness in all areas where it was used. Finally, a second layer of black was applied. This was used in the black blocks of the block pattern, the knives held by the deities, and to outline and render interior details on all of the figures. The text was added last, also in black.

The fact that all the figures are at the same scale makes it easier than usual to tell that the same artist drew all the figural decoration on the outer coffin. The quality of the outlining and the flow of the ink is consistently controlled and precise across the surface of the coffin (except for Nephthys' arms which the artist apparently forgot to outline). The

artist who worked on this coffin was exceptionally skilled.

The mummiform figures all have the same contours on their bodies. The bodies are well proportioned with a very slight bump at the knee. The place where the line of the small of the back meets the curve of the back of the thighs forms a pointed bump at the buttocks.

The two kneeling goddesses on either side of the coffin were both drawn by a single artist. A single sensuous curve runs down the back around the buttocks and down the inside of the fold of the legs. In both cases, the knee joint is square, with the lower corner touching the



ground. The goddesses have small breasts with nipples in profile, and slight stippling to indicate the areola. Their dress-straps are twisted and each is formed from two crossed lines (Figure 106).

There is vignette on the lid of the coffin which seems like it might have been drawn by a second person. This is the undulating snake, which has a different face on one side of the coffin than the other. Both snakes have all the same lines, but the one on the occupant's left side of the head end of the coffin is less carefully executed. The pattern on its hood is more exuberantly drawn, and its face is larger and has a more pointed snout. We can perhaps imagine that an apprentice was tasked with executing this one figure. Again, though, it is hard to be certain that this was a second artist and not just one artist who was in a hurry and working on a small vignette that would not be the center of attention (Figure 107).



Figure 107: Snakes on the lid of the outer coffin of Ankhwenennefer.

The process for decorating the inner coffin was slightly different than that for the outer coffin. The whole surface was covered with a white gesso as with the outer coffin. The original light red draft lines can be seen especially well on the vertical columns of deities on the legs. These were drawn on top of the ground, which was then covered in a very dilute, selectively applied layer of yellow, as was the case with the outer coffin. This yellow was applied in multiple layers in some areas to build up a richer hue. This can be most easily seen on the bottom of the pedestal, where the rich yellow horizon glyph has been painted on a more delicate yellow ground. Some of the yellow of the surface of the coffin is due to the thin layer of varnish which was very evenly applied to all the lid, excepting areas that were meant to be left bright white.

The next color to be applied was red, followed by green and blue. Blue is conspicuously absent on the outer coffin. Finally, the artist added black details, black colored figures, and outlines. Initially, the artist drew some of the borders to the strips of block pattern in green, but then changed his mind and painted over them in black. The text was painted last in the columns allotted for it, and then the varnish was applied to the outside of the lid and basin.

The quality of the painting on the inner coffin is consistent and fine over the entire surface. The lines are of even thickness and darkness, and the color is applied in an even layer. All the lines of the layout are straight and close to parallel or perpendicular when they are intended to be. The back of the coffin is painted with a larger brush as was observed on the coffin of Djedhor above. The large *djed* pillar was drawn finely but with less precision and care than was used on the front of the coffin. The sizes of the lines of text are not symmetrical on either side of the *djed* pillar at the level of the upper back. In short, the back has not been as carefully drafted as the front, which is understandable given that it would probably not have been visible to most funeral-goers.

Even though the figures on this coffin vary in size, they were probably drawn by the same person who drew the human figures on the outer coffin. This person approached the task



Figure 108: Faces from the outer and inner coffin of Ankhwenennefer, from the large picture clockwise: Nut, inner coffin, inside of basin. Isis, foot end, outer coffin. Mummiform deity left side, outer coffin. Isis, area G, inner coffin. Deceased, vignette D, inner coffin. Nut, vignette A, inner coffin. Photographs by author except the large figure of Nut, which is courtesy of WSHS.

of drawing faces of different sizes differently. In general, his larger and very large figures, including the pictures of Isis and Nephthys on the head and the foot, the figure of Nut on the chest, and the large goddesses painted on the inside of the coffin have similar facial features (Figure 108). The line of their mouths angle upwards slightly, leaving the impression of a slight smile. The female figures have a little fat on the lower jaw and rounded chins. The angle between the neck and jaw is almost right, but the line between them is curving, not angled. The nose tends to be pointed, and the bridge of the nose is only slightly indented at the level of the eye. The eye is large and almond-shaped with a thick brow and thinner cosmetic lines.

Sometimes the end of the eye near the temples is slightly lower, slanting the eyes backwards and giving the face a relaxed look. The exception to this is the image of the deceased on the bier. His eye is round and widely opened.<sup>778</sup>

The artist has attempted to draw the faces of the smaller deities in the judgement register with these features as well, though his large pen limited the amount of detail he could add. Maat has a rounded chin, and the deceased has the same upward slanted mouth. The smallest deities have eyes that can be drawn in two ways. Some of the figures, such as Osiris in the judgement register and the figure of Serqet in the right-side vertical column have eyes that are drawn as two lines with a dot sandwiched between them. All the small, red-skinned male mummiform deities in the judgement scenes and vertical columns have simple dots for eyes. Their bodies are otherwise drawn similarly, so it's more likely the difference is attributable to the deities being different types of gods rather than being the product of two hands. All of the figures are carefully drawn and share features with the mummiform deities on the outer coffin, most notably the angular buttocks where the artist used two lines to draw the entire back side of the deity's body.

In summary, the decoration on the outer coffin and inner coffin of the coffin of Ankhwenennefer were by the same, highly skilled artist, who may have let an apprentice draw the winged cobra on one side of the outer coffin lid. The primary artist devoted substantial time to all parts of the outer coffin and the lid of the inner coffin except for the back. The quality of the decoration here is still good, but not drafted with the same precision as the front.

### *The Text and the Number of Scribes*

All of the text on the coffin of Ankhwenennefer is written in black paint on the ground color. It is written in cursive hieroglyphs. The horned viper character occasionally takes a small, comma-shaped form which has hieratic parallels. The two pod glyphs in the words "sweet" (*ndm.t*) and "delicious" (*bnr*) both take forms that are like the hieratic.<sup>779</sup> There is very little internal variation in handwriting across the entire surface of both the inner and outer coffins. The sign forms and spelling of individual words is also very consistent between the inner and outer coffins. We should consider them to be the product of one and the same scribe.

Almost all of text on the lid of the inner coffin consists of offering formulae. These formulae essentially consist of a wish to receive a good burial as well as a list of food and provisions from among the offerings of a deity whose name and epithets change in each formula. The formula is adjusted to the available space through the inclusion of additional epithets and the expansion and contraction of the genealogy of the deceased. The text often begins with the words "Recitation by..." which is used interchangeably with the usual offering formula opening "Royal offerings of..." The one long text on the lid which is not an offering

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<sup>778</sup> This may have been intended to portray the deceased/Osiris as especially wakeful. It may also have been because the artist was drawing the deceased at a different angle than he approached the other figures since they are standing, and the deceased is lying on a bier.

<sup>779</sup> These characters are M29 and M30. M29 is usually written with an owl as a phonetic complement, and we should perhaps see the version on Ankhwenennefer in this light. The *bnr* glyph M30 does not have an exact parallel in Verhoeven, but note the three pronged top that occurs on the variant on Ankhwenennefer's coffin and in all of the examples in the Verhoeven paleography. Verhoeven, p. 156.

formula is the text next to the goddess Nut in Area A. This text is an abridged Nut text where the goddess spreads her wings over the deceased and promises him the breath of life to his nostrils. The deities mentioned in the central column's offering inscription are Osiris and Ptah-Sokar-Osiris who resides in Akhmim. The association of the later specifically with Akhmim is unusual and does not appear on other coffins in this corpus.

Small captions with the names of the gods appear in the judgement scene and on the canopic jars in the scene of the deceased on the lion-headed bed. The name and titles of the deceased are given above the mummified body in this vignette. The label above the figure of the deceased in the judgement scene gives his name as the Second Priest of Min Nespakhered. This is probably a mistake rather than a sign of reuse since there are no other signs of reuse on the piece.

The back of the coffin was not inscribed with offering formulae, but with another text that could not be identified at this time.<sup>780</sup> That this would be a prestigious funerary text rather than more offering formulae is interesting because the back of the piece would not have been as visible as the front of the piece, and one would expect the more rare texts to be more visible.

The text on the outer coffin, on the other hand, consists almost completely of Book of the Dead spells. The central text on the lid is the usual offering formula with an extensive titulary and genealogy, the last part of which was unfortunately damaged when the lid was broken. The text on the deceased's right side of the lid starts at the foot end and reads towards the head in vertical columns. The first spell on this side is Spell 89, for "Enabling the Ba to Rest on the Corpse." This occupies the whole right side of the lid and continues reading from the head to the foot on the left side. When it ends, it is followed by Spell 15, which is a solar hymn.

The basin of the coffin begins reading at the head end to the viewer's right of the Nephthys vignette and proceeds around the coffin clockwise. The first few lines of the text are the beginning of Spell 125 of the book of the dead, which is the spell recited at the Judgement. However, Book of the Dead Spell 71 is inserted into this, starting in the middle of a sentence in the third column. This proceeds (with a lot of internal grammatical mistakes) down the deceased's right side of the coffin. The scribe ends it reasonably gracefully at the end of a sentence and Spell 125 resumes around the area of the deceased's right calf in the place where it was interrupted. The negative confession continues onto the head side of the box, though the words for several of the transgressions are spelled in ways that are hard to interpret, and it seems that the scribe might have had a hard time making sense of them as well.

The negative confession is abridged, and a new spell begins on the left side of the head and continues onto the left side of the coffin. This is the same solar spell that occurred on the left side of the lid, albeit in a more complete form. There is not enough room for the whole spell, however, and it cuts off suddenly as the text runs out of room on the left side.

The scribe's handwriting is beautiful. The glyphs are well drawn, detailed, and evenly spaced. The flow of ink off the pen is always even and controlled. He was particularly clever in choosing unusual determinatives for words which emphasize a particular nuance of their meaning. Several signs appearing on the inner coffin especially are unique, such as the choice of a winged scarab for the determinative of the word *psš.t* (one who spreads) in the phrase

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<sup>780</sup> Unfortunately, the back of the coffin could not be studied in detail because it was inaccessible. There are a few older photos of the back of the coffin in the museum's archive, but these were not enough to translate the text.

"[Nut]...is the one who spreads herself over you." Also interesting is the choice of a glyph of a coffin with a slanted lid as the determinative for the word burial (*qrs.t*). This may well be an allusion to the fact that the outer coffin of this set takes the form of a box with a slanted lid.

However, the scribe seems to have had some trouble with the texts he had to write. There are several strange insertions and grammatical mistakes even in the offering formulae. In one place, Anubis is accidentally given the title "Who is in (his) monthly service" (*imy 3bd*), which is corrected to "who is in the bandages" (*imy w.t*) by the addition of another character. When examining these mistakes, we must remember that the scribe only got one try to write all of this text. He could not erase mistakes. So, any mistake like the miswritten caption and the accidental splicing of spell 71 into the middle of 125 on the outer coffin had to be handled with as much grace as possible.

Even accounting for this, though, the Book of the Dead spells on the outer coffin have a lot of mistakes in the pronouns and in the spellings of words such as the names of the transgressions in the negative confession. These may be an indication of a scribe who was not very familiar with these very specialized texts in Middle Egyptian. There are a lot of errors in determinatives especially, where a wrong determinative was used which was the same shape as the expected one. An example for this is the use of the whip glyph (V22) instead of the phallus glyph (D52). These are probably an indicator that the scribe was copying the spells from another document and misreading the handwriting on the other document. We can say that the Ankhwenennefer scribe was a very good draftsman but was perhaps not entirely able to read and interpret Middle Egyptian religious texts.

## Workshops Responsible for Text-Forward Coffins

To make sense out of the coffins in this chapter, we must contend with some formidable problems because the coffins in this chapter form a disparate lot, and most of the pieces discussed seem to be by different artists and scribes. Firstly, we need to discuss the relationship between these text-forward coffins and the Group A pieces, if indeed such a relationship exists. Most of the coffins discussed above seemed to be following a model that was used throughout upper Egypt during the Saite period.<sup>781</sup> The following analysis will define this model inquire as to whether there were any uniting characteristics between pieces which allow us to characterize the workshops that produced them. Finally, we will deal with two coffins discussed above which are by the same artist. These pieces shed light on the relationship between the Upper Egyptian Saite pattern and a new design pattern which emerged at Akhmim, probably towards the end of the dynastic period.<sup>782</sup>

The Coffins of Nespaqaishuty (Penn 883 a-c), Pakharu (Porto 41.01.091), and Ankhpkhered (Asti 94a) and the Fate of Workshop A

Though they have very different basin and lid layouts, there seems to be some connection between the coffins of Nespaqaishuty, Pakharu, and Ankhpkhered, the last being one of the Group A coffins discussed in the previous chapter. The coffins of Nespaqaishuty and Pakharu share a unique vignette in the same location on both pieces. While the coffin of Pakharu is not a Group A coffin, it uses the Group A vignette of the judgement of the deceased before Re-Harakhte in one of its registers. All three coffins have similarities in the way certain elements of iconography are drawn, and in the paleography. These similarities indicate that the pieces are related in some way even if they are not by the same artists and scribes. However, it is hard to ascertain exactly what the relationship between these pieces is and thus clarify the exact relationship between the Group A painters and those who created the Text forward coffins.

The coffins of Nespaqaishuty and Pakharu share at least one iconographic element that does not appear elsewhere in the corpus, or on published coffins from elsewhere. This is the

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<sup>781</sup> In addition to the well-known Theban Priests of Montu coffins, which are published in Gauthier, there are several examples of this piece from elsewhere in Upper Egypt, including the coffin of Djehutymose (Kelsey Museum, Ann Arbor 1989.3.1) and Pasherienaset (Genoa Museo di Archeologia Ligure, No. 1027), which are both from Edfu.

<sup>782</sup> Brech, pp. 145–47.





Figure 109: Vignette of the anthropomorphized "west" sign on the coffins of Pakharu (right) and Nespaqaishuty (left).

representation of anthropomorphic labet and Imentet signs which appears on the ankles of both coffins. In it, the signs for "West" stands on the left side of the foot of the coffin and is depicted with arms (Figure 109). One hand holds a burning cup of incense. On the coffin of Pakharu, the other hand throws more incense onto the flame. The rest of the glyphs for the word "West" (*imnt.t*) are located nearby, though the word seems to be misspelled on the coffin of Nespaqaishuty with plural dots replacing the two t-loaves which were on the coffin of Pakharu. On the right foot is a similar vignette featuring an anthropomorphic sign for "East" (*ib.t*).

There are other formal similarities in the iconography of the coffins as well. On both coffins, the Abydos fetish and the modius which crowns it are bottle-

shaped: the veiled element of the fetish has long, straight side, and the modius on the top is narrow, tall and cylindrical like the neck of a bottle. Atop the modius, the plumes rest on a horizontal bar which is wider than the modius on which they are fixed this wide, bar-like element also appears on the coffin of Ankhpakhered from the Group A workshop. On the coffins of Nespaqaishuty and Pakharu, the plumes of the fetish's crown are separated from each other and have a large gap between them. This gap does not appear on any of the Group A pieces.

Additionally, both the coffins of Nespaqaishuty and Pakharu depict the necklace glyph on which Isis crouches in similar ways. The glyph has a thick dark outline which is undifferentiated from the ties falling to either side of the necklace. On both necklaces, the clasps are triangular rather than circular, and curve downwards. The stripes representing the rows of beads are straight lines rather than following the curve of the necklace (Figure 110). Both coffins tend to draw animal-headed deities with disproportionately large heads.

At the level of texts, both coffins occasionally let slip a hieratic glyph, and the forms that these take are very similar



Figure 110: Isis crouching on the Nebu necklace on the coffins of Pakharu (left) and Nespaqaishuty (right) showing the distinctive shape of the necklace.

between the coffins. The desert hare glyph (E34) especially is almost identical on both pieces. Finally, the canopic gods on the two coffins give the same speeches, and on both coffins, these are riddled with questionable spelling and word-order choices.

Despite these similarities, neither piece seems to be by the same artist or scribe. The script on the Pakharu is much more cursive than on the coffin of Nespaqaishuty, which tend to be a mixture of hieratic-influenced glyphs and filled outlines of more monumental-style glyphs. The spacing between the glyphs on Pakharu's coffin is much more careful and practiced, than that on the coffin of Nespaqaishuty where the glyphs can be crammed up against their neighbors and spaced far apart within a single line of text. Meanwhile, the figures on Nespaqaishuty's coffin are more stocky and thick-limbed than those on the coffin of Pakharu. They tend to have more carefully drawn faces, too, though it's difficult to say how much of this is due to the size differential between the figures on the coffins of Pakharu and Nespaqaishuty. The similarities between the figure drawings are such that there must be a relationship between the two artists. Perhaps they were contemporaries who worked together, or perhaps they were apprentices of the same teacher. Indeed, Taylor has shown that the shape of the Abydos fetish changes over time, so the similarity of the fetishes on the coffins lends some credence to the idea that they were made roughly contemporarily.<sup>783</sup>

That there may be a connection between these two coffins and the Group A coffins is hinted by the similarity between the judgement scene on the coffin of Pakharu and the version of the scene which appeared on the Group A coffins. In both versions of the scene, the deceased's heart is weighed before Re-Harakhte, who is followed by a bovine-headed female deity. Between the deceased and the great god stands Atum as a crowned snake standing on his tail and also the goddess Ammit. The coffin of Pakharu's version of the scenes adds the detail of the reborn deceased on a crook. In this version Thoth and Horus share the role of keeper of the scale, and the God stands before the deceased instead of sitting. The presence of the cow-headed goddess behind Re-Harakhte and the depiction of Atum were unusual features of the scene as it appeared on the Group A coffins. Though the scene here is smaller than that on the Group A coffins, occupying only half the register, and though it adds several new elements, the similarities between these scenes are too striking to be coincidence.

The coffins of Pakharu and Nespaqaishuty share scribal and artistic similarities with the coffin of Ankhpakhered from Asti as well. The coffin of Nespaqaishuty and Ankhpakhered both have *djed* pillars on the back which are decorated with a similar pattern of alternating colored rectangles enclosing contrasting concentric circles. Of the coffins where the back was available to study, this pattern only occurred on these two pieces.

As for paleography, the cow glyph (E1) and the basket (V31) are nearly identical between the Asti coffin and the Porto coffin. The way the basket is drawn is unusual, too. It has a dot in the middle and the handle emerges from the side rather than the rim, curling upward at the end. On the other hand, the seated man glyph (A1) and the throne glyph (Q1) are both very distinctive and consistently drawn on the Asti coffin and are not paralleled on the coffin of Pakharu or Nespaqaishuty.

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<sup>783</sup> Taylor, 'The Development of Theban Coffins during the Third Intermediate Period: A Typological Study', pp. 49–53.



Again, the pieces are probably related to each other, but the exact nature of the relationship is unclear, because it doesn't seem like the pieces were decorated by the same people. Most of the similarities between the coffins don't rise to the level of shared vignettes, or even individual figures with identical costume and accessories. Given the similarities between the scenes of the Anthropomorphized *Iabet* and *Imentet* scenes, and the similarity between the judgement scene on the coffin of Pakharu and those on the Group A coffins, we can perhaps conclude that the artists of the coffins of Nespaqaishuty and Pakharu were familiar with some of the same vignettes and some of the vignettes used by the Group A artists. Whether this referencing came in the form of copying a common model or whether the two artists were trained by the same teacher is unclear. Given the stylistic similarities between specific figures on the two coffins, such as the Abydos fetish and the Nebu necklace, the latter seems more likely.

Though the artists did share at least one vignette with the artists of Group A, they did not share any of the model texts. The canopic gods on the coffins of Pakharu and Nesqashuty have similar speeches, but neither these speeches nor any of the other text on the two coffins is shared with any of the Group A pieces. Instead, the commonalities between the coffins of Pakharu and Nespaqaishuty and the Group A pieces occur at the level of paleography. They share paleographical similarities with one Group A coffin--that of Ankhpakhered in Asti.

We can say the following: the coffins of Pakharu and Ankhpakhered may have been by contemporaries who were either taught by the same teacher or sharing at least one model vignette. They feature similar art styles and some paleographic similarities, but they are not by the same artist or scribe. Both coffins have some paleographical similarities with the coffin of Ankhpakhered in Asti which are so specific that they are probably not coincidence. However, none of the Group A artists produced any of the Text-forward coffins. Instead, it seems as if the Group A workshop and its design pattern simply died off. We can perhaps then see the coffins of Pakharu and Nespaqaishuty as a bridge between the Text-Forward style and the Group A workshop where artists who may have been trained by or inspired by the Group A artists made coffins for an audience that no longer considered the Group A design pattern to be relevant. This is not necessarily a statement on the relative chronology of the two design patterns. The Group A pieces may have been entirely concurrent with the Text Forward pieces. However, the coffins of Ankhpakhered, Pakharu and Nespaqaishuty seem to represent a point of intersection between the two styles.

#### A Partial Adoption of the Hourly Vigil Design Pattern

For at least a segment of the Akhmim elite, the pattern which replaced the Group A pattern was one dominated by text. In this pattern, the coffin seems surrounded by deities who stand along the edges of the lid, rotated perpendicular to the central columns of text. Coffins of this type allude symbolically to the hourly vigil over the body of Osiris and to the hours of the night and day.<sup>784</sup> The presence of Isis and Nephthys at the foot and head form a 3D tableau of the vignette of Book of the Dead 151. That this was intended is confirmed by the inclusion of excerpts of Isis and Nephthys' speeches in this spell which are inscribed on the head and foot of

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<sup>784</sup> Elias and Lupton, pp. 130–31.

the coffins of Djedhor (BM 20650) and Irethoreru (20745). Going forward, we will refer to this combination of Taylor's Lid Design III layout with excerpts from Book of the Dead 151 as the Hourly Vigil design pattern.<sup>785</sup>

The coffins of Nespaqashuty in Penn and Nesqashuty in Atlanta seem to represent a hybrid of the Hourly Vigil design and another, similar design appearing at Thebes slightly earlier in which the deities to the right and left of the central element were oriented parallel to it rather than perpendicular. This earlier style is not otherwise attested at Akhmim,<sup>786</sup> and because it combines an earlier and later Theban style, it is tempting to view these coffins as earlier than the coffins of Djedhor and Irethoreru which fully adopt the Hourly Vigil layout. However, we don't know enough about how the design for this coffin spread through Upper Egypt to be certain.

The coffins of Djedhor, and Irethoreru fully embrace the Hourly Vigil layout. Coffins of this type used by Akhmim officials are very similar in appearance to those from Thebes and Edfu. While these coffins are nearly indistinguishable from their analogues in the rest of Upper Egypt with respect to their layout, vignette selection and vignette composition, only two of the four Akhmim examples follow the textual program of their Theban counterparts. Instead of giving individual speeches, the text around the depictions of the gods on the sides of the coffin contain the names and epithets of the god along with an offering text or the genealogy of the deceased. We saw this with the coffin of Irethoreru (BM), and Nesqashuty (Atlanta). It apparently also occurs on the coffin of Paenbes in Linz.

There are two Akhmim pieces which do attempt to follow the Theban text program. One of these is the coffin of Djedhor, head washerman of the Min temple, BM 20650. The second is a coffin in Milwaukee which may have originally belonged to the same man.

*The Coffin of Paenbes, AEG 10 Oberösterreichischen Landesmuseum, Linz*

Paenbes was a *hm-ntr* priest and stolist of Min. He also functioned as a *hm-ntr* priest for the cult of the goddess Aperet-Iset. His father was a priest of Min and a scribe of the treasury of Min. Because of its owner's titles in the Min temple and association with the cult of a local form of Isis, the Akhmim provenience of Paenbes' coffin is certain.<sup>787</sup> All that is published of its modern history is that it was donated to the Oberösterreichischen Landesmuseum in the early 20th century by a private collector. It, its occupant, and his amulets and bead net are the only

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<sup>785</sup> Despite the fact that the style probably does not need yet another name, I've chosen not to use Elias' term "eleven-eleven" layout or the numerical style designations of Elias and Taylor. This is because only a small subset of coffins features all eleven gods on both sides of the central column and because describing the functionality seems more descriptive and memorable. In this work, only the two coffins of Djedhor have the full complement. The layout may indeed allude to the hours of the solar journey but given the rarity of the full set of gods, it's unclear how widespread this understanding of the symbolism was. For the "eleven-eleven" layout, see: Elias and Lupton.

<sup>786</sup> This style can be referred to in the literature as Taylor, Lid type III, Elias Presentation Mode IV, or the "eleven-eleven" style. The only potential Akhmim coffin to use the earlier Theban Lid Type II pattern is Egypt Center Swansea AB118. This piece belonged to a man named Ankhapkered son of Padiaset, who had no titles. It was reused by a Stolist of Akhmim Djedhor, who was certainly from Akhmim. However, it is unclear whether the original owner was also from Akhmim.

<sup>787</sup> Brech, p. 97.

Egyptian items in the museum's collection.<sup>788</sup> Until 2020, the piece was on long term loan to the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna. Unfortunately, it was in transit during the writing of this work and photographs could not be obtained.

The dominant colors in the decoration of this piece are green and red, the latter of which is used alternately with yellow as a background color to the text bands. The coffin has a green face and a green and yellow striped wig. The collar is rounded, and this leaves a triangular space near the upper arms where wedjat eyes are drawn. The first register, as expected, features Nut with flanking rams. The coffin follows the "Hourly Vigil" design pattern in which a central element of text columns is topped by a small vignette of the deceased on a bier with their Ba. In this version of the scene, Isis and Nephthys stand to either side of the bier. Arranged around the edges of the lid from the waist to the ankles are striding deities surrounded by text. There are four deities on each side. Each god holds a plant stalk in their hands. These texts consist of the genealogy of the deceased plus the usual promises of protection as well as offering formulae. The text selection is more like that on the coffin of Irethoreru than that of Djedhor, but the pictures in the catalogue are not good enough for further analysis. At this time, we cannot say whether this piece was made by the same workshop as any of the others in the catalogue.

*The (First?) Coffin of Djedhor, Milwaukee Public Museum, A10264*

Since its donation 1887<sup>789</sup> by local tycoon Adolph Meinecke, the Milwaukee Public Museum has been in the possession of a coffin and the mummified body within.<sup>790</sup> This coffin belonged to a Washerman (*rḥ.ty*) of Min named Djedhor. According to this coffin, the parents of its owner were named Padiamun and Neshmet-net-renenutet.

This is slightly problematic because the owner of this coffin had the same parents and a similar title to the Djedhor whose coffin (and the associated mummified remains) are now in the British Museum. The name of Djedhor's mother is rare, and so are his titles such that that the two Djedhors must be identical.<sup>791</sup> The titles on the coffin give a hint as to why one man might have had two coffins. Djedhor received a promotion: on his British Museum coffin, he was "head of the washermen" while on his Milwaukee coffin, he is simply a washerman. If Djedhor was buried in the British Museum coffin, then perhaps the Milwaukee coffin was resold.<sup>792</sup>

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<sup>788</sup> *Ägypten, Götter, Gräber Und Die Kunst, 4000 Jahre Jenseitsglaube*, ed. by Wilfried Seipel, Kataloge Des ÖÖ Landesmuseums (Linz: ÖÖ Landesmuseum, 1989), pp. 304–5.

<sup>789</sup> I am thankful to Dr Jonathan Elias for providing me with pictures of this coffin.

<sup>790</sup> Carter Lupton, 'A Historical Study of Two Egyptian Mummies in the Milwaukee Public Museum', in *Human Remains: Conservation, Retrieval, and Analysis: Proceedings of a Conference Held in Williamsburg, VA, Nov. 7-11th, 1999*, ed. by Emily Williams, BAR International Series, 934 (Oxford, England: Archaeopress, 2001), pp. 215–25 (p. 215).

<sup>791</sup> Brech proposes that they might be two brothers with the same name, and that the British Museum Djedhor was a *ḥsī*--a sort of local saint. It seems unlikely that the same family would have two boys of the same name who both lived to be middle-aged. Furthermore, I could not locate the title *ḥsī* in the side inscriptions of the coffin. Brech, pp. 110–11, Note 34.

<sup>792</sup> Elias proposes that the same man owned both coffins and needed them both for ritual reasons since the face is a different color on both pieces. There is not really a precedent for this unless one piece was intended as a sort of

While Budge specified that the British Museum coffin was sealed when he acquired it,<sup>793</sup> the remains in Milwaukee were tampered with at least once in modern times because it was inserted in the coffin along with cartonnage overlays which were only made in the Ptolemaic period. The mummified person in the coffin was carbon dated to around 600 BCE, which would be an appropriate date for this coffin. However, he may have originally been buried in another coffin and placed in this one along with a Ptolemaic cartonnage overlay by the antiquities dealer in order to make the piece more attractive to buyers. When he got to the United States, the supposed Djedhor was unwrapped out of curiosity. The coffin and human remains in Milwaukee have been reasonably well published by Jonathan Elias and Carter Lupton, who have conducted scientific studies on the man buried in the coffin.<sup>794</sup>

The layout on the coffin of Djedhor is like the layout of the other coffins of this type in that it has a large figure of Nut in the first register. Images of Isis and Nephthys crouching on "gold" necklaces appear on the top of the head and the bottom of the pedestal. A central element runs from the rib to the ankle, and it is surmounted at the level of the chest by a square vignette depicting Anubis standing over the deceased on a bier, under which canopic jars are arranged. Beneath the vignette are six long columns of text. To either side of this are eleven gods, arranged perpendicular to the text so that they surround the deceased in his coffin. Each of these is separated from its neighbor by two columns of text. The texts contain the individualized speeches of each of these canopic gods.

This coffin is markedly visually different from its British Museum counterpart, and indeed from the parallels from Thebes and Edfu. Perhaps because the deities are drawn on a relatively small scale and the handwriting is compact, the area above the heads of the gods and immediately to their right and left, is negative space. This makes the decoration on this coffin appear much less dense than on other examples which use the same design pattern. There are also subtle differences composition of the scenes and arrangement of registers. For example, on the coffins of Djedhor (BM 20650) and Irethoreru (BM 20745), the collar was shawl-like, only curving up at the extremities. On the coffins of Djedhor (Milwaukee A10264) and Paenbes (Linz), the collar is large but round. This leaves a triangular space at the armpits. On the Milwaukee coffin of Djedhor, the rams which usually occupy the same register as Nut move up into this space. While on the other coffins of this group, Isis and reclining jackals on shrines appear on the foot, the foot on the Milwaukee coffin is covered in text.

The coffin is in poor condition. In the first half of the 20th century, it suffered insect damage and was treated with a chemical bath in 1965. It was after this (and perhaps because of it) that the figural decoration on the coffin was extensively repainted.<sup>795</sup> While it seems likely that the modern artist tried to follow the contour of the original to the best of their ability,

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embalming cache. Since both pieces are without find context, the answer to the question of one man had two coffins must remain a mystery. Elias and Lupton, p. 132.

<sup>793</sup> Personal communication with Dr. John Taylor, 9/13/2019.

<sup>794</sup> Elias and Lupton; Lupton.

<sup>795</sup> Lupton, p. 220. The extent of the repainted areas is especially clear when D-Stretch is applied to photos of the head and foot.

some details of the iconography are clearly modern.<sup>796</sup> The repainting makes a detailed artistic analysis difficult if not impossible.

The surviving text appears original, and the paleography is similar but not identical to that on the British Museum coffin. The difference between the Neshmet barque glyphs (P3) serves as illustration. These appear all over both coffins because they are used in the name of the Deceased's mother. The glyph has a long, flat bottom and jagged, angular prow and stern on the British Museum coffin. It has a rounded stern and carefully drawn papyrus umbel decorations on the Milwaukee coffin. The Min standard, another character which would have been drawn habitually because it was drawn so often, is also different on the two coffins. On the British Museum's piece, the standard is drawn with two streamers hanging on either side of the central support, which meets the crossbeam of the standard at a right angle. On the Milwaukee coffin, there are no streamers, and a diagonal strut runs between the vertical support and the horizontal top of the standard.

Djedhor had two coffins, and both use the Hourly Vigil design pattern along with the individualized speeches for each of the gods on the sides of the coffin. His coffins are thus like coffins owned by members of the Theban elite. This is unusual for Akhmim, where the coffin-makers adopted the Hourly Vigil layout and the Isis and Nephthys speeches from Book of the Dead 151 but seem to have eschewed the individual speeches of the encircling gods in favor of other texts. Many of the coffins with text-forward decoration adopt the Hourly Vigil design pattern popular elsewhere in Upper Egypt, but the full textual program described by Elias for Theban coffins<sup>797</sup> is the exception at Akhmim, not the rule.

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<sup>796</sup> The brick-pattern on the *nbw* sign beneath the kneeling Nephthys on the head, for example, is clearly modern. When photos of the coffin are viewed with D-Stretch, the extent of the repainting becomes apparent from the slight mismatch between the modern and ancient color.

<sup>797</sup> Elias, 'Coffin Inscription in Egypt after the New Kingdom: A Study of Text Production and Use in Elite Mortuary Preparation', pp. 533–40.

## A Post-Saite Akhmim Workshop and a New Local Tradition



*Figure 111: The Ba hovers over the deceased on the coffin of Irethoreru (top), Ankhwenennefer (middle), Isetweret (bottom). Note the similarity in composition and in the small elements of the scene between Irethoreru and Ankhwenennefer.*

We have so far discussed the connection between the text-forward coffins and their general non-adherence to the Theban textual programme, but we have not yet answered whether any of the coffins are by the same artists. The two coffins of Djedhor were inscribed (and probably painted) by different people. So were the coffins of Nespaqaishuty, Nesqashuty, and Pakharu. However, we do have two pieces that do seem to be by the same person or people: the coffins of Ankhwenennefer and Irethoreru. The two coffins have different layouts. The coffin of Irethoreru follows the Hourly Vigil design pattern, using the usual Hourly Vigil vignettes and layout, but not the special canopic spells for the deities surrounding the body. The coffin of Ankhwenennefer uses a new layout for which we have not yet discussed any parallels.

The paleographies of the coffins of Ankhwenennefer and Irethoreru are very similar. The scribe of both tends to draw short horizontal tick marks at the bottoms of characters with long vertical elements, such as the reed leaf (M17) and the pennant (R8). He draws short horizontal strokes at the ends of long horizontal elements, such as on the Ankh Glyph (S34) and the crossed lines (Z11). Both artists render the Min standard (a combination of R12 and R22) in exactly the same way: The R22 glyph is used instead of the door bolt glyph, and the standard has the

supporting pole in the middle of the crossbar. A single slanted loop represents both a strut and perhaps a streamer hanging from the standard. Contrast this with the way the Djedhor scribe draws the same sign, with two vertical lines on either side of the pole supporting the standard. Both artists draw the horizon sign as a square-shaped hill with the disk of the sun hovering slightly above it. It seems then that both pieces were either inscribed by the same scribe, or by

two scribes who were working very closely together such that there is little difference in their handwriting.<sup>798</sup>

The vignettes on the two coffins are very similar. The artists were probably the same person, but if they were not, they were copying from the same source or had the same teacher. The back of each coffin has a djed-pillar decorated with green and red hatched stripes alternating with squares of plain ground with a central rosette. Both coffins feature a judgement scene where the central figures are Osiris and Re-Harakhte<sup>799</sup> standing before a small offering stand with a striped jar on top and a very large lotus flower. Both coffins have nearly identical vignettes of the ba hovering over the deceased under a starry sky. The scenes are nearly identical down to the necklaces on the canopic jars and the stripes on the mattress on the bier. The vignette of Nut in the first register on both coffins has the name of Osiris written in large, monumental characters to either side of Nut's head.

There are some differences in the execution of the figural drawing on the coffins of Ankhwenennefer and Irethoreru, but these seem to be differences in quality, not form. The Ankh-wennefer coffin is much more carefully executed than that of Irethoreru. The mummiform deities on Ankh-wennefer's coffin have curved back legs and buttocks, while the gods on the coffin of Irethoreru are slim and almost rectangular. The figures on the coffin of Ankhwenennefer tend to have facial details, even if they are small. However, a comparison of the two small human canopic jar faces shows that the faces are essentially the same shape. One is just more detailed and colored more carefully. So, we may here be dealing with the same artist who has improved with practice (Figure 111, a, b).

These two coffins should make us question the relationship between design-pattern, artist, and workshop. The two pieces are by the same artist and scribe, and therefore by the same workshop, but they have a different design pattern. Indeed, here, we can see a single workshop's transition away from a more universal style used throughout upper Egypt to a more Akhmim-specific style. This new style is exhibited also by the coffins of Isetweret in New York.

The Coffin of Isetweret, Metropolitan Museum of New York, 86.1.48 a,b<sup>800</sup>

The coffin of Isetweret was sold to the Metropolitan Museum in New York in 1886 by the Egyptian Government with the information that it had been excavated at Akhmim by Maspero. Originally, the black bivalve coffin was decorated with polychrome figural decoration and glyphs and had an outer coffin decorated in this same color scheme. This outer coffin very

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<sup>798</sup> The fact that the two coffins were inscribed by the same scribe sheds some light on the relationship between Ankhwenennefer and Irethoreru. Ankhwenennefer inherited the title of second priest of Min from his father Wennefer, who inherited it from his father, Ankhwenennefer. Irethoreru did not bear the title, but his father, Ankhwenennefer, did. Since the coffins had to have been made roughly contemporarily, or within a generation to be by the same artist, we can conclude that Irethoreru must have been Ankhwenennefer's paternal uncle and probably the younger brother of Wennefer, Ankhwenennefer's father. This solution to the problem of their relationship was proposed by Jonathan Elias in the exhibit "Ankh-wennefer" at the Washington Historical Society which I visited in 2012.

<sup>799</sup> Their orders are switched on the two coffins. On Irethoreru, Osiris comes first, and on Ankhwenennefer, Re-Harakhte does.

<sup>800</sup> I am grateful to Dr. Janice Kamrin for giving me permission to discuss this piece, which will be featured in her upcoming publication of the coffins at the Metropolitan Museum of Art.



similar in shape and decorative programme to that of Ankhwenennefer. Like the coffin of Ankhwenennefer, the outer coffin of Isetweret had a slanted lid with a cavetto cornice and took the form of a *Per-wer* shrine. The outside of this coffin seems to have been decorated in a similar fashion to that of Ankh-wenennefer, based on the one extant picture of the piece. This outer coffin was in poor condition and was discarded in 1952.<sup>801</sup>



Figure 112: The goddess Serqet on the coffin of Isetweret (left) and Ankhwenennefer (right)

The polychrome paint on the coffin of Isetweret has flaked away in many places, making the inscriptions difficult to read. In the places where it is intact, the text program consisted of repeating offering formulae, almost identical to the ones which appear on the coffin of Ankhwenennefer. On both coffins, whenever the scribe writes the words "good burial", he uses a picture of a coffin with a *pr-wr* style lid as a determinative. The coffin shares paleographical peculiarities with those of Ankhwenennefer and Irethoreru: the scribe leaves perpendicular ticks on the ends of long lines, he uses the comma-shaped viper (I9), and the sun hovers over the horizon in the horizon glyph (N27).

All three coffins use similar vignettes: again, the starry sky appears above the deceased in the bier scene and the *djed*-pillar on the back of the coffin is decorated with the characteristic multicolor hatching interspersed with rosettes. The deities on the sides of the central inscription have small but detailed faces of the same shape on both coffins. This the similarity between these figures is especially clear in the vignettes of the goddess Serqet which appear on both pieces. The scorpion on the goddess' head has the same bulbous shape and

arrangement of legs (Figure 112). In the scene of Osiris on a bed, the lion-headed bier has the same whiskers on its face in both versions of the vignette. The same artist and scribe were responsible for decorating the coffins of Ankhwenennefer and Isetweret.

If the coffin of Ankhwenennefer and Irethoreru represented an artist switching to a new layout, that new layout seems to evolve further on the coffin of Asetweret. The long vignette of the judgement which was so similar on the coffins of Ankhwenennefer and Irethoreru is gone on Isetweret's coffin. The rams to either side of the central figure of Nut are now seated mummiform rams, squatting on the standards where they used to stride. The figure of Isis on the feet no longer stretches her wings downwards but bends over a *shen*-sign. Though the

<sup>801</sup> Personal communication with Dr. Janice Kamrin, 3/25/2019.



jackals to either side of her head are the same, they now rest on shrines which in turn rest on standards.

Through the workshop which produced these three coffins, we have at least a limited window onto how Akhmim's local style evolved in the Late Period, moving from a pan-upper-Egyptian Hourly Vigil design pattern to a new local design which reintroduced solar symbolism on the bottom of the pedestal and standardized the number and directionality of the deities on the sides of the central column. The canopic spells pertaining to the Hourly Vigil disappear, and perhaps surprisingly, the goddess speeches from Book of the Dead 151 vanish as well. All Book of the dead text is Transferred onto the basin or the outer coffin (at least in the case of Ankhwenennefer), leaving only offering formulae and sacred names behind. The rotation of the deities on the sides of the central column back to a perpendicular may also have broken the vigil symbolism exhibited on the coffins of Irethoreru and Djedhor.

The antecedent for this new design is probably the Nightly Vigil layout, though the logic behind the reorientation of the deities next to the central column is unknown. We do know that some Late pieces from the Middle Egyptian site of Abusir el-Meleq feature deities who stand adjacent to the central text column and face it.<sup>802</sup> These coffins also have long peripheral columns to the text behind these gods, as we see on the coffin of Ankhwenennefer. Perhaps, as was the case in the Third Intermediate Period, the Akhmim artists found inspiration in the work of their northern neighbors.

#### Text-Forward Design Patterns

There were two text forward design patterns in use at Akhmim. The first of these we can call the Vigil pattern. This pattern was apparently in use throughout Upper Egypt, and the examples created at Akhmim are visually like those created at Nag el-Hassiya (Edfu) and Thebes down to the levels of the individual vignettes and figures. The text areas around the deities on the lower sides of the lid tend to be filled with offering formulae and genealogical information rather than the individual speeches which sometimes appear on the coffins of the High Elite at Thebes.<sup>803</sup> Whether this phenomenon is restricted to Akhmim should be the subject of further study.

The coffins of Nespaqaishuty and Pakharu may represent a link of sorts between the Group A workshop and the producers of the Vigil Pattern coffins. The coffin of Pakharu is picture-dominant and does not follow the Vigil Pattern. It uses a judgement scene which has similar elements to those which appear in the Group A judgement scene. the coffin of Nespaqaishuty is text forward and does follow the Vigil pattern but has orthographical and paleographical similarities with the coffin of Pakharu. Because they all have different layouts and design patterns and are not by the same artists, we cannot say they were made by the same workshop. There is some indication that the artists and scribes were sharing ideas or vignette patterns with each other. The two coffins pieces have orthographical and paleographical similarities with each other and with the Group A coffin of Ankhpakhered. Again,

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<sup>802</sup> Renate Siegmann, 'Das Sargensemble Des Udja-Sema-Taui Aus Abusir El-Meleq (26. Dyn.)', *Swiss Coffin Project*, 2012 <[www.e-coffins.ch](http://www.e-coffins.ch)>.

<sup>803</sup> Elias calls these "Canopic Spells" Elias, 'Coffin Inscription in Egypt after the New Kingdom: A Study of Text Production and Use in Elite Mortuary Preparation', pp. 505–6.

there is a connection between these three pieces, but it is hard to say what exactly that connection was. However, we can perhaps view the coffin of Nespaqaishuty as a sort of bridge between the Text-forward and vignette heavy traditions.

In fact, of all of the coffins which use the Hourly Vigil Pattern, only one was made by the same hands which decorated another Akhmim coffin: the coffin of Irethoreru. This may be because the other pieces were made elsewhere and imported, but we should also consider that there are comparatively few examples of this type. There may have originally been more which did not survive, or perhaps there are pieces in museum collections which have gone unrecognized as Akhmim pieces because they are so like Theban pieces.

Scene	Placement	Examples
Nephthys Spreads Wings Protectively	Top of Head	Djedhor (BM 20650) Djedhor (MPM A10264) Irethoreru (BM EA20745)
Isis Spreads Wings Protectively	Bottom of Pedestal	Djedhor (BM 20650) Djedhor (MPM A10264) Irethoreru (BM EA20745)
Running Bull with Mummy	Bottom of Pedestal	Nespaqaishuty ( Penn 883 a-c) Nesqashuty (Michael C Carlos Museum 1999.001.009A)
Vignette with winged, kneeling Nut. Images of Rams to Either Side	Breast	Djedhor (BM 20650) Djedhor (MPM A10264) Irethoreru (BM EA20745) Paenbes (Linz AEG 10) Nesqashuty (Michael C Carlos Museum 1999.001.009A)
Vignette with winged, kneeling Nut, Images of cobras to each side.	Breast	Nespaqaishuty ( Penn 883 a-c)
Long, Narrow Judgement Scene before Re-Harakhte (A), Osiris (B) or Both (C)	Breast	Irethoreru (BM EA20745) (C) Nesqashuty (Michael C Carlos Museum 1999.001.009A) (B)
Pectoral Vignette of Ba Hovering over Mummy	Ribs	Nespaqaishuty ( Penn 883 a-c) Irethoreru (BM EA20745) Djedhor (BM 20650)
Pectoral Vignette of Anubis Standing Over Mummy	Ribs	Paenbes (Linz AEG 10) Djedhor (MPM A10264)
Pectoral with Goddesses around Abydos Fetish	Ribs	Djedhor (BM 20650)
Gods Standing in Kiosks Parallel to Central Column	Ribs	Nesqashuty (Michael C Carlos Museum 1999.001.009A)
Gods Standing Perpendicular to Central Column. (# of gods on each side in paren)	Torso to Ankles	Djedhor (BM 20650) (11) Djedhor (MPM A10264) (11) Irethoreru (BM EA20745) (9) Paenbes (Linz AEG 10) (4) Nesqashuty (Michael C Carlos Museum 1999.001.009A) (3)

		Nespaqaishuty ( Penn 883 a-c) (4)
Crouching Isis on Gold Sign with Flanking Jackals	Top of Foot	Nespaqaishuty ( Penn 883 a-c) Paenbes (Linz AEG 10)
Jackals on Shrines	Outside Toes	Irethoreru (BM EA20745)
Embracing Standing figure of Nut	Inside of Lid, Inside of Basin	Paenbes (Linz AEG 10) Djedhor (BM 20650) (11)

*Associated Texts*<sup>804</sup>

Text	Placement	Coffin
BD 15 (Solar Hymn)	Outer coffin, right side & Lid	Ankhwenennefer
BD 24	Central Column and Perpendicular Columns	Nespaqaishuty (Penn 883a-c)
BD 71	Outer Coffin, Head, left side	Ankhwenennefer
BD 89	Outer Coffin Lid, Central Column	Ankhwenennefer Djedhor (BM 20650)
BD 125	Outer Coffin, Head, Foot, Left Side	Ankhwenennefer
Spell for Offering to Spirits	Central Column	Djedhor (BM 20650)
PT 368-Derived Nut Formula	Chest area; right side of lid (Nesqashuty)	Djedhor (BM 20650) Nespaqaishuty (Penn 883a-c) Nesqashuty (Michael C Carlos Museum 1999.001.009A) Irethoreru (BM 20745) Djedhor (BM 20650) Ankhwenennefer
BD 151-derived Isis Speech	Bottom of Foot, Sides of Foot	Irethoreru (BM 20745) Djedhor (BM 20650) Djedhor (MPM A10264)
BD 151-derived Nephthys Speech	Top of Head	Irethoreru (BM 20745) Djedhor (BM 20650) Djedhor (MPM A10264)

The workshop which created the coffin of Irethoreru also created at least two coffins of a second layout: the coffins of Ankhwenennefer and Isetweret. There are three main differences between this layout and the vigil layout. The first is the vigil itself: the individual speeches of the gods are disposed of, and the gods are rotated so that they are in ladder-like columns parallel to the central column. Long single-line text columns are positioned on the outsides of these blocks of vignettes. While the Book of the Dead 151 symbolism remains on the head and foot of these coffins, the speeches from Isis and Nephthys are replaced by offering formulae to these deities. The vignette of Isis moves to the top of the foot instead of the bottom of the pedestal. This place is now occupied by a new vignette which depicts a scarab rising from the horizon.

<sup>804</sup> In this table, I only included texts that I could personally verify. I was unable to access text on the bottom of the coffin of Pakharu and Nespaqaishuty. I was also unable to access text on the outer coffin of Isetweret. I only had access to good photographs of the head and pedestal of Djedhor (MPM) and did not have access to photographs of the coffin of Paenbes. Thus, their absence from this list should not be interpreted as meaning that the spell does not occur on the coffin.

Brech characterizes the coffin of Isetweret as belonging to her "Transitional Type C". However, the piece has a lot of differences in layout from the other members of Type C. One is the vertical columns appearing to the right and left of the columns of gods on the right and left of the central element. Another is the scarab vignette on the bottom of the foot. Since no other Transitional Type C pieces were able to be studied for this work, the relationship between Transitional Type C and the coffins of Isetweret and Ankhwenennefer will remain unexplored here. Such pieces would surely provide a clearer picture of the variety of coffin traditions at Akhmim and their interactions at the very end of the dynastic period.

## Conclusion

The coffin makers of Akhmim did not sign their work, and there are no contemporary records from the site which might shed light on how they worked. The 19<sup>th</sup> century despoliation of the city's cemeteries ensured that almost all post-New Kingdom artifacts from Akhmim are severed from their find contexts. Thus, any hope of understanding how the Akhmim coffins relate to each other, or how they were produced, must come from analysis of the pieces themselves. By examining the artistic and scribal hands on the coffins thought to be from Akhmim, they can be grouped together by artist and by design pattern. By positing different workshops, a narrative emerges about how coffin style developed in Akhmim. In this work, twenty-one sets of coffins<sup>805</sup> with relatively secure Akhmim provenience were analyzed with the goal of characterizing the artistic and scribal hands which decorated them. These coffins were described in terms of a design pattern involving a description of the layout, a list of texts used, and a table of which vignettes were used, showing their placement and frequency. Thirty-one pieces of less sure provenience were compared against this framework to ascertain whether they were made by the same people or according to the same understanding of how the coffin was thought to work for the deceased. Pieces were then grouped into workshops based on common hands and design patterns.

What emerges from the analysis of workshops at Akhmim is a story of a local industry that experiences booms and busts. Workshops arise and then flourish, probably for multiple generations, before dying out. One such workshop arises in the late New Kingdom, flourishes through the 21st dynasty, and ends abruptly with the end of the dynasty. Coffin production at Akhmim during the early Libyan Period remains enigmatic. The few pieces which can be dated to this time are disparate, but generally combine Theban and Faiyumi influences in their construction and decoration. At the end of the period, a new local workshop emerges which will persist through the 25th and 26th dynasty--and perhaps even into the Persian period. It too, however, ultimately succumbs to changing styles, and the text-forward coffins which eclipse it are a pan-Upper-Egyptian phenomenon rather than a local tradition. At the very end of the dynastic period, new local styles begin to emerge once again.

## Design Patterns and Workshops

### The Late 20th/Early 21st Dynasty Design Pattern

In the late 20th dynasty and early 21st dynasty, a single workshop thrived at Akhmim. These artists produced coffins for an elite clientele composed mainly of the priesthoods of the Min and Isis cults, and the pieces they produced superficially resemble contemporary Theban pieces in layout and color. However, they have characteristics which make them distinctive:

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<sup>805</sup> The low number of pieces that could either be tied to the original Maspero excavations or associated with Akhmim-exclusive titles resulted small sample sizes, and small *ouvrés* of individual artists and scribes, especially during the 21st dynasty and early Third Intermediate Period. This is an intrinsic problem with working on the Akhmim corpus because of the site's history of looting. I've chosen to mitigate the problem by including unprovenienced pieces and pieces with unsure provenience and providing argumentation for the inclusion of these pieces in each individual case.

they don't have lateral bands of text on the lid, they usually have a heart-shaped necklace or winged scarab on the breast, and a few have a chevron-patterned band that runs along the outsides of the lappets of the wig. They also have their own program of vignettes, which have affinities for various locations on the body of the coffin. Some of these, like the vignette of the body of Osiris being wrapped by Anubis, are rare on Theban counterparts.

In general, the iconographic program on these early 21st dynasty pieces focuses on the relationship between Osiris, Isis, and Horus. The deceased appears in vignettes but is frequently relegated to the role of worshipful bystander, watching the action between Isis, Horus, and Osiris. Horus often takes the form of Horus-lunmutef or Horus-Who-Protects-His-Father. He plays the role of the good son towards his parents and by association, the deceased. He also invariably appears as the keeper of the scales in the judgement scene.

#### Changes In the Mid/Late 21st Dynasty

Based on comparison with Theban analogues, a new design pattern for coffins appears in the middle or late 21st dynasty.<sup>806</sup> Because many of the same vignettes appear with similar composition in the same places in both design patterns, this work considers the new design pattern and its artists as representing a second phase of the workshop which painted coffins at the beginning of the dynasty, rather than a totally different workshop. The difference is mainly in the composition of the vignettes, the addition of new vignettes, and changes to the layout of the lid of the coffin. In this new design, lateral bands of text are added to the lid, and the central text column is replaced by a central element of stacked square vignettes depicting ram-headed winged scarabs in shrines.

On the basin, the Osirian themes are maintained, but further solar iconography is introduced: for example, a large, winged solar disk appears in scene where Isis and Nephthys mourn the mummified Osiris on a bier. The figure of Anubis as an embalmer disappears, but the body is still wrapped in distinctively patterned bandages. The scene of the solar boat towed by jackals increases in frequency on these coffins, and a new scene of jackals running in front of the Abydos fetish appears, usually on the lid. The relative density of the decoration increases over time on these coffins as it does on Theban pieces. Indeed, these pieces are hard to distinguish from their Theban counterparts because of that density of decoration, and because many of the vignettes also appear on Theban coffins. Yet these Akhmim coffins are visually distinctive and distinguishable: many still have the chevron-patterned band on the outside of the wig lappets, the scarab necklace still appears on most of these coffins, and the order of the vignettes on the lid is predictable. One stylistic feature that many of the Akhmim pieces share is their depiction of Osiris: a figure with a rotated torso, and a long ribbon which hangs from his crown and flows over his back.

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<sup>806</sup> The first of these the artist/scribe who decorated both the coffin of Aaefenhor and that of the Anonymous Woman in the Australian Museum. The second is the artist and scribe who decorated the coffin of Tayuherit in Upsala. The other three pieces of this type, the coffins of Fay, Isetnofret, and Ankhef could not be studied in enough detail to assign them to either of the above artists.

## The Libyan-Period Stand-alones

Something seems to have happened to this 21st-Dynasty workshop, because the early Libyan Period yields only one set of coffins from Akhmim, and it has no visual links to the coffins which came before. This is the coffin and cartonnage of Asetemakhbit, now at the Czartoryski Museum in Krakow, which can be roughly dated to the early 22nd Dynasty by: (1) the style of the collar of the outer coffin, and (2) the existence of a stela belonging to Asetemakhbit's husband, whose ancestors have Ramesside names. The coffins of Asetemakhbit and the stylistically slightly later cartonnage of Nespaqaishuty (Athens 3412) are standalone pieces which have no good parallels and aren't by the same artist and scribe. What they have in common with each other is a mixture of Theban and Faiyumi construction techniques and decorative motifs.

## The Proto-A Design Pattern

In the later Libyan period, a new workshop emerged which incorporated this mixture of Faiyumi/Memphite and Theban features into a new, distinctly local, Akhmim design pattern. The new design pattern occurs on cartonnages and their corresponding wooden outer coffins, and it shares a horizontal layout and some vignettes with the Brech's Group A bivalve coffins. However, it does not adhere to the rigid vignette composition and scene order characteristic of Group A, so I call it the Proto-A design pattern. It is characterized by a cartonnage featuring more than five horizontal registers on the front, each containing a vignette. Among these are a scene with Osiris in a Tree, and a scene with an anthropomorphized *djed* pillar that has a human head in profile emerging from the top. Another scene which appears on these coffins is a mummification scene where Osiris (or the deceased) is tended by Horus or Anubis on a lion-headed bier. This is like the scene that was used in the 21st dynasty and may represent a link between these two workshops. The backs of the cartonnages are divided by the laced-up slit for the insertion of the body, and by decorative crosswise bands. Within the resulting square areas are protective figures which face the slit on the back of the coffin.

The outer coffins of the Proto-A design pattern have a central column of text topped by either a recumbent jackal, a winged scarab with a falcon's head, or both. The texts on the cartonnage and outer coffin are limited to offering texts and captions. The "Water to your ba" offering text, which is common on Faiyumi coffins, occurs commonly in this group as well, alongside the more usual offering formulae wishing for foodstuffs.

## Proto-A Becomes Group A

In the 25th dynasty, the cartonnage was replaced by a bivalve wooden coffin, and with this change, the Proto-A design pattern became set in the number, order, and composition of its vignettes. In her typology of Akhmim coffins, Brech assigns these bivalve coffins to the type "*Gruppe A*."<sup>807</sup> Because of this earlier designation, I've chosen to call this design pattern "Group

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<sup>807</sup> See section starting on on page 71

A." The workshop that produced coffins in this style to is continuous with that which produced cartonnages with the Proto-A pattern.

This continuity is clear from the coffin set of Qenhor in Berlin.<sup>808</sup> The inner cartonnage of this set is now covered in black resin, but a careful look at it reveals that the vignettes in its registers do not follow the rigid Group A program and sequence. Instead, it should be considered as an example of the Proto-A design pattern. However, an examination of paleography and orthography on the outer *Qersu* coffin of this piece shows that it was inscribed by the same person who inscribed the Group A wooden bivalve coffin of Djedhoriwefankh in Buffalo. Continuity is also demonstrated by the cartonnage of Paeniw in Hildesheim: it adheres more closely to the Group A design pattern, but still has the anthropomorphized *djed* pillar vignette, and therefore represents another transitional piece between the two design patterns.<sup>809</sup> Thus, the Group A design pattern actually spans the transition from cartonnage to wooden-bivalve based sets, and must have replaced the Proto-A design pattern identified above, which is limited to only cartonnage sets.

Coffin sets of the Group A pattern consist of a plain outer coffin and a brightly painted inner coffin. The outer coffins have a plain ground, with optional vertical inscriptions on the outer sides of the basin and a mandatory central inscription on the lid. This central column usually has a crouching jackal on the top, but, in two instances, a pectoral vignette of the deceased before Thoth appears. In several examples, the inside of the outer coffin basin is painted with a large figure of the goddess Nut: drawn either frontally or in profile, and sometimes adorned with a heart-glyph-shaped pendant on her breast.

The colorful inner bivalve coffin has a carved back-pillar and pedestal. The curvature of the body is sculpted. The decoration is laid out with five or six horizontal registers on the lid, which are divided by thick decorative bands. Each register has one vignette, and while the figures of the periphery of the vignette are variable, the central figures are almost identical--even between coffins by different artists. The most distinctive of these vignettes are: (1) a scene where Horus and Thoth stand on either side of a crowned Abydos Fetish which escapes the register, overlapping the collar, (2) a scene where the heart of the deceased is weighed in the presence of Re-Harakhte and Atum, (3) an embalming scene where the embalmer is either Horus or Anubis, and (4) a scene of Osiris standing amidst the branches of a tree.

The texts on the Group A coffins consist of captions and offering formulae of multiple types, including the "Wish for water for the ba of the deceased" which came into use on coffins in the Third Intermediate Period. This design pattern also sees the introduction of Book of the Dead spells. These do not have set locations on the coffin, and there is not a set selection of spells: the only spell that occurs on multiple coffins is Spell 125.<sup>810</sup> The Book of the Dead spells written on Group A coffins are often highly abbreviated and truncated to fit the available space in the area around the vignettes: the *pictures* are the focus of the decoration in this design pattern, not the text.

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<sup>808</sup> Qersu coffin (SMB AE 8497), Red-tinted outer coffin (AE 8498), Yellow-tinted outer coffin (AE 8499), Cartonnage (8500).

<sup>809</sup> Roemer-Pelizaeus Museum, Hildesheim 1902 b,c. This set of outer coffin and cartonnage could not be included in this work. For more on it, the reader is directed to: Eggebrecht, Bianchi, and Pelizaeus-Museum, pp. 78–79.

<sup>810</sup> These are the inner coffin of Paenbes, Lisbon Museu Nacional de Arqueologia E 136, and the Outer coffin of Paeniw, Roemer-Pelizaeus Museum, Hildesheim 1902b



Several interesting and novel texts also appear in this group. One is an Akhmim-specific offering formula where the deceased is welcomed to the *Senut*, a temple in Akhmim whose exact function is unknown.<sup>811</sup> The other is an Osiris Hymn which is reproduced next to the Four Sons of Horus in the first register on at least three inner coffins.<sup>812</sup>

#### The Lower Elite Group A Pattern

At least one of the artists working on the Group A design pattern also helped to create coffins of a contemporary second design pattern, which I call the Lower Elite Group A pattern. These bivalve coffins feature a winged, ram-headed bird below the collar. The surface below this is bisected by a central inscriptional column, and the areas to the sides are divided into squarish vignettes with lateral decorative bands. The characters in these vignettes are limited to Osiris, his sisters, and the sons of Horus. The texts on these coffins consist of offering formulae and captions. Of the four coffins using this design pattern, three belonged to women, and the last belonged to an untitled man. Because the art quality of these coffins is generally sloppier and more rushed, and the vignettes and themes expressed are so simplified, this work proposes that this group represents a pattern for use by the lower elite. If this is correct, then this pattern is an analogue to the simplified coffin layout which was used for the lower temple functionaries at Thebes, contemporarily with the text-heavy Priests of Montu coffins.<sup>813</sup>

#### The Late 26th Dynasty Stand-alones

The workshop which created the Proto-A, Group A, and Lower Elite Group A design patterns seems to die out, either in the 26<sup>th</sup> dynasty or in the Persian period.<sup>814</sup> There are two coffins with a registered layout which do not obey the Group A design pattern. Each of these coffins shares a single, rare vignette with the Group A corpus, indicating that the author must have been familiar with the Group A artists or model vignettes: the coffin of Irethoreru at the Louvre (E11296) has a black scarab on a red ground on the top of the feet, like the one that appears on the coffin of Ankhpakhered (Asti 94a). The coffin of Pakharu (Porto 41.01.091) features a judgement before Re-Harakhte and Atum, with Atum in the form of a snake, like that which appears on almost all of the Group A pieces. Little more can be said to compare these different pieces, except for this: the figural drawings on the coffin of Pakharu are top-heavy in a way that is very similar to those drawn on the text-forward coffin of Nespaqaishuty (Penn, E883). This piece, in turn, has some paleographical similarities with the coffin of Ankhpakhered, which Elias sees as the last of the Group A coffins.<sup>815</sup>

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<sup>811</sup> This appears on the coffins of Nespaqaishuty (Detmold) and the outer coffin of Padiaset (Vienna KHM 8901).

<sup>812</sup> These are the coffins of Paenbes (Lisbon, E136), the coffin of Ankhpakhered (Asti, 94a), and the coffin of an Anonymous Woman (Berlin ÄM 17940)

<sup>813</sup> See above section starting on p 52.

<sup>814</sup> I accept Brech's dating for the end-date of this group, mainly because the lack of modeling and squared-off feet on the coffins of Ankhpakhered and Tjesaset seem more consistent with later and Ptolemaic pieces than with the rest of the Proto-A or Group A pieces. Admittedly, this is weak evidence--many other factors could have caused this change in form--and the question requires much further research. Brech, pp. 92–94.

<sup>815</sup> Malgora and Elias, p. 286.

## The Hourly Vigil Pattern

After the cessation of the Group A workshop, there is another period where there does not seem to have been a distinct local workshop at Akhmim. There are a number of text-forward coffins with connections to the site, and these follow a design pattern that we know was in style in Thebes and elsewhere in Upper Egypt during and after the Saite period. This design pattern, which is called here the *Hourly Vigil* pattern, uses images and text to allude to the Hourly Vigil at the funeral of Osiris (*Stundewache*), as well as to the text and vignette of Book of the Dead Chapter 151. These are expressed as a three-dimensional tableau in which the deceased is surrounded by the gods on the sides, head, and foot of the coffin lid, which are rotated so as to be best viewable from the sides. Only five such coffins have secure Akhmim provenience, and none of them are by the same artists or scribes.

If the Theban text-forward coffins of Elias' Presentation Mode IV as represent an ideal for this kind of text-forward design, then the Akhmim Hourly Vigil coffins don't quite measure up.<sup>816</sup> Of the five examples, only two of them include the individual speeches of the canopic gods that are present on similar coffins of the Theban high elite--and of those, one has the speeches on only one side of the coffin. As for the rest, two fill the available text space with offering formulae and pledges of protection, and one fills the area with a selection of Book of the Dead spells. Furthermore, we have two pieces which seem to exhibit a hybrid layout, where only a subset of the gods and text are perpendicular to the central column and the rest are parallel to it. Neither of these have a parallel from Akhmim or elsewhere.<sup>817</sup>

## The Late Local Pattern

Finally, in what may be the beginning of a transition away from the Hourly Vigil pattern, there is one artist/scribe pair who paints the coffin a man named Irethoreru in the Hourly Vigil design pattern, and then goes on to decorate the coffin of Irethoreru's nephew, Ankhwenennefer, in a new design pattern. This new design pattern is here called the Late Local design pattern. In the new design, the vigil deities are rotated back parallel to the central column. The texts surrounding them disappear and are replaced with a single long peripheral column of offering formulae on each side. A new solar vignette of a winged scarab emerging from the horizon is added on the bottom of the pedestal. The outer coffin is a *per-wer* shaped box coffin decorated with standing mummiform deities separated by bands of text. There are two examples of this design pattern--the aforementioned coffins of Ankhwenennefer

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<sup>816</sup> I suspect that even at Thebes, coffins where the text area is filled with repeating offering formulae were common, but are under-published and therefore understudied.

<sup>817</sup> It is tempting to propose that these pieces, the coffin of Nespaqaishuty (Penn E 883) and Nesqashuty (Michael C. Carlos Museum 1999.001.009A) represent combinations of Elias' Presentation Mode IV and the earlier Presentation Mode IV, especially since we might be able to then posit that these were precursors to the later coffins which featured Presentation Mode IV proper. Afterall, the coffin of Nespaqaishuty is probably contemporary with the end of the Group A Workshop given its paleographical similarities to the coffin of Ankhpakhered in Asti. However, this remains speculation since both coffins also seem to have been the products of scribes with some eccentric practices to which we could just as easily attribute their strange layout.

(Washington State Historical Society), and the coffins of Asetweret (New York, MMA 86.1.48 a,b). Brech dates the coffin of Asetweret to the 30th Dynasty or Early Ptolemaic period. The coffins of Ankhwenennefer and Asetweret represent the end of this study, but perhaps also the seeds of a new local tradition.<sup>818</sup>

### Summary of Design Patterns

The following table summarizes which coffins express which design pattern, and which pieces we can say were made by the same workshop. It gives a rough dating for each design pattern.

Workshop	Rough Dating	Design Pattern	Coffin
21st Dynasty Workshop	Early Dynasty 21, Late Dynasty 20	Early Dynasty 21 Pattern	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Khui-Ipuy (San Jose, Multiple Numbers)</li> <li>• Khnumsanapehsu (SMB AE8505)</li> <li>• Sesekhnofru (Copenhagen AEIN 62)</li> <li>• Anet (Vatican: XII.2.1)</li> <li>• Hory (Papa)</li> <li>• Nesyaset (Bonhams Sale 7/3/2019)</li> <li>• Meretenahet (Vienna, ÄS 6066)</li> </ul>
	Mid-Late Dynasty 21	Late Dynasty 21 Pattern	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Aaefenhor (Louvre AF 9592)</li> <li>• Anonymous Lady (Australian Museum E 19466)</li> <li>• Tayuherit (Uppsala VM 153)</li> <li>• Anonymous (Timișoara, 1142-1146)</li> <li>• Ankhef (Ivanovo Regional Museum)</li> <li>• Fay (Chicago Field Museum. No. 876?)</li> <li>• Isetnofret (Davenport, AR21190)</li> </ul>
Unknown Workshop	Early Dynasty 22	Unknown Pattern. Precursor to Proto-A?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Asetemakhbit (Cracow, MNX XI 482a,b)</li> <li>• Anonymous Cartonnage Frags. (Egypt Centre EC 1055 and others)?</li> </ul>
Unknown Workshop	Early Dynasty 22	Unknown Pattern	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Anonymous Child (Berlin AE 85313)</li> </ul>

<sup>818</sup> Brech did not include the coffin of Ankhwenennefer in her study, and instead compares the coffin of Isetweret to a group of other coffins which she terms "Transitional Group C". I was not able to study the other coffins in this group for this work. However, the coffins of Nefer-renpet in Belgrade and of Hor in Prague have a similar layout but are not by the same artist as the one who painted the coffins of Asetweret and Ankhwenennefer. The layout on the other Transitional Group C coffins is also slightly different. The relationship between this group of pieces with somewhat similar layouts is intriguing to me and I hope to be able to work on the problem further. For the coffin of Nefer-renpet, see: Branislav Andelković, 'Egyptian Antiquities in the Museums of Serbia', in *Egyptian Museum Collections around the World*, ed. by Mamdouh Mohamed Eldamaty and Mai Trad, 2 vols (Cairo, Egypt : New York: Supreme Council of Antiquities ; Distributed by The American University in Cairo Press, 2002), I, 39–50 (pp. 40–41). For the coffin of Hor, see: Miroslav Verner, *Altägyptische Särge in den Museen und Sammlungen der Tschechoslowakei*, Corpus antiquitatum Aegyptiacarum, 1, Löse-Blatt, 1 vols (Prague: Univerzita Karlova, 1982), I, pp. 172–80. For Brech's Dating, see: Brech, pp. 145–47.

Unknown Workshop	Mid Dynasty 22/Dynasty 23	Unknown Pattern	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Nespaqaishuty (Athens, 3412)</li> </ul>
"A" Workshop	23rd Dynasty- Early 25th Dynasty	Proto-A design pattern	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Tahai (Basel BSE III 129a,b,c)</li> <li>Djedhor (Detroit, 90.1S11800.1&amp;.2)</li> <li>Anonymous Woman (Penn E 884A)</li> <li>Anonymous Woman (Châteaudun 2006.0.5.64)</li> <li>Hekaankhu (Leiden, AES 12b, 13b)</li> <li>Paeniw (Hildesheim, 1902a-c)</li> <li>Qenhor (Berlin, AE 8497-8500)</li> </ul>
	25th Dynasty- 27th Dynasty	Group A	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Djedhoriwefankh (Buffalo BMS 654.139)</li> <li>Nespaqaishuty (Detmold)</li> <li>Padiaset (Vienna, ÄS 8901,8902)</li> <li>Anonymous Woman (Berlin ÄM 17940)</li> <li>Payeswedja (Louvre E 11219)</li> <li>Hornakht (Morlaix, 2.1974)</li> <li>Ankhpakhered (Asti, 94a)</li> <li>Paenbes (Lisbon, E136,E332)</li> <li>Paenbes (Bridgeporte, 1894.1.2a,b)</li> <li>Tabes (Leicester 1881.1885)</li> <li>Besenmut (1880.1885)</li> <li>Iwefaa (Berkeley, 6-19912,6-19928)</li> <li>Tatjenef (Edinburgh, 1907.591)</li> <li>Irethoreru (Location unknown. Cairo?)</li> </ul>
		Group A Lower Elite	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Irbastetwedjanefu (Rouen Aeg 1857.10)</li> <li>Dihoriaut (Budapest 51.1995)</li> <li>Asetii (Kingston ON, AA2190.A)</li> <li>Tjesaset (Cluny 888.1.1)</li> </ul>
Unknown Workshop	26th Dynasty- Late Period	Unknown Registered Pictorial	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Coffin of Pakharu (Porto 41.01.091)</li> </ul>
Unknown Workshop	26th Dynasty- Late Period	Unknown Registered Pictorial	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Irethoreru (Louvre, E 11296)</li> </ul>
Unknown Workshop	26th Dynasty- Late Period	Hourly Vigil	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Nespaqaishuty (Penn, E883a-c)</li> </ul>
Unknown Workshop	26th Dynasty- Late Period	Hourly Vigil	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Nesqaishuty (Atlanta, 1999.001.009a)</li> </ul>
Unknown Workshop	26th Dynasty- Late Period	Hourly Vigil	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Djedhor (London BM EA 20650)</li> </ul>
Unknown Workshop	26th Dynasty- Late Period	Hourly Vigil	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Djedhor (Milwaukee, A10264)</li> </ul>
Late Period Akhmim Workshop	Dynasty 28-30	Hourly Vigil	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Irethoreru (London, BM EA 20745)</li> </ul>
	Dynasty 28- Macedonian Period	Late Local	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Ankhwenennefer (Washington State Historical Society)</li> <li>Asetweret (New York MMA, 86.1.48 a,b)</li> </ul>

## Identifying Artists and Scribes

Having defined the design patterns used for Akhmim coffins, the time has now come to discuss individual artists who produced coffins in a similar style--that is, artists and scribes who worked in the same workshop.

### Artists and Scribes Per Coffin

In general, each coffin was the work of at most two people: an artist and a scribe, though there are a small number of cases in which an apprentice or colleague may have played a limited role in decoration. In each case where an outer coffin existed, and was not usurped, it was decorated by the same artist and scribe who decorated the inner coffin. In some cases, it is clear that the artist and scribe were the same person, and this one person was responsible for decorating what could be a large coffin ensemble.

In the entire corpus, only two pieces clearly featured a second hand: the coffins of Dihoriaut (Budapest 51.1995) and Nespaqaishuty (Detmold). The rest featured handwriting and art of a consistent style across the surface of the coffin, with variations in handwriting dispersed evenly, not clustered in a particular area. On the two pieces exhibiting a different hand, a discrete area of the coffin had figural drawing and glyphs that were different in form from the work on the rest of the coffin. Perhaps these pieces are examples where an artist and his apprentice<sup>819</sup> were working together: on both examples, the area in question is of significantly lower quality than the rest of the piece.<sup>820</sup>

Another task where apprentices may have contributed was in the coloring of the outlined figures. In most cases, it is impossible to tell whether a second person was doing the coloring, because it has few distinguishing features--the colorer either colors within the lines, or they don't. However, on one piece the coloring itself is unique enough that a second person might have been involved.

On the inner coffin of Tabes (Leicester, New Walk Museum 1881.1885), the draftsmanship was done by a person responsible for several other coffins. On this piece, however, there is a heavier reliance on blue and green, applied in contrasting dots and stripes, which renders the piece visually distinct from its close parallels. This may be evidence for a second hand involved with coloring. Then again, a certain amount of caution is necessary with this hypothesis because the colors we see today are different from their original appearance: this piece has a thick layer of varnish which darkens the blues and greens and muddies the

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<sup>819</sup> The term apprentice here is to denote a junior decorator who is learning and should not be interpreted to imply any sort of formal arrangement, since we do not know very much about apprenticeship between artists in Ancient Egypt or even very much about how artists were trained.

<sup>820</sup> On the coffin of Dihoriaut (Budapest 51.1995), where the viewer's right side of the lid is misaligned and of noticeably lower quality than the left side, and the faces of the figures are drawn in a different style. On the inner coffin Nespaqaishuty (Detmold), the two sons of Horus to the side of the first register have faces that are uniquely cartoonish compared to the art on the rest of the coffin. There are two other coffins that show two hands: the coffin of Irbastetwedjanefu (Rouen Aeg 1857.10), and the coffin of Djedhor (Milwaukee Public Museum A 10264). In the case of the former, the second hand is probably modern. In the case of the latter, it certainly is.

appearance of other colors. The heavier use of darker colors could also have been due to the agency of a single draftsman, or due to the preference of the buyer.

Evidence is lacking on other coffins for a second hand in coloring, and we propose that the process of handing this work off to a second person during the coloring phase, only to have the second person hand control back for the final outline, would have complicated the production process and may have been impractical.<sup>821</sup> Thus, while apprentices or co-workers may have been involved in a few cases, most pieces were by one artist and one scribe at most.

The pieces were decorated quickly, and more attention appears to have been lavished upon the area which would be the focus of attention at the funeral: the eye-level portion of the lid. On many pieces, there was a significant difference in the quality of the figural drawing and handwriting between this part of the coffin and the rest of the coffin. These changes were not changes in the forms of the glyphs and figures per se, but rather changes in the size of brush used, the consistency of the paint, and the care and speed with which the figures were executed.<sup>822</sup> The back of the basins, and the sides of the lids, could be especially sloppy and rushed in execution; these areas may have contained text and iconography important to the well-being of the deceased, but would not have been a visual focus during the funeral. While it is possible that these areas were executed by an apprentice mimicking the style of a senior artist, a simpler explanation is that the artist and scribe devoted the bulk of their time and attention to the portion of the coffin that would be most admired at the funeral and executed the rest more quickly. Cartonnages and bivalve coffins were at least partially, if not wholly, decorated with the deceased inside.<sup>823</sup>

The same person who decorated the inner coffin also decorated the outer coffin, in sets where such a piece was present. A good example of this is the inner and outer coffins of Ankhwenennefer, where the handwriting is the same on both the outer *qersu* coffin and the inner bivalve coffin. The female figures on the inside and foot of the bivalve and on the head and foot end of the *qersu* coffin have the same slight smile, round chin, and pat of flesh beneath the jaw. In the one case where the artist of the inner and outer coffin differs, the outer coffin was likely a reused older piece.<sup>824</sup>

The artist was also often the sole scribe. This is apparent in cases where idiosyncrasies in the drawing of some iconography also appear in related glyphs in the text, or when monumental glyphs integrated into vignettes share formal similarities with linear cursive glyphs in the captions. On the coffins of Aaefenor (Paris Louvre, AF 9592) and the Anonymous Woman (Sydney, Australian Museum, E 19946), the glyph on Nephthys' (O9) head matches the one in the adjacent captions. This glyph is a composite of a basket and a floorplan, but in these

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<sup>821</sup> This is especially true in the case of the coffin of Djedhor (London, British Museum EA 20650), where after the final outline was added, more layers of layers of certain colors were painted over it!

<sup>822</sup> The two most extreme examples of this phenomenon are the coffins of Nesqashuty (Michael C. Carlos Museum, Atlanta 1999.001.009a), and on the coffin of Djedhor (London, British Museum EA 20650) where the back of the basin is noticeably more rushed and sloppier than the front of the lid. With the coffin of Nesqashuty, a quick glance might lead a viewer to the conclusion that there were three hands working on the inscription because the hand in the central column on the lid is so fine, but on closer examination, the hands have strong formal similarities, and their differences are more related to the distance of the inscription from the focal areas of the lid.

<sup>823</sup> See above section starting on page on page 97.

<sup>824</sup> This is the coffin of Tabes, (Leicester, New Walk Museum 1881.1885) which is probably a 3rd Intermediate Period piece that has been reused. See the section on Tabes in the catalogue for more detail.

coffins the basket is sunk into the top of the floorplan, where it is usually balanced on top. Because the inscription and the art share this unusual detail, the artist and scribe were probably the same person, across both coffins in the set. Similar analyses led to the same conclusion on many other pieces in the corpus.<sup>825</sup>

### The Compositions of Individual Workshops

The amount of work that a single person would have done in any given workshop is especially impressive given how many coffins some artists appear to have produced during their careers, and how few artists can be identified during long timespans. This is demonstrated most clearly in the 21st Dynasty, where there are reasonably well-defined start and end points for the Yellow Style. Of the four provenienced Akhmim pieces, three come from the beginning of the dynasty, and one probably comes from the second half. There were at most three people

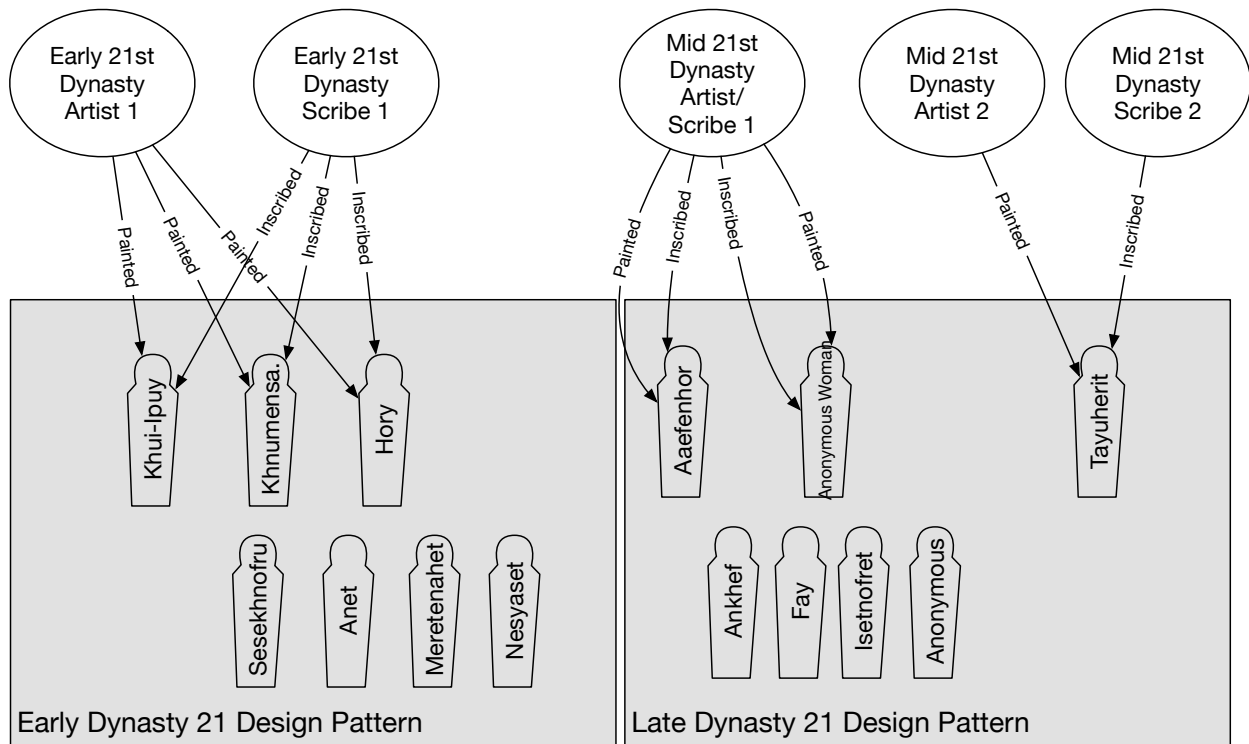


Figure 113: Relationships between artists of the 21st Dynasty Workshop

<sup>825</sup> This could be shown for the coffins of Iwefaa (Phoebe A Hearst Museum of Anthropology, Berkeley, 6-19928, 6-19912), Besenmut (New Walk Museum Leicester, 1880.1885), Padiaset (Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, 8901,8902), Nespaqaishuty (National Archaeological Museum, Athens 3412), Asetemakhbit (Czartoryski Museum, Krakow. MNK XI-842a,b), Ankhpakhered (Asti, 94a), and Nesqashuty (Michael C. Carlos Museum, Atlanta 1999.991.009a). Since artist-scribe identity could be shown for one of the coffins by the Besenmut artist, that of Padiaset, it follows that all of the other pieces associated with the Besenmut artist were also inscribed by him because the handwriting and figural drawing is very similar between all of these pieces.

involved in making all four: an artist, a scribe, and a second artist who was also a scribe. (Figure 113).<sup>826</sup>

The authorship picture is clear with Workshop A, though the start and end points of the workshop's existence are less certain. The workshop probably began in the later Third

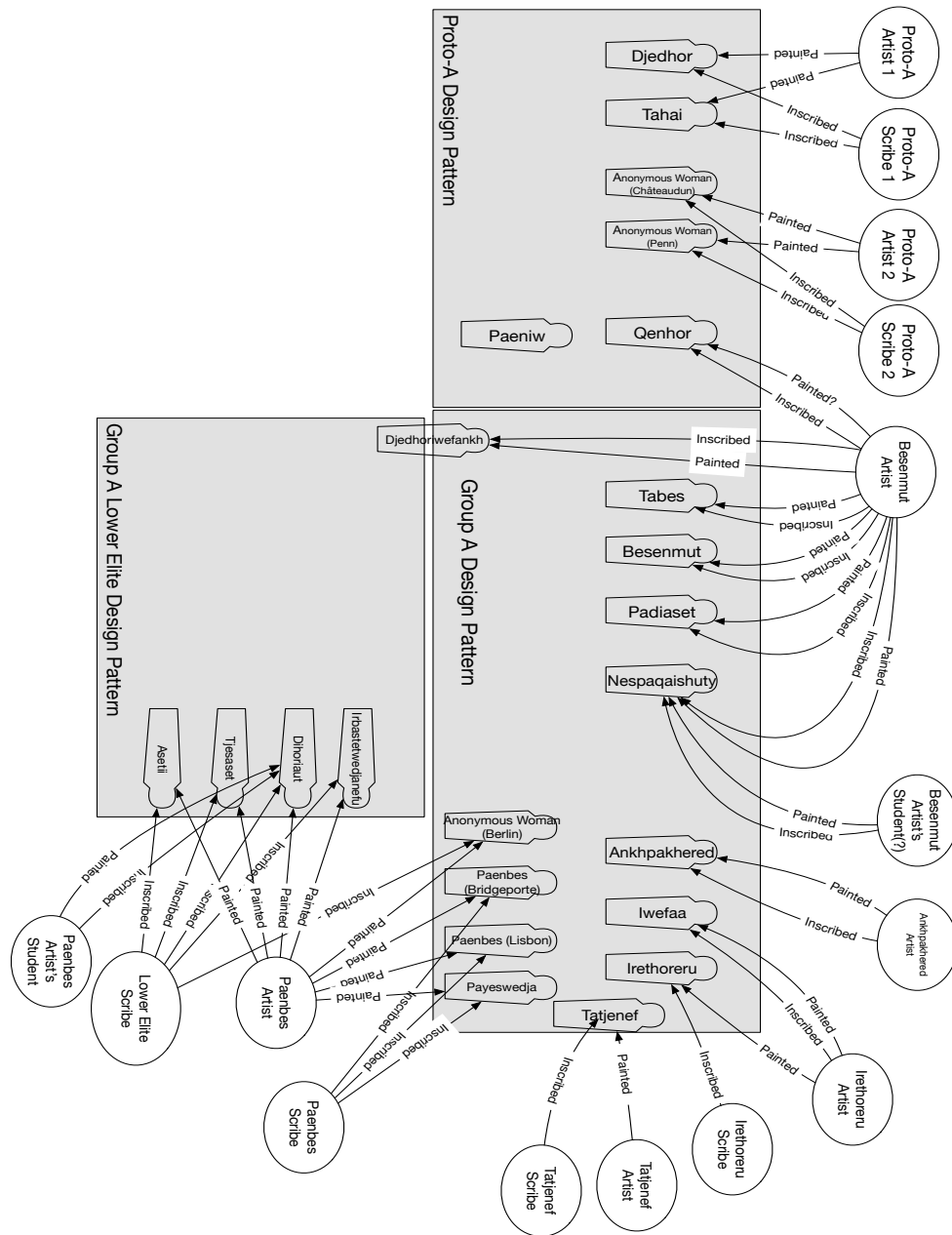


Figure 114: Who decorated what in the "A" Workshop

<sup>826</sup> Yet the picture is not perfectly clear: during this period, we also have a large number of unproven pieces which are probably from the same workshop (because they use the same design pattern as the proven pieces) but could not be associated with any of these three decorators. The exception is the coffin of the Anonymous Woman (Sydney, Australian Museum, E 19946), which was by the artist who drafted and inscribed the coffin of Aefenhor.



Intermediate Period and lasted into at least the 26th Dynasty. At most, fifteen people can be associated with the twenty-three coffins known from this workshop. However, fifteen of the

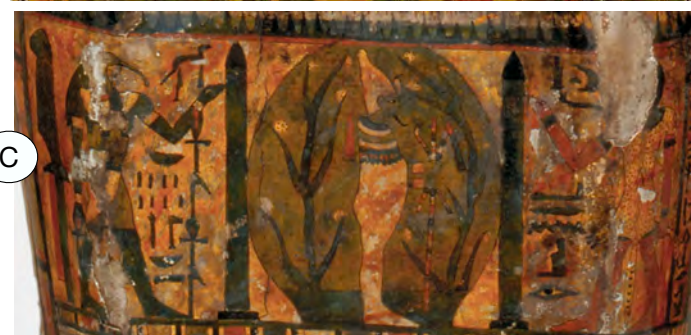


Figure 115: Change in the "Osiris in the Tree" scene over generations. A) From the cartonnage of Djedhor, by Proto-A Artist 1, B) The bivalve of Padiaset, by the Besenmut Artist, C) The Bivalve of Padiaset (Lisbon) by the Padiaset Artist, and the coffin of Iwefaa, by the Irethoreru Artist.

pieces were decorated by only two artists. One of these artists, the "Besenmut Artist" responsible for the coffin of Besenmut in Leicester, was probably also the scribe on all six sets with which he can be associated (Figure 114).

Small subgroups of these fifteen decorators and scribes of Workshop A may have worked in parallel. The Besenmut Artist, and his apprentice whose hand is apparent on the coffin of Nespaqaishuty, were certainly contemporaries. So were the Paenbes Artist, the scribe with whom he worked on the lower-elite coffins, and the third scribe with whom he worked on the coffins of the two men named Paenbes. The artist of the Iwefaa coffins seems to have done his own inscriptions on the coffin of Iwefaa but worked with a second scribe on the coffin of Irethoreru (Figure 114).

Because it endured over a long timespan, Workshop A must have lasted several generations. In the coffin artwork, this manifests in the way that vignettes of the same subject are more closely related to some parallels than others. For example, one of the earliest "Osiris in a Tree" scene is that on the cartonnage of Djedhor (Detroit), which depicts Osiris with a red shroud and a bead-net. The tree is small and grows out of a container. To the right and left are winged figures (Figure 115, A) The Besenmut and Paenbes Artists are likely at least a generation later, and drew the scene very similarly to each other, but differently from the version on the cartonnage of Djedhor: there are obelisks flanking the tree, along with an

lunmutef priest and either Thoth or Anubis. Osiris is wearing a white shroud and a white crown (Figure 115, B,C). The draftsman of the coffins of Iwefaa and Irethoreru probably worked later than the Besenmut and Paenbes artists. His interpretation of the scene removes the obelisks and the two protective goddesses on the far periphery. The tree becomes a thicket of trees, and Isis appears behind her husband amongst them. The artist who drew the scene on the coffin of Ankhpakhered expanded the area occupied by the tree and added Isis to the scene, like the Irethoreru artist did (Figure 115, D). It appears that the Ankhpakhered and Irethoreru artists were influencing each other or using the same source. There was probably a temporal relationship between these two artists, and they were probably later than the Besenmut and Paenbes artists, who may have overlapped in time as well.

Workshop A was probably a small enterprise, perhaps limited to a single family, or to one or two close co-workers who may have passed their craft down to their sons. Workshop A artists decorated and inscribed coffins, and perhaps other items as well.<sup>827</sup> Unpainted coffins may have been obtained directly from carpenters in the decorators' professional networks, or perhaps the whole process of making and decorating the funerary equipment was managed by a middleman.<sup>828</sup> The artist and scribe decorated the coffin quickly, perhaps with the body inside.

We can extend this understanding of the Akhmim workshop--as a small, multi-generational, temple-affiliated enterprise--to the 21st-Dynasty Workshop as well.<sup>829</sup> However, the situation with the standalone coffins of the early Third Intermediate Period and the Late Period is far murkier due to the lack of matching hands and to the introduction of external influences at Akhmim. In her conclusion, Brech notes the widespread use of the Hourly Vigil style and wonders whether coffins were created from models distributed across the country.<sup>830</sup> However, as we shall discuss, such models probably did not exist. People could travel, though, and we do have some evidence for travelling artists during the Ptolemaic Period.<sup>831</sup> If such travelling artists existed earlier, that might explain why we see northern influence in the Third

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<sup>827</sup> We do not have any remains of daily life material from the span between the New Kingdom and the Ptolemaic period at Akhmim, and scholarship on funerary material has focused on remains from the Ptolemaic period because they are in abundance. Examples of Pre-Ptolemaic Akhmim books of the Dead, Ptah-Sokar-Osiris Figures and other funerary items probably exist among the large number of unprovenienced pieces in museum storage facilities.

<sup>828</sup> For example, the coffin of Tjesaset(Cluny, Musée Ochier 888.1.1) has squared-off feet and a short pedestal, and was painted in the Low Elite design pattern by the Paenbes Artist. It is thus roughly contemporary with the pieces that have fully carved back-pillars and fully carved toe-edges which were also painted by this artist. Any discussion on dating which revolves around small changes in the form of the bivalve should probably consider the *chaine opératoire* of coffin construction and variation in social status before using such changes as datable criteria.

<sup>829</sup> In this context, the titles of Khui-ipuy are especially interesting, since he was a painter who was the grandson of a scribe in the House of Life. Whether he worked on coffins, we can only speculate.

<sup>830</sup> Brech, pp. 314–15.

<sup>831</sup> Willy Clarysse, 'Gilding and Painting Mummy Masks', in *Wiener Papyri Als Festgabe Zum 60. Geburtstag von Hermann Harrauer*, ed. by Bernhard Palme (Vienna: Holzhausen, 2001), pp. 67–70.

Intermediate Period,<sup>832</sup> and why the Hourly Vigil coffins have such close parallels from elsewhere.<sup>833</sup>

The Workshop A artists must have been attached in some way to the temple of Min, whether the work of painting a coffin was done at the decorator's house, at the temple, or in the necropolis. We have two coffins with Book of the Dead spells where the artist was also the scribe,<sup>834</sup> so the artists and the scribes must have been able to access the funerary literature at the temple scriptorium. One of the Book of the Dead spells also features an inclusion that is unique to Akhmim, and which appears again on Books of the Dead at Akhmim during the Ptolemaic period. Therefore, the artist of this coffin had to be tapping into a temple text tradition which continued to persist into much later times.<sup>835</sup> Further supporting this temple affiliation are the variety of texts which appear on coffins throughout the entire corpus. Texts like the, like the Osiris Hymn<sup>836</sup> are not common on coffins from any origin, and the text mentioning the *Senut* Temple at the Akhmim cemetery,<sup>837</sup> were probably not available outside of Akhmim. The temple scriptorium would certainly have had copies of them.

### The Reproduction of Vignettes and the Theological Training of Artists

Having defined the Akhmim workshops and discussed how the artists and scribes in them worked, the way is now clear to discuss more abstract questions about the literacy and religious training of these scribes and artists. Any scribe, regardless of their literacy could copy a well-written model with good results, and a technically skilled artist could reproduce a vignette from a model without understanding what was depicted. So, assessing the theological training and literacy of artists and scribes involves assessing which parts of the decoration of the coffin were directly copied from a model, and evaluating which parts represent the active choice of the artist or scribe. Such a choice might entail altering the scene based on their own interpretation or recomposing elements in an existing model. Finally, we must ascertain (if possible) which choices made by the artist were dictated by the client's wishes, and which ones reflected the creativity and knowledge of the artist himself.

### Artist Agency and The Process of Copying Images

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<sup>832</sup> Above, we considered the dealer's Akhmim provenience of Ankhtashepsit and dismissed it. This is because the coffin and its cartonnage have the same distinctive hieroglyphic hand as the cartonnage of a child found by Garstang at Beni-Hassan. However, were the dealer's provenience to be correct, we may have evidence for such a traveling artist in the coffins of Ankhtashepsit.

<sup>833</sup> The coffin of Tadiamun in Olomouc 6183A and the Coffin of Tasheritenisis Cairo CG 41065 both have striking similarities to the coffin of Djedhor in the British Museum, for example. Verner, I, pp. 115–65; Henri Gauthier, *Cercueils Anthropoïdes Des Prêtres de Montou (CG 41042-41072)*, Catalogue Général Des Antiquités Égyptiennes Du Musée Du Caire (Cairo: Imprimerie de l'Institut Français, 1913), p. XXXV.

<sup>834</sup> The coffin of Ankhaphkhered (Asti 94a), and the coffin of Iwefaa (Berkeley, PAHMA 6-19928)

<sup>835</sup> See below note 854 for a fuller discussion.

<sup>836</sup> The Osiris Hymn occurs on the coffins of Paenbes (Lisbon E 332), Ankhpakhered (Asti, 94a), and the Anonymous Woman (Berlin, SMB ÄM 17940).

<sup>837</sup> This occurs on the outer coffin of Padiaset (Vienna KHM ÄS 8901) and Nespaqaishuty (Outer Coffin, Detmold).

In the literature, it has been proposed that coffin artists copied from models or pattern books.<sup>838</sup> However, the coffins in the Akhmim corpus reveal that the decorations and texts on them were probably reproduced using a variety of techniques: copying from small models, reproducing from memory,<sup>839</sup> and transmitting knowledge between co-workers and from senior artists to apprentices.

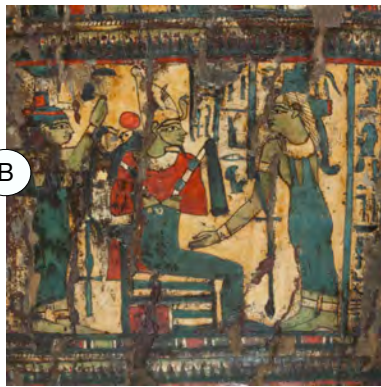


Figure 116: Second Register on the Coffins of a) Tabes and b) Paenbes (Bridgeporte), by two different artists.

Because the Group A corpus displays a standard set of vignettes that endures over multiple generations of artists, it presents an excellent opportunity to study how scenes were copied and transmitted. The coffins in the group are visually similar, and one of the reasons for this is that there is a surprising level of consistency in the central figures in each vignette. Draw a vertical line down the center of the lid of any two coffins in the group, and the figures the line runs through will be almost identical.

On both the coffins of Tabes and Paenbes (Bridgeporte), which are by the Besenmut and Paenbes Artists respectively, the figure of Osiris is identical down to its smallest details. On both coffins, the god wears the white crown, not the Atef crown and has a small falcon-head on his shoulder which is crowned with a solar disk. Isis crouches over him, wearing the vulture headdress, with plaited hair that ends in a curl clipping outward at the end (Figure 116). Small sub-scenes like this are so similar that they may be copied from a model. This model may have been physical, perhaps taking

the form of one or two figures drawn on ostraca which could be copied and composed into larger scenes. However, it is also possible that these figures are so similar because they were learned by repetitive copying of a senior artist or co-worker's example.

<sup>838</sup> See above section starting on page 90.

<sup>839</sup> Dagmar Winzer argues that we often sell the Egyptians short when proposing the use of pattern books for drafted compositions, and proposed that they were able to compose scenes from memory. Dagmar Winzer, 'Ohne Muster Wird Ein Grab Draus', in 'Zur Zierde Gereicht...' *Festschrift Bettina Schmitz Zum 60. Geburtstag Am 24. Juli 2008*, ed. by Antje Spiekermann, *Hildesheimer Ägyptologische Beiträge*, 50 (Hildesheim: Verlag Gebrüder Gerstenberg, 2008), pp. 285–87.



Evidence at Akhmim points against the use of large-scale models. If the artists were copying from vignettes of full scenes, we would expect there to be two identical instances of the same vignette on coffins of the same design pattern and by the same workshop. Yet this is not the case. Rather, as the eye moves outwards from the central figure of the vignette, we see more and more variations between different instances of the same vignette. Even the scenes by the same artist are never identical. The composition of the scene, the choice of figures in the scene, and the small details of the execution in it vary between coffin and between artists (Figure 115).



Figure 117: Examples of the "Osiris in a Tree" scene by the Besenmut artist. a) Inner Coffin of Padiaset b) Inner coffin of Besenmut c) Inner coffin of

Even if we only consider versions of the scene by the same artist, we see that the scene is never composed in the same way twice. On coffins by the Besenmut artist, the "Osiris in a Tree" scenes are more similar to each other than they are to examples by other artists, but they still exhibit significant differences in composition. For example, on the coffin of Besenmut, a falcon-headed Horus appears to the right of the tree; on the coffin of Padiaset, the figure to the right of the tree is a human lunmutef priest; and on the coffin of Tabes that figure is omitted entirely (probably for reasons of space).<sup>840</sup> On the coffin of Djedhoriwefankh, the artist completely recomposes the scene on two sides of a vertical text column: Osiris stands alone in his tree on one side, but on the other side, Toth stands with the deceased as a mummy.

Given these variations, it is unlikely that the artists who drew the scenes were copying from models depicting the entire scene--alternatively, if they were, they felt no obligation to adhere closely to the model. In fact, so free are the adaptations that the model could only have served at best in the capacity of an *aide memoire* for what elements ought to be included in the scene. But we need not posit a model for that: all of this information could equally have been part of an oral tradition.

That there are so many variations among instances of the same scene raises the question of whether these variations reflect of the agency of the artist or that of the purchaser. Client choice could have occurred at the level of the design pattern, the selection of vignettes, the composition of vignettes, or any combination thereof, including all three.

In periods where multiple coexisting design patterns were available, the client may have had some choice in what design pattern was used. If so, that choice was most likely dictated by social class and affordability. However, because so many coffins conform to design patterns, it seems unlikely that

<sup>840</sup> The aspect ratio of the vignettes is different on the coffin of Tabes than the others, allowing for fewer, taller figures.

the purchaser had much choice about which vignettes were used and where they went. Where we might more readily infer the will of the client are cases where the vignettes are unique to a particular piece, for example, the scene with the deceased and his wife praising a procession of Geb on the coffin of Khui-ipuy, and the inclusion of a figure of Taweret at the foot end of the coffin of Nesyaset. Such unique scenes, however, are rare.

We might also look for client choice in the composition of the vignettes, even though the vignettes were chosen as part of a set program. For example, the coffin of Hory, a priest of Isis, depicts Isis twice on the foot of the coffin instead of Isis and Nephthys. The goddess also appears twice in the scene with the deceased as Osiris on a bed. It is tempting to see this substitution as a nod to Hory's devotion to the goddess.<sup>841</sup> Another example is the edge of a harp in the damaged scene where Nesqashuty (Atlanta) is presented to Osiris on his coffin. This detail is unprecedented and may be a personal detail, since Nesqashuty was the overseer of the Singers of Min.

Multiple coffins have details suggesting that the vignettes were composed on the fly. The apparent speed of execution and the lack of correction on most of the pieces argues against a situation where the client was deeply involved with and providing the artist with continuous feedback during the drafting process. It seems more likely that the figures included in the scenes were chosen and positioned according to the needs and desires of the artist. On the coffin of Tabes, the aspect ratio of the vignettes--that is, the ratio of width to height--is lower than it is on the other coffins by the Besenmut artist. This is because the artist omitted several winged solar disks at the tops of vignettes, which made the scenes below them taller than they otherwise would have been, while the width stayed the same. Had the artist intended to recreate the exact same scene on the coffins of Tabes as portrayed on the coffins of Besenmut, he could not have done it: The figures all had to be scaled to the new height to maintain the balance in the scene, meaning that not as many figures could be drawn in the space. In short, the artist had to adjust the scenes to have fewer, taller figures. A similar phenomenon occurs on the coffin of Nespaqaishuty in Detmold, where the registers were laid out from top to bottom without prior measurement of the coffin. The space left at the bottom for the "Osiris in a Tree scene" is squished, and the artist had to react. He did so by omitting the figures of Horus and Anubis, and scaling down the figure of Osiris, which no longer includes details of his face and body.

#### The Theological Training of the Artists

Artist agency is visible not only in what the artist chose to add or omit from a scene, but also in how they substituted one mythological figure for another. These substitutions make clear that the artists well understood the meanings of the scenes they were drawing, and also understood how they were changing them.

On most coffins in the Group A corpus, the embalmer in the scene with Osiris on the bed is Anubis, who has the usual epithets of "Lord of the Sacred Land" and "He who is in the

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<sup>841</sup> It's probably not a mistake since the scene the scene functionally requires mourning goddesses, and two Isises fit the requirement as well as Isis and Nephthys.

bandages".<sup>842</sup> However, on a few Group A coffins, Horus fills the role instead. The text on one piece proclaims that Horus is "glorifying his father, Osiris;"<sup>843</sup> on another, Horus speaks directly to the deceased, equating him to Osiris: "I am Horus-who-protects his-father, who makes your protection."<sup>844</sup> The substitution here of one god for another is intentional, and one coffin even splits the difference: with a caption naming the jackal-headed embalmer as "Horus-Anubis."<sup>845</sup>

The same creative substitution is apparent on every repeating scene among Group A pieces, the Proto-A pieces, and the 21st dynasty pieces. This improvisation is most clearly visible 21st Dynasty corpus, specifically in the mummification scene. One scene depicts the embalmed body as headless (or realistically depicted as fully wrapped) with the ba-bird appearing overhead, perhaps as an allusion to Spell 89 of the Book of the Dead.<sup>846</sup> The same scene on another coffin has a winged disk hovers over the body, giving the scene solar-rebirth connotations.<sup>847</sup> On a third coffin, all the possible elements were added at the same time: crammed in the space behind and over the body on the bed are Anubis, a winged goddess, a ba-bird, and a winged solar disk.<sup>848</sup>

At least for the products of the 21st-Dynasty Workshop and Workshop A, the Akhmim artists most likely copied models or examples of individual vignette elements rather than models or examples of an entire vignette scene. The artists used design patterns to decorate the coffins they produced, in which themes of the vignettes and their locations were pre-set, but the actual contents or individual elements of the vignettes could easily be adapted if the artist so chose. There may well have been oral or written traditions about what figures needed to be in each scene for it to be functional. Purchasers may have had a choice design patterns, and it is possible that in some special cases, a vignette or detail might have been added at the purchaser's request. Overall, however, the role of a purchaser in the selection of coffin decoration was probably limited.

Within the design pattern constraints, namely pre-set locations and specific themes for particular vignettes, the artist nevertheless had considerable leeway for determining the specific composition of a vignette to fill its functional requirements. That an artist had the agency and knowledge to choose and apply appropriate variations in vignette compositions, whether to adapt to layout problems or to nuance a vignette's meaning, shows that the artists were intimately familiar with the purpose of the vignettes. It is therefore possible to conclude that the artists were theologically trained in how funerary ritual and funerary magic was supposed to work.

## Reproduction of Texts on Coffins

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<sup>842</sup> *nb ȝ dsr* and *imy w.t* appear as epithets for Anubis on the coffins of Tabes (Leicester), Besenmut, and Padiaset..

<sup>843</sup> *hr sꜥ it=f* on the coffin of Paenbes (Lisbon E 136)

<sup>844</sup> *ink hr-nd-it=f ir sꜥk* on the coffin of Djedhoriwefankh, Buffalo Museum of Science 654.139

<sup>845</sup> For *hr-inpw* See LGG vol. V p 245. The epithet occurs on the inner coffin of Iwefaa, (Berkeley PAHMA 6-19928)

<sup>846</sup> This is the coffin of Merytenahet (Vienna KHM ÄS 6606) Egner and Reiser-Haslauer, II, p. 134.

<sup>847</sup> The coffins of Aaefenhor, Louvre (A9592) and the coffin of the Anonymous Woman (Sydney, Australian Museum E 19466)

<sup>848</sup> The coffin of Ankhef: Bolshakov, p. 165.

The scribes (who were sometimes the same individuals who drew the vignettes) also used a combination of memorization and copying to produce the texts on the coffins. Complex religious texts were copied from models, but captions, epithets, and formulae were probably written from memory.

The Workshop A coffins provide evidence that supports this contention that short or standardized texts were memorized. The captions for these coffins differ in every instance of the same vignette. For example, the Four Sons of Horus occur on all coffins of the Group A design pattern. The names of the Sons of Horus, however, are rarely correctly correlated with the accompanying image.<sup>849</sup> The scribes usually got *Imsety* right and mixed up the others in different ways. Only one of the Group A scribes managed to spell *Imsety*'s name the same way twice.<sup>850</sup> The same is true for other gods' names and epithets: the texts are almost always intelligible, but the orthographies vary from piece to piece and within the same piece. Thus, if Workshop A did in fact have one or more models for consultation by the scribal artists, it or they were virtually useless.

The most illustrative examples of writing longer formulae from memory occur on the Hourly Vigil coffins, where the canopic speeches were replaced by repeating offering formulae written in small glyphs over most of the body of the coffin.<sup>851</sup> The scribes expanded and contracted these formulae to fill the space, adding extra epithets to the deceased's name and generations to his genealogy; this process is especially clear on the coffins of Djedhor (British Museum) and Irethoreru (British Museum). The scribes swapped out the names of the gods and added epithets, and they expanded and contracted the list of offerings that the deceased requested. The scribes could hardly have written the formulae this many times without having memorized them, and the ability of the scribes to modify the texts shows that they understood the structure of what they were writing enough to make meaningful changes to it.

Most of the more specialized funerary texts only occur once in the corpus, so comparative approaches are impossible. However, it seems clear from several examples that Book of the Dead Spells, Nut Spells, Glorification Spells, and other complex funerary texts were probably copied from models. For example, the Hourly Vigil-style coffin of Nespaqaishuty (Penn E 883a-c) reproduces the text of Book of the Dead Spell 24 on the central column and on the side of the coffin lid where it occurs with Spell 23. On the right side of the lid, which is divided into many short, vertical columns, the scribe makes a fascinating mistake which had to have been made when copying a model to the surface of the coffin. The text reads from the foot to the head in retrograde, but the spell actually starts a few columns to the left of the ankle and reads towards the ankle in retrograde for one long column. To read the next line in the spell, the reader must jump towards the head four lines, from which the text proceeds, again in

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<sup>849</sup> This problem was noted by Komorzynski, pp. 77–78. He assumed the artist was working from a bad template. We should not consider this a mistake. The function of the sons was to protect the deceased and in that sense, they may have been interchangeable provided they were all present.

<sup>850</sup> On both the coffins of Padiaset and Besenmut, the god is "*imsy*" where on the coffin of Nespaqaishuty he is "*itsy*" on Tabes, he is "*imyṯs*."

<sup>851</sup> Pieces with this feature are the coffins of Nesqaishuty (Atlanta, Michael C Carlos Museum, 19999.001.009A, Irethoreru (London, British Museum, BM EA 20745), Djedhor (London, British Museum, BM EA 20650), Ankhwennefer (Washington State Historical Society) and the coffin of Paenbes (Linz, Oberösterreichischen Landesmuseum, AEG 10)



retrograde towards the ankle for three more lines. Then the reader must jump back towards the head another four lines, in the manner of a needle on a broken record.<sup>852</sup> This error most likely resulted either from a scribe who was copying from a retrograde document and didn't realize it or was incorrectly transcribing a non-retrograde document into retrograde and doing it poorly. The entire spell ends up being reproduced in blocks containing variable numbers of columns of continuous retrograde text. Because the coffin is a three-dimensional surface where the height of each column varies based on its location, the numbers of columns per block is variable. However, each block must have contained as much text as a column on the model text.

Specialized funerary texts were probably copied from models derived from temple archives. One indication that this was the case (in addition to the example of the Book of the Dead spells on the coffin of Nespaqashuty described above) comes from the coffin of Ankhpakhered,<sup>853</sup> which features a highly abbreviated copy of Book of the Dead Spell 1 in its third register. The text contains a novel passage which appears later in Ptolemaic Books of the Dead from Akhmim. Although this particular passage is considered characteristic of Ptolemaic Books of the Dead at Akhmim, its origins clearly lie in an earlier era, as its presence on the coffin of Ankhpakhered attests.<sup>854</sup> It seems likely that this spell was copied from a version of the spell recorded in the temple archives. This scribe of Ankhpakhered's coffin evidently knew the words he was writing well enough to shorten some of them to determinatives to fill the allocated space. He engaged with the text and edited it on the fly and was able to produce intelligible results.

The model texts used for these coffins were probably not transcribed simply to be used on a particular coffin. It is also unlikely that a scribe would have expected to copy from a retrograde model as the scribe of the coffin of Nespaqashuty evidently did. The scribe of the coffin of Paenbes (Lisbon) seems to have been copying from a document with more spells on it than he needed or intended to copy. The back of the coffin features an excerpt of Book of the Dead Spell 54, which includes an excerpt from the middle of Spell 56 inserted in it. Both spells deal with "breathing in the hereafter," and they commonly occur together on papyri. This mistake seems to have been the result of the scribe copying from a document that contained both spells, and mistakenly combining the two.

In summary, the Akhmim coffin scribes probably wrote short phrases, epithets, and offering formulae from memory, and were intimately familiar with the meanings and variations of this material. They likely copied longer and more specialized writings from models in the temple archive, selecting which texts to use (possibly with the help of the coffin's purchaser), and adapting it to the coffin surface. Whether they understood what they were writing in the case of these longer and more specialized texts is a different question altogether.

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<sup>852</sup> See the translation of text F on the coffin of Nespaqashuty, which starts on page 595.

<sup>853</sup> Asti, Museo Civico Archeologico 94a

<sup>854</sup> The spell on Ankhpakhered reads "*i k3 imnt.t i.n dhw.ty (n) nsw.t [nhh] im[...]*" 'Oh Bull of the West,' said Thoth to the King of Eternity with..." The Akhmim inclusion is the participial phrase starting with "*im*". Lüscher and others, p. 8 note J.

The scribes of coffins with unique texts were almost certainly literate, assuming that they were the authors and editors of these texts and were not transcribing an intermediary model document. Included in this group are those who authored the biographical text on the cartonnage of Nespaqashuty (Athens), and the unparalleled Opening of the Mouth text on the coffin of Khui-ipuy.

While a number of scribes were most likely literate, there was one--and only one-- case where we can say for certain that the scribe was illiterate. This was the scribe who wrote the central inscription and captions on the coffin of the Anonymous Child (Berlin). The texts on this coffin consist of clusters of real glyphs interspersed with pseudoglyphs, creating the only unintelligible text in the entire corpus. Even here, however, the scribe was able to reproduce the first three letters of the offering formula and the name of Isis from memory. (Figure 118).

Since the vast majority of writing on the coffins in the corpus studied in this dissertation comprise only short texts and funerary texts, the way the words were physically inscribed and edited provide the main testimony for judging a scribe's literacy and competence. Taking all of the evidence together, with illiteracy at one end of a literacy spectrum and complete literateness at the other, it appears that most of the Akhmim scribes fell somewhere mid-spectrum and were partially literate.

Partial literacy in the case of the Akhmim scribes means that a scribe might be literate in Late Egyptian, or Demotic, but have difficulty with Middle Egyptian in which specialized religious texts were still written and read. In the First Millennium BCE, Middle Egyptian was an old form of the language, long divorced from the spoken vernacular and alien even to literate Egyptians.<sup>855</sup> He may have been able to write in hieratic, but he might stumble when converting a hieratic model into hieroglyphic.

When looking at mistakes in texts for signs of illiteracy, the process of writing on coffins must be borne in mind. Outside of the few characters that were drawn in large, polychrome glyphs, the texts were not pre-drafted. On most coffins, writing the text was the last step in the decoration.<sup>856</sup> Furthermore, the scribes either could not or would not<sup>857</sup> erase mistakes: in the

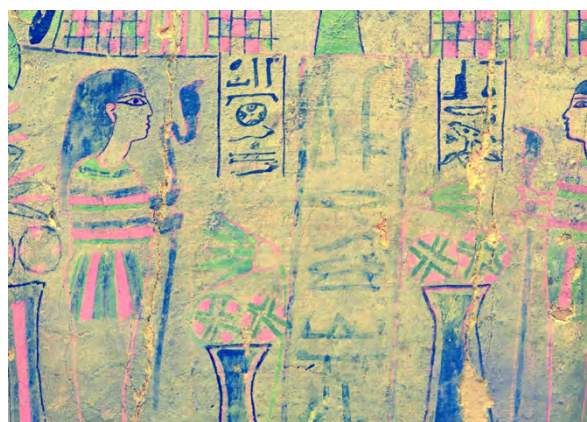


Figure 118: Untranslatable Text on the coffin of the Anonymous Child (Berlin SMB 85313). Image enhanced with D-Stretch for better visibility of the faded central inscription.

<sup>855</sup>For the training of scribes for work on funerary objects, see Goelet, p. 124.

<sup>856</sup> A possible exception is the coffin of Nesqashuty (Atlanta), where the scribe seems to have worked a section at a time around the coffin and drew more dividing lines when he ran out of space for inscription on the foot.

<sup>857</sup> In my own experiments with pigments and pastes, I found that it was very difficult to plaster over mistakes in black or red inscription because both the base and paint were water soluble, and the latter had a tendency to smear when painted over.

entire corpus, there is no example where a text was corrected later.<sup>858</sup> It is therefore difficult or impossible to tell whether any given discrepancy from a model text was a mistake or was intentional (for reasons at which the modern reader can only guess).

Most scribes probably understood memorized formulaic texts. The scribes writing on the Hourly Vigil coffins, for example, were able to expand and contract these texts when necessary and abbreviate long wish lists to "all good things" when space was limited. They understood the components of the formulae and how they worked. They probably also understood gods' names and epithets.

Fewer scribes seem to have understood the long Middle Egyptian funerary texts that they had to copy and that they wrote only infrequently on the coffins. A good example of this is on the back of the coffin of Paenbes, where the scribe ends Spell 125 abruptly with the non-enclitic particle "*iw*," which began a sentence that the scribe never wrote. Presumably he knew he was running out of space and would not be able to resume elsewhere, so we must conclude that he couldn't parse the words on which he ended. Nevertheless, some scribes probably at least partially comprehended the longer texts, as can be seen examples where words in a given spell are abbreviated to the determinative in order to save space.<sup>859</sup> In such cases, excerpts from spells are squeezed into spaces that normally would have accommodated captions. To do this, the scribe had to pick out the words that had determinatives which could be used as logograms representing the whole word. In order to make these substitutions with an intelligible result, the scribe had some understanding of the text.

The scribes may have had some training in hieratic. This is hinted at by the inclusion of hieratic characters in texts where hieroglyphs signs would have been expected. Apparently, the scribes defaulted to hieratic characters when in a hurry or confused about what the hieroglyphic equivalent might be. The tendency to write hieroglyphs from right to left even when the resulting text was not symmetrical with a counterpart text on the other side of the coffin also hints at hieratic training, since hieratic is always written from right to left.

Some scribes seemed to have difficulty in reversing characters when symmetry demanded it. One example of this can be seen on the offering text on the coffin of Nespaqashuty (Penn), where the genealogy text on the right side of the central column begins facing the column, reading right to left, but reverses itself to left-to-right direction after a few words. The coffin of Nesqashuty (Atlanta) provides a particularly interesting example of this problem with reversing characters. The piece is an Hourly Vigil coffin, meaning that the writing on it should progress from waist to foot on both sides, in columns. However, on the coffin of Nesaqashuty, all of the writing on the lid and basin of the piece runs from right-to-left, with a preference for horizontal rather than columnar writing. When the expected direction of writing would have forced the scribe to change his characters to face left, he wrote in retrograde or rotated his hand and wrote the text from right-to-left in horizontal lines. The result was an unbalanced, asymmetrical layout of text on the lid.

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<sup>858</sup> This does not include usurpation where the object was re-commodified and reinscribed sometime after its initial use. In these cases, the scribe seems to have been able to erase the name and reinscribe it at least in some places.

<sup>859</sup> This occurs on the coffin of Ankhaphkhered (Asti 94a), the coffin of Iwefaa (PAHMA 6-19928), and the coffin of Paenbes (Bridgeporte 1894.1.2AB)

Hieratic characters litter that coffins of Nespaqaishuty; these characters have been non-calligraphically drawn, as if they were hieroglyphs. Hieratic characters occur amongst the Group A coffins too, notably on the coffins of Ankhpakhered and Iwefaa. There is also a tendency among the Group A coffins, especially on the coffin of Paenbes (Lisbon), to confuse round signs; this, too, might be an indicator that the scribe was converting from a hieratic source and mapping similar-looking round hieratic characters to the wrong glyphs.

There are also incidences of hieratic-influenced orthographies, which occur on several of the Hourly Vigil coffins. For example, the hoof glyph (F25) is drawn with a cross above a foot on the coffin of Djedhor (British Museum). In hieroglyphic this is technically a misspelling, but the hieratic version of the character does indeed resemble a cross on top of a foot. Similarly, on the same coffin, and on the owner's second coffin, we see that his title is written with two horns and a water glyph. This unusual writing of the word *rh.ty* (washerman) comes from the translation of the hieroglyph of two ducks on a pond to hieratic, and then back into hieroglyphic. It is difficult to know whether these orthographies were created by the scribe and indicate an idiosyncratic inability to translate a hieratic source back into hieroglyphic; whether they reflected a flawed source document; or whether they constituted accepted spelling variants at the time when the coffin was decorated. Given that *rh.ty* is an unusual title in the 26th Dynasty, and was probably not part of a generic source document, it may be that the scribes of both the coffins had difficulty rendering in hieroglyphic a word that they knew in hieratic.

In conclusion, two scribes at Akhmim were completely literate, and at least one was completely illiterate. Most of the scribes at Akhmim fell somewhere on a spectrum of partial literacy. Understanding ancient funerary texts was a specialized undertaking requiring knowledge of the religious context of the texts as well as Middle Egyptian, a language no longer in vernacular use. The partially literate Akhmim scribes seem to have understood the various epithets for deities and various spellings of their names as well as the grammatical constructions of the offering formulae and other repetitive texts like spells of protection. The scribes knew these well enough to be able to edit them as needed for differing spatial requirements on the coffins. Some scribes were also capable of editing select Book of the Dead spells into appropriate abbreviations. Finally, there are subtle clues that some of the Akhmim scribes had been trained in hieratic.

## Final Remarks

The late pharaonic Akhmim corpus of coffins has long been neglected because of their almost total lack of archaeological context and provenience, and because of the supposed provincial character of the art and texts on the coffins. Yet, as this dissertation has demonstrated, the Akhmim artists and scribes who produced the coffins followed their own independent traditions and, at their finest, stood toe-to-toe with their counterparts in the southern capitol of Thebes. The Akhmim artists and scribes produced lively, creative works which would ensure the proper passage of their patrons into the afterlife.

The vignettes on the coffins created at Akhmim express a vibrant, living, and local religious tradition where ideas were developed and expressed by artists through the addition,

subtraction, and substitution of elements in a scene. the writings accompanying the vignettes provided a long-neglected foundation upon which the more well-studied Ptolemaic coffins and funerary texts from Akhmim rest. The vignettes and texts together demonstrate that the tradition of literary and religious knowledge at Akhmim extends further back in time than scholars had previously acknowledged, kept alive and nurtured by the Unseen Hands that decorated the coffins of post New Kingdom Akhmim.

## Appendix I: Items from Intrusive Burials at el-Hawawish, Discovered by Kanawati

Even though some of these objects were misdated to the Roman period, they may all date within the 1st Millennium BCE.

DESCRIPTION	DATING	FINDSPOT	CURRENT LOCATION	REFERENCE
<b>A FRAGMENT OF AN OPENWORK MUMMY-COVER.</b>	Probably Ramesside. There are no known 21 <sup>st</sup> dynasty pieces of this type.	Tomb G22	Akhmim Magazine	Naguib Kanawati, <i>The Rock Tombs of El-Hawawish: The Cemetery of Akhmim</i> (Sydney: Ancient History Documentary Research Center, Macquarie University, 1987), VII, p. 47, pl 11.
<b>COFFIN MASK WITH FLORAL FILLET AND STRIPED WIG</b>	19 <sup>th</sup> -22 <sup>nd</sup> dynasty	Tomb M29	Akhmim Magazine	Naguib Kanawati, <i>The Rock Tombs of El-Hawawish: The Cemetery of Akhmim</i> (Sydney: Ancient History Documentary Research Center, Macquarie University, 1983), IV, p. 46 pl 9.
<b>DETACHED YELLOW HAND FROM COFFIN, FINGERS OUTSTRETCHED, PAINTED RINGS.</b>	19 <sup>th</sup> - 22 <sup>nd</sup> dynasty	Tomb M29	Akhmim Magazine	Kanawati, IV, pp. 46, Pl 9.
<b>TOP 2/3 OF A COFFIN LID OR MUMMY BOARD</b>	21 <sup>st</sup> or 22 <sup>nd</sup> dynasty based on decoration layout and density.	Tomb H14	Akhmim Magazine	Kanawati, IV, p. 48, pl 9.
<b>CLENCHED LINEN CARTONNAGE HAND, PROBABLY FROM A COFFIN.</b>	Ptolemaic or Roman Period?	Tomb M23.1	MU1775, Currently at the Macquarie Museum of Ancient Cultures.	<i>Death Is Only the Beginning: Egyptian Funerary Customs at the Macquarie Museum of Ancient Cultures</i> , ed. by Yann Trisant, Ellen M. Ryan, and Effy Alexakis, The Australian Centre for Egyptology, Studies 11 (Sydney, Australia : Oxford: Australian Centre for Egyptology,



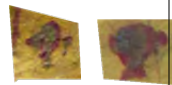
















































































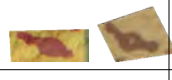












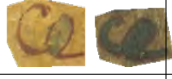























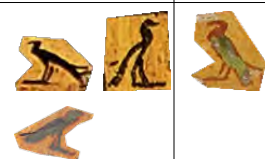









## Appendix II: Full Paleography





































































































# Paleography of 21st Dynasty Coffins

Anet Vatican Paleography	Australian Museum Anonymous Paleography	Berlin Knumsanepesu AE8505Paleography	Hory Pannonia ReformataPaleography	Louvre AF9592 Aaefen horPaleography	RosicrucianFragments Paleography	Sesekhnofru Copenhag enPaleography	Tayuberit Uppsala Paleography

Anet Vatican Paleography	Australian Museum Anonymous Paleography	Berlin Knumsanapehu AE8505 Paleography	Hory Pannonia Rformatata Paleography	Louvre AF0592 Aaeften horPaleography	RosicrucianFragments Paleography	Sesekhnofru CopenhagenPaleography	Tayuhelit Uppsala Paleography
 D2							
 D4							
 D21							
 D28							
 D35							
 D36							
 D37							
 D4							
 D43							
 D45							
 D46							
 D5							
 D52							
 D55							
 D56							
 D58							
 D6							
 E1							
 E34							

Anet Vatican Paleography	Australian Museum Anonymous Paleography	Berlin Knumsanapehu AE8505 Paleography	Hory Pannonia Rformata Paleography	Louvre AF0592 Aaeften horPaleography	RosicrucianFragments Paleography	Sesekhnofru CopenhagenPaleography	Tayuherit Uppsala Paleography
 F1							
 F1							
 F4							
 F13							
 F18							
 F2							
 F22							
 F22 R12							
 F23							
 F31							
 F34							
 F35							
 F39							
 F47							
 F51							
 G1							
 G5							
 G6							

Anet Vatican Paleography	Australian Museum Anonymous Paleography	Berlin Knumsanapehu AE8505Paleography	Hory Pannonia RformataPaleography	Louvre AF0592 Aaeften horPaleography	RosicrucianFragments Paleography	Sesekhnofru CopenhagenPaleography	Tayuherit Uppsala Paleography
 G9							
 G14			 	  		 	
 G15	  						
 G17							
 G26							
 G28							
 G36	 						
 G38					 		
 G39							
 G4			 				
 G42					 		
 G43		  	 		   		
 G45							
 H1							
 H6							
 H8				 			
 H11							
 H19	 	   	 	 	 	 	

	Anet Vatican Paleography	Australian Museum Anonymous Paleography	Berlin Knusnapehu AE8505 Paleography	Hory Pannonia Rformatata Paleography	Louvre AF0592 Aaeften hor Paleography	RosicrucianFragments Paleography	Sesekhnofru CopenhagenPaleography	Tayuberit Uppsala Paleography
I1								
I12								
L7								
M2								
M3								
M12								
M17								
M18								
M19								
M23								
M26								
M27								
M29								
M3								
M36								
N1								
N5								
N6								

	Anet Vatican Paleography	Australian Museum Anonymous Paleography	Berlin Knumsanapehu AE8505 Paleography	Hory Pannonia Rformata Paleography	Louvre AF0592 Aaeften horPaleography	RosicrucianFragments Paleography	Sesekhnofru CopenhagenPaleography	Tayuherit Uppsala Paleography
*N14								
N16								
N18								
N21								
N25								
N26								
N29								
N31								
N35								
N36								
N37								
N41								
O1								
O1 F35								
O4								
O9								
O22								
O28								
O29								
O34								

Anet Vatican Paleography	Australian Museum Anonymous Paleography	Berlin Knumsanapehu AE8505Paleography	Hory Pannonia RformataPaleography	Louvre AF9592 Aaefen horPaleography	RosicrucianFragments Paleography	Sesekhnofru CopenhagenPaleography	Tayuberit Uppsala Paleography
⊗ O49							
⌚ P6							
⌚ P8							
⌚ Q1							
⌚ Q2							
⌚ Q3							
⌚ R4							
⌚ R7							
⌚ R8							
⌚ R11							
⌚ R14							
⌚ R17							
R22R1 2							
⌚ R24							
⌚ S3							








Anet Vatican Paleography	Australian Museum Anonymous Paleography	Berlin Knumsanapehu AE8505 Paleography	Hory Pannonia Rformata Paleography	Louvre AF9592 Aaeften hor Paleography	RosicrucianFragments Paleography	Sesekhnofru Copenhagen Paleography	Tayuhelit Uppsala Paleography
† S29							
♀ S34							
† S37							
† S38							
† S42							
↓ S43							
← T1							
♂ T12							
♁ T19							
↓ T22							
♁ T28							
↷ U1							
↷ U4							
↷ U5							
↷ U21							
↓ U28							
♁ U3							
♁ U33							
♁ U38							
↷ V13							
♁ V25							
























































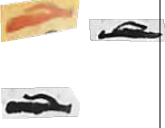
























	Anet Vatican Paleography	Australian Museum Anonymous Paleography	Berlin Knumsanapehu AE8505 Paleography	Hory Pannonia Rcfornata Paleography	Louvre AF9592 Aaeften hor Paleography	Rosicrucian Fragments Paleography	Sesekhnofru Copenhagen Paleography	Tayuhelit Uppsala Paleography
V28								
V3								
V31								
W9								
W1								
W11								
W15								
W17								
W19								
W21								
W22								
W24								
X1								
X4								
X8								
Y1								


Anet Vatican Paleography	Australian Museum Anonymous Paleography	Berlin Knumsanapehu AE8505 Paleography	Hory Pannonia Rformata Paleography	Louvre AF0592 Aaeften hor Paleography	RosicrucianFragments Paleography	Sesekhnofru CopenhagenPaleography	Tayuherit Uppsala Paleography
Y3							
IZ1							
III Z2							
III Z2							
I Z3							
" Z4							
e Z7							
+ Z11							
⊙ AA1							
⊙ AA2							
⋈ AA5							
AA11							
AA15							

Anet Vatican Paleography	Australian Museum Anonymous Paleography	Berlin Knumsanapehsu AE8505Paleography	Hory Pannonia RcfornataPaleography	Louvre AF0592 Aaefen horPaleography	RosicrucianFragments Paleography	Sesekhnofru CopenhagenPaleography	Tayuherit Uppsala Paleography
† AA27							
† AA28					  		

# Paleography of Unaffiliated 3rd Intermediate Period Coffins

Ankh ta shepsit_Toledo _InnerPaleography	Ankh ta shepsit_Toledo _OuterPaleography	Berlin Anonymous Child AE85313 Paleography	Czartoryski Asetemkhe b InnerPaleography	Czartoryski Asetemkhe b OuterPaleography	Nespaqashuty Athens Paleography
 A1					
 A2					
 A28					
 A4					
 A47					
 A51					
 A52					
 A53					
 A54					
 B1					
 B8					
 D2					
 D4					

Ankh ta shepsit_Toledo _InnerPaleography	Ankh ta shepsit_Toledo _OuterPaleography	Berlin Anonymous Child AE85313 Paleography	Czartoryski Asetemkhe b InnerPaleography	Czartoryski Asetemkhe b OuterPaleography	Nespaqashuty Athens Paleography
 D6					
 D12					
 D18					
 D19					
 D21					
 D28					
 D35					
 D36					
 D37					
 D4					
 D45					
 D46					
 D53					
 D54					
 D58					
 E1					
 E25					
 F1					
 F7					
 F18					
 F2					




























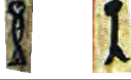










Ankh ta shepsit_Toledo _InnerPaleography	Ankh ta shepsit_Toledo _OuterPaleography	Berlin Anonymous Child AE85313 Paleography	Czartoryski Asetemkhe b InnerPaleography	Czartoryski Asetemkhe b OuterPaleography	Nespaqashuty Athens Paleography
					
					
					
					  
					
					
					
			 	 	
					
					 
					
					
	 				
					 
					 
					
	 				 
					
					 
					

Ankh ta shepsit_Toledo _InnerPaleography	Ankh ta shepsit_Toledo _OuterPaleography	Berlin Anonymous Child AE85313 Paleography	Czartoryski Asetemkhe b InnerPaleography	Czartoryski Asetemkhe b OuterPaleography	Nespaqashuty Athens Paleography
β <sub>H6</sub>					
ο <sub>H8</sub>					
ι <sub>9</sub>					
ι <sub>11</sub>					
κ <sub>1</sub>					
λ <sub>1</sub>					
λ <sub>2</sub>					
λ <sub>7</sub>					
μ <sub>2</sub>					
μ <sub>15</sub>					
μ <sub>16</sub>					
μ <sub>17</sub>					
μ <sub>23</sub>					
μ <sub>26</sub>					
μ <sub>27</sub>					
ν <sub>29</sub>					
ν <sub>1</sub>					
ξ <sub>5</sub>					















	Ankh ta shepsit_Toledo _InnerPaleography	Ankh ta shepsit_Toledo _OuterPaleography	Berlin Anonymous Child AE85313 Paleography	Czartoryski Asetemkhe b InnerPaleography	Czartoryski Asetemkhe b OuterPaleography	Nespaqashuty Athens Paleography
Ω <sub>N6</sub>						
* <sub>N14</sub>						
≡ <sub>N16</sub>						
⊞ <sub>N18</sub>						
⊞ <sub>N25</sub>						
⊞ <sub>N26</sub>						
Δ <sub>N29</sub>						
⊞ <sub>N35</sub>						
≡ <sub>N36</sub>						
≡ <sub>N37</sub>						
⊞ <sub>O1</sub>						
⊞ <sub>O4</sub>						
⊞ <sub>O6</sub>						
⊞ <sub>O9</sub>						
⊞ <sub>O22R8</sub>						
⊞ <sub>O29</sub>						
⊞ <sub>O34</sub>						
⊞ <sub>O49</sub>						
⊞ <sub>O5</sub>						
⊞ <sub>P8</sub>						
⊞ <sub>Q1</sub>						




















	Ankh ta shepsit_Toledo _InnerPaleography	Ankh ta shepsit_Toledo _OuterPaleography	Berlin Anonymous Child AE85313 Paleography	Czartoryski Asetemkhe b InnerPaleography	Czartoryski Asetemkhe b OuterPaleography	Nespaqashuty Athens Paleography
A <sub>R2</sub>						
Q <sub>3</sub>						
R <sub>4</sub>						
R <sub>7</sub>						
R <sub>8</sub>						
R <sub>11</sub>						
R <sub>13</sub>						
R <sub>14</sub>						
R <sub>17</sub>						
R22R1 2						
R24						
S <sub>3</sub>						
S <sub>9</sub>						
S27V6						
S29						



	Ankh ta shepsit_Toledo _InnerPaleography	Ankh ta shepsit_Toledo _OuterPaleography	Berlin Anonymous Child AE85313 Paleography	Czartoryski Asetemkhe b InnerPaleography	Czartoryski Asetemkhe b OuterPaleography	Nespaqashuty Athens Paleography
♀ S34						
↑ S38						
♁ T18						
↓ T23						
↷ U1						
↷ U3						
↷ U15						
↷ U16						
↷ U19						
♀ U23						
↓ U32						
♀ U36						
♀ V7						
↷ V13						
↷ V14						
### V16						
♀ V17						
♀ V28						
♀ V29						
↷ V3						
↷ V31						
↷ V32						

Ankh ta shepsit_Toledo _InnerPaleography	Ankh ta shepsit_Toledo _OuterPaleography	Berlin Anonymous Child AE85313 Paleography	Czartoryski Asetemkhe b InnerPaleography	Czartoryski Asetemkhe b OuterPaleography	Nespaqashuty Athens Paleography
W14					
W15					
W17					
W19					
W2					
W24					
X1					
X3					
X4					
X6					
X8					
Y1					
Y5					
Z1					
Z2					
Z4					
Z7					
Z11					
AA1					

Ankh ta shepsit_Toledo _InnerPaleography	Ankh ta shepsit_Toledo _OuterPaleography	Berlin Anonymous Child AE85313 Paleography	Czartoryski Asetemkhe b InnerPaleography	Czartoryski Asetemkhe b OuterPaleography	Nespaqashuty Athens Paleography
					
					
					
			 		
					
					

# Paleography of Proto-A

























































Detroit/Djedhor Paleography	Tahai/Basel Paleography	Tahai/Basel Cartonnage Paleography	Anonymous Chaldean Paleography	Qenher/Qersu Paleography
 A6				
 A26				
 A4				
 A53				
 B1				
 D4				
 D19				
 D21				
 D28				
 D36				
 D37				
 D4				
 D45				
 D54				
 D58				
 D6				
 E34				
 F1				
 F32				
 F35				

Detroit Djedhor Paleography	Tahai Basel Paleography	Tahai Basel Cartonage Paleography	Anonymous Cha udunPaleography	Qenhor Qersu Paleography
F39 				
G1 				
G5 				
G14 				
G17 				
G29  				
G39 				
G43 				
G47 				
G53 				
H1 				
H5 				
H8 				
I9  				
II 				
K4  				
M17 				
M22 				

	Detroit Djedhor Paleography	Tahai Basel Paleography	Tahai Basel Cartonage Paleography	Anonymous Cha udunPaleography	Qenhor Qersu Paleography
𐎎 M23					
𐎎 M29					
𐎎 M3					
𐎎 N1					
⊙ N5					
✱ N14					
𐎎 N16					
𐎎 N25					
𐎎 N26					
△ N29					
𐎎 N35					
𐎎 N37					
□ O1					
𐎎 O1					
𐎎 O28					
𐎎 O29					
𐎎 O34					
𐎎 O38					
⊗ O49					
𐎎 P8					
𐎎 Q1					
𐎎 Q2					
□ Q3					
𐎎 R4					

Detroit Djedhor Paleography	Tahai Basel Paleography	Tahai Basel Cartonnage Paleography	Anonymous Cha udunPaleography	Qenhor Qersu Paleography
 R7 				 
 R8 				 
 R13 				
 R14 				 
 R17 				
 R22 				 
 R22R1 2 				
 S27 V6 				
 S28 				
 S43 				
 T23 				
 U1 				 
 U4 				
 U6 				 
 U15 				
 U23 				
 U33 				
 U38 				
 V16 				
 V28 				
 V3 				   



























































































Detroit Djedhor Paleography	Tahai Basel Paleography	Tahai Basel Cartonage Paleography	Anonymous Cha udunPaleography	Qenhor Qersu Paleography
 V31				
 W3				
 W9				
 W15				
 W19				
 W2				
 W24				
 X1				 
 X3				
 X4				
 X8			 	
 Y1				
 IZ1				
 Z4				 
 Z9				
 AA1				 
 AA2				 
 AA5				
 AA11				
 AA25				 

# Paleography of Group A Part 1










































	Anonymous Berlin 17940Paleography	Djedhoriefankh Buḫā loPaleography	KHM Padiaset Inner Paleography	KHM Padiaset Outer Paleography	Leicester Besenmut Inn erPaleography	Leicester Besenmut Ou terPaleography	Leicester Besenmut Us urped Fragment Paleography
A1							
A2							
A6							
A17							
A28							
A4							
B1							
B7							
C1							
D1							
D2							
D4							
D19							
D21							
D28							
D36							
D37							










































































Anonymous Berlin 17940Paleography	Djedhoriwefankh Buřa loPaleography	KHM Padiaset Inner Paleography	KHM Padiaset Outer Paleography	Leicester Besenmut Inn erPaleography	Leicester Besenmut Ou terPaleography	Leicester Besenmut Us urped Fragment Paleography
 D4						
 D45		 				
 D46		 				
 D55						
 D58						 
 D6						
 E2						
 E34						
 F1						
 F1						
 F13						
 F18		 				
 F2						
 F28						
 F29						
 F35						
 F39						
 G5	 	 	 			
 G9						
 G14		 				

Anonymous Berlin 17940Paleography	Djedhoriwefankh Buffa loPaleography	KHM Padiaset Inner Paleography	KHM Padiaset Outer Paleography	Leicester Besenmut Inn erPaleography	Leicester Besenmut Ou terPaleography	Leicester Besenmut Us urped Fragment Paleography
						
 						
						
						
						
						
						
						
						
						
  						
  						
						
						
 						
  						
						

Anonymous Berlin 17940Paleography	Djedhoriefankh Buffa loPaleography	KHM Padiaset Inner Paleography	KHM Padiaset Outer Paleography	Leicester Besenmut Inn erPaleography	Leicester Besenmut Ou terPaleography	Leicester Besenmut Us urped Fragment Paleography
𓆎 M23						
𓆏 M24						
𓆑 M26						
𓆒 M29						
𓆓 M3						
𓆔 N1						
𓆕 N5						
𓆖 N8						
𓆗 N14						
𓆘 N16						
𓆙 N17						
𓆚 N25						
𓆛 N26						
𓆜 N27						
𓆝 N29						
𓆞 N31						
𓆟 N35						
𓆠 N37						
𓆡 N41						
𓆢 NU15						
𓆣 O1						
𓆤 O9						











	Anonymous Berlin 17940Paleography	Djedhoriwefankh Buffa loPaleography	KHM Padiaset Inner Paleography	KHM Padiaset Outer Paleography	Leicester Besenmut Inn erPaleography	Leicester Besenmut Ou terPaleography	Leicester Besenmut Us urped Fragment Paleography
Q28							
O29							
O34							
O42							
O49							
P6							
P8							
Q1							
Q2							
Q3							
R4							
R7							
R8							
R1							
R12R2 2							
R14							
R17							

Anonymous Berlin 17940Paleography	Djedhoriwefankh Buffa loPaleography	KHM Padiaset Inner Paleography	KHM Padiaset Outer Paleography	Leicester Besenmut Inn erPaleography	Leicester Besenmut Ou terPaleography	Leicester Besenmut Us urped Fragment Paleography
 R22						
 R24						
 S3						
 S27 V6						
 S28						
 S29						
 S34						
 S35						
 S38						
 S42						
 S43	 					
 T13						
 T18						
 T19						
 T21						
 T22						 
 T23		 	 			
 T28			 			

















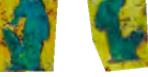





























Anonymous Berlin 17940Paleography	Djedhoriwefankh Buffa loPaleography	KHM Padiaset Inner Paleography	KHM Padiaset Outer Paleography	Leicester Besenmut Inn erPaleography	Leicester Besenmut Ou terPaleography	Leicester Besenmut Us urped Fragment Paleography
U <sub>1</sub> 						
U <sub>4</sub> 						
U <sub>6</sub> 						
U <sub>7</sub> 						
U <sub>15</sub> 		 				
U <sub>19</sub> 						
U <sub>23</sub> 						
U <sub>28</sub> 						
U <sub>36</sub> 						
V <sub>1</sub> 						
V <sub>6</sub> 						
V <sub>13</sub> 						
V <sub>16</sub> 						
V <sub>17</sub> 						
V <sub>22</sub> 						
V <sub>28</sub> 	 		 			
V <sub>3</sub> 		 	   			
V <sub>31</sub> 		 	   			
W <sub>3</sub> 						
W <sub>9</sub> 						



Anonymous Berlin 17940Paleography	Djedhoriwefankh Buffa loPaleography	KHM Padiaset Inner Paleography	KHM Padiaset Outer Paleography	Leicester Besenmut Inn erPaleography	Leicester Besenmut Ou terPaleography	Leicester Besenmut Us urped Fragment Paleography
▽ <sub>W1</sub>						
∩ <sub>W14</sub>						
∪ <sub>W15</sub>						
∩ <sub>W19</sub>						
∪ <sub>W2</sub>						
○ <sub>W24</sub>						
⊖ <sub>X1</sub>						
○ <sub>X3</sub>						
⊖ <sub>X4</sub>						
△ <sub>X8</sub>						
⊥ <sub>Y1</sub>						
∩ <sub>Z1</sub>						
∪ <sub>Z2</sub>						
∩ <sub>Z7</sub>						
⊥ <sub>Z11</sub>						
⊖ <sub>AA1</sub>						
○ <sub>AA2</sub>						
∧ <sub>AA5</sub>						























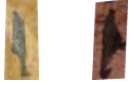





























Anonymous Berlin 17940Paleography	Djedhoriwefankh Buffa loPaleography	KHM Padiaset Inner Paleography	KHM Padiaset Outer Paleography	Leicester Besenmut Inn erPaleography	Leicester Besenmut Ou terPaleography	Leicester Besenmut Us urped Fragment Paleography
 AA11						
 AA15						
 AA25						
 AA27						














































# Paleography of Group A, Part 2



































Barrum Pabasa Paleography	Leicester Tabes Inner Paleography	Leicester Tabes Outer Paleography	Nespaqishuty Detmol d InnerPaleography	Nespaqishuty Detmol d OuterPaleography	Pabasa Lisbon Paleography	Pabasa Outer Lisbon Paleography
 A1						
 A2 						
 A2						
 A26 						
 A28						
 A3						
 A4 						
 A53 						
 C1						
 D2 						
 D4 						
 D19 						
 D21 						
 D28 						
 D35						
 D36 						

Barrum Pabasa Paleography	Leicester Tabes Inner Paleography	Leicester Tabes Outer Paleography	Nespaqishuty Detmol d InnerPaleography	Nespaqishuty Detmol d OuterPaleography	Pabasa Lisbon Paleography	Pabasa Outer Lisbon Paleography
 D37 						
 D4						
 D45						
 D46						
 D52						
 D54						
 D55						
 D58 						
 E2						
 E23 						
 E34						
 F4						
 F1						
 F17						
 F2						
 F25						
 F28 						
 F29						
 F32 						
 F35						










































































Barnum Pabasa Paleography	Leicester Tabes Inner Paleography	Leicester Tabes Outer Paleography	Nespaqishuty Detmol d InnerPaleography	Nespaqishuty Detmol d OuterPaleography	Pabasa Lisbon Paleography	Pabasa Outer Lisbon Paleography
#F37						
F39						
o F51						
G1						
G5						
G14						
G15						
G17						
G2						
G25						
G26						
G29						
G36						
G37						
G39						
G4						
G43						
G47						
β H6						
o H8						





























































Barrum Pabasa Paleography	Leicester Tabes Inner Paleography	Leicester Tabes Outer Paleography	Nespaqishuty Detmol d InnerPaleography	Nespaqishuty Detmol d OuterPaleography	Pabasa Lisbon Paleography	Pabasa Outer Lisbon Paleography
I <sub>9</sub> 						
I <sub>11</sub> 						
K <sub>4</sub> 						
L <sub>2</sub> 						
L <sub>7</sub> 						
M <sub>3</sub> 						
M <sub>4</sub> 						
M <sub>12</sub> 						
M <sub>13</sub> 						
M <sub>16</sub> 						
M <sub>17</sub> 						
M <sub>18</sub> 						
M <sub>22</sub> 						
M <sub>23</sub> 						
M <sub>26</sub> 						
M <sub>29</sub> 						
N <sub>1</sub> 						
N <sub>2</sub> 						
N <sub>3</sub> 						
N <sub>5</sub> 						

Barrum Pabasa Paleography	Leicester Tabes Inner Paleography	Leicester Tabes Outer Paleography	Nespaqishuty Detmol d InnerPaleography	Nespaqishuty Detmol d OuterPaleography	Pabasa Lisbon Paleography	Pabasa Outer Lisbon Paleography
⊙ <sub>N8</sub>						
✱ <sub>N14</sub>						
≡ <sub>N16</sub>						
— <sub>N17</sub>						
⊔ <sub>N26</sub>						
△ <sub>N29</sub>						
⊥ <sub>N31</sub>						
⋯ <sub>N35</sub>	  				 	
⊥ <sub>N36</sub>						
— <sub>N37</sub>						
⊔ <sub>O1</sub>						
⊔ <sub>O4</sub>						
⊥ <sub>O9</sub>						
⊔ <sub>O1</sub>						
⊔ <sub>O22</sub>						
⊔ <sub>O22R8</sub>						
⊥ <sub>O28</sub>						
⊥ <sub>O29</sub>					 	
⊥ <sub>O34</sub>					 	
⊥ <sub>O42</sub>						
⊗ <sub>O49</sub>	  				 	
⊗ <sub>O5</sub>						
⊥ <sub>P1</sub>						










































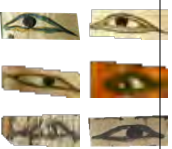





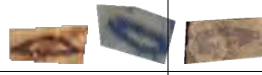

















Barnum Pabasa Paleography	Leicester Tabes Inner Paleography	Leicester Tabes Outer Paleography	Nespaqishuty Detmol d InnerPaleography	Nespaqishuty Detmol d OuterPaleography	Pabasa Lisbon Paleography	Pabasa Outer Lisbon Paleography
						
		 			 	
						
		 	 			
						
						
						
						
	 					
						
						
						
						
					 	
						
	 				 	
						
						
						
					 	




























































































































Barrum Pabasa Paleography	Leicester Tabes Inner Paleography	Leicester Tabes Outer Paleography	Nespaqishuty Detmol d InnerPaleography	Nespaqishuty Detmol d OuterPaleography	Pabasa Lisbon Paleography	Pabasa Outer Lisbon Paleography
						
						
 						
 					 	
   					 	
						
						
  						
						
						
						
 			 			
						
 					 	
 						
 				 	 	
						
 						
 						
  						
 						
 						

Barrum Pabasa Paleography	Leicester Tabes Inner Paleography	Leicester Tabes Outer Paleography	Nespaqishuty Detmol d InnerPaleography	Nespaqishuty Detmol d OuterPaleography	Pabasa Lisbon Paleography	Pabasa Outer Lisbon Paleography
W19 						
W24 						
X1 						
X8 						
Y1 						
Y5 						
Z1 						
Z2 						
Z4 						
Z11 						
AA1 						
AA2 						
AA5 						
AA11 						
AA15 						
AA25 						
AA27 						

# Paleography of Group A & Group A Lower Elite

	Ankhpakhered Asti Paleography	Asetii Stanford Paleography	Dihoriawt Budapest Paleography	Irbastetwedjanefu Rou enPaleography	Iwefaa Outer Paleography	TajenefNMS Paleography	Iwefaa Inner Paleography
 A1							
 A2							
 A6							
 A15							
 A17							
 A2							
 A26							
 A28							
 A3							
 A4							
 A53							
 B1							
 D2							
 D4							
 D21							
 D28							
 D35							
 D36							

Ankhpakhered Asti Paleography	Asetii Stanford Paleography	Dihoriawt Budapest Paleography	Irbastetwedjanefu Rou enPaleography	Iwefaa Outer Paleography	TajenefNMS Paleography	Iwefaa Inner Paleography
 D37	 	      	 		   	
 D46		  				
 D54						
 D58		  	  			
 D6 						
 E1 						
 F1		  	  			 
 F1		 	 			
 F7						
 F18		  				
 F28		 				
 F31						
 F32						
 F35						
 F39 						
 G1						
 G5		  				 

























































Ankhpakhered Asti Paleography	Asetii Stanford Paleography	Dihoriawt Budapest Paleography	Irbastetwedjanefu Rou enPaleography	Iwefaa Outer Paleography	TajenefNMS Paleography	Iwefaa Inner Paleography
						
 G6						
 G7						
 G14						
 G17						
 G26						
 G29						
 G3						
 G36						
 G4						
 G43						 
 H1						
 H8						
 H11						
 I9						 
 I11						
 I12						













































Ankhpakhered Asti Paleography	Asetii Stanford Paleography	Dihoriawt Budapest Paleography	Irbastetwedjanefu Rou enPaleography	Iwefaa Outer Paleography	TajenefNMS Paleography	Iwefaa Inner Paleography
 K4						
 M4						
 M17						
 M18						
 M22						
 M23						
 M29						
 N1						
 N5						
 N14						
 N16						
 N17						
 N25						
 N26						
 N28						
 N29						
 N35						
 N35						
 N37						 483

Ankhpakhered Asti Paleography	Asetii Stanford Paleography	Dihoriawt Budapest Paleography	Irbastetwedjanefu Rou enPaleography	Iwefaa Outer Paleography	TajenefNMS Paleography	Iwefaa Inner Paleography
☐ <sub>O1</sub>						
☐ <sub>O4</sub>						
☐ <sub>O9</sub>						
☐ <sub>O1</sub>						
☐ <sub>O22</sub>						
☐ <sub>O28</sub>						
☐ <sub>O29</sub>						
☐ <sub>O34</sub>						
☐ <sub>O49</sub>						
☐ <sub>P5</sub>						
☐ <sub>Q1</sub>						
☐ <sub>Q3</sub>						
☐ <sub>Q6</sub>						
☐ <sub>R4</sub>						








Ankhpakhered Asti Paleography	Asetii Stanford Paleography	Dihoriawt Budapest Paleography	Irbastetwedjanefu Rou enPaleography	Iwefaa Outer Paleography	TajenefNMS Paleography	Iwefaa Inner Paleography
𐀀 R7						
𐀁 R8						
𐀂 R11						
𐀃 R14						
𐀄 R17						
𐀅 S9						
𐀆 S27 V6						
𐀇 S28						
𐀈 S29						
𐀉 S34						
𐀊 S36						
𐀋 S43						
𐀌 T22						
𐀍 T23						













































































































Ankhpakhered Asti Paleography	Asetii Stanford Paleography	Dihoriawt Budapest Paleography	Irbastetwedjanefu Rou enPaleography	Iwefaa Outer Paleography	TajenefNMS Paleography	Iwefaa Inner Paleography
 U1						
 U4						
 U6						
 U15						
 U28						
 U33						
 V6						
 V14						
 V28						
 V3						
 V31						
 W1						
 W11						
 W15						
 W17						
 W24						
 W25						
 X1						
 X2						

Ankhpakhered Asti Paleography	Asetii Stanford Paleography	Dihoriawt Budapest Paleography	Irbastetwedjanefu Rou enPaleography	Iwefaa Outer Paleography	TajenefNMS Paleography	Iwefaa Inner Paleography
0 X3						
 X4						
 X8		 				 
 Y1		 				 
 Y3						
 Y5						
IZ1					 	
Z2						
 AA1	 					
 AA2						
 AA5						
 AA15						
 AA25						










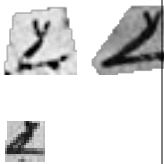

















































# Paleography of Hourly Vigil Coffins, Part 1



	Nespaqashuty Penn Paleography	Nesqashuty Emory Paleography	BM Djedhor Paleography	Djedhor Milwaukee Paleography	Pakharu Porto Paleography
A1					
A2					
A14					
A17					
A24					
A26					
A28					
A33					
A4					
A47					
A5					
A51					
A52					

Nesqashuty Penn Paleography	Nesqashuty Emory Paleography	BM Djedhor Paleography	Djedhor Milwaukee Paleography	Pakharu Porto Paleography
 A53				
 A55 				
 B1				
 B3				
 B7				
 B8				
 C6				
 C11				
 D1 				
 D2 				
 D4 				
 D6				
 D17				
 D21 				
 D28 				
 D35 				
 D36 				




















































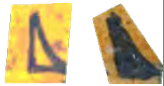











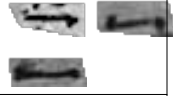





	Nespaqashuty Penn Paleography	Nesqashuty Emory Paleography	BM Djedhor Paleography	Djedhor Milwaukee Paleography	Pakharu Porto Paleography
 D37					
 D4					
 D45					
 D46					
 D49					
 D52					
 D53					
 D55					
 D58					
 D6					
 E1					
 E9					
 E13					
 E15					
 E23					
 E34					
 F1					
 F1					
 F16					














































































	Nesqashuty Penn Paleography	Nesqashuty Emory Paleography	BM Djedhor Paleography	Djedhor Milwaukee Paleography	Pakharu Porto Paleography
F <sub>2</sub>					
F <sub>22</sub>					
F <sub>25</sub>					
F <sub>26</sub>					
F <sub>27</sub>					
F <sub>3</sub>					
F <sub>31</sub>					
F <sub>34</sub>					
F <sub>35</sub>					
F <sub>36</sub>					
F <sub>39</sub>					
F <sub>4</sub>					
F <sub>51</sub>					
G <sub>1</sub>					
G <sub>5</sub>					
G <sub>6</sub>					
G <sub>7</sub>					
G <sub>9</sub>					
G <sub>11</sub>					
























































Nespaqshuty Penn Paleography	Nesqashuty Emory Paleography	BM Djedhor Paleography	Djedhor Milwaukee Paleography	Pakharu Porto Paleography
 G14				
 G17				
 G2				
 G26				
 G29				
 G36				
 G37				
 G38				
 G39				
 G41				
 G43				
 G45				
 G5				
 G52				
 H1				
 H6				
 H8				

	Nespaqashuty Penn Paleography	Nesqashuty Emory Paleography	BM Djedhor Paleography	Djedhor Milwaukee Paleography	Pakharu Porto Paleography
ᶓ <sub>19</sub>					
ᶓ <sub>11</sub>					
ᶓ <sub>14</sub>					
ᶓ <sub>4</sub>					
ᶓ <sub>1</sub>					
ᶓ <sub>7</sub>					
ᶓ <sub>1</sub>					
ᶓ <sub>19</sub>					
ᶓ <sub>2</sub>					
ᶓ <sub>4</sub>					
ᶓ <sub>12</sub>					
ᶓ <sub>13</sub>					
ᶓ <sub>16</sub>					
ᶓ <sub>17</sub>					
ᶓ <sub>18</sub>					
ᶓ <sub>2</sub>					
ᶓ <sub>23</sub>					

































































































































Nespaqashuty Penn Paleography	Nesqashuty Emory Paleography	BM Djedhor Paleography	Djedhor Milwaukee Paleography	Pakharu Porto Paleography
 M26				
 M29				
 M36				
 N1 				
 N2				
 N5 				
 N8				
 N9				
 N1				
 N14 				
 N16				
 N17 				
 N21				
 N23				
 N25 				
 N26 				
 N27				
 N29 				
 N3				
 N31				
 N35 				
 N36				
 N37				












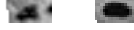


































Nesqashuty Penn Paleography	Nesqashuty Emory Paleography	BM Djedhor Paleography	Djedhor Milwaukee Paleography	Pakharu Porto Paleography
 N <sub>4</sub>				
 N <sub>41</sub>				
 O <sub>1</sub> 			  	
 O <sub>3</sub>				
 O <sub>4</sub>				
 O <sub>9</sub>				
 O <sub>1</sub>				
 O <sub>21</sub>				
 O <sub>22</sub>				
 O <sub>28</sub> 				
 O <sub>29</sub> 	 	  		
 O <sub>31</sub> 		  		
 O <sub>34</sub> 	  			
 O <sub>36</sub>				
 O <sub>42</sub>				
 O <sub>49</sub> 	 	   		
 O <sub>5</sub>				
 P <sub>3</sub> 		  		
 P <sub>4</sub> 				
 P <sub>5</sub>				


	Nespaqashuty Penn Paleography	Nesqashuty Emory Paleography	BM Djedhor Paleography	Djedhor Milwaukee Paleography	Pakharu Porto Paleography
 P6					
 P8					
 Q1					
 Q2					
 Q3					
 Q6					
 Q7					
 R1					
 R4					
 R8					
 R1					
 R11					
 R12					
 R12R2 2					

Nespaqashuty Penn Paleography	Nesqashuty Emory Paleography	BM Djedhor Paleography	Djedhor Milwaukee Paleography	Pakharu Porto Paleography
 R22R1 2				

Nespaqashuty Penn Paleography	Nesqashuty Emory Paleography	BM Djedhor Paleography	Djedhor Milwaukee Paleography	Pakharu Porto Paleography
 T10				
 T21				
 T22				
 T23				
 T28				
 T29				
 U1				
 U4				
 U5				
 U6				
 U7				
 U15				
 U19				
 U22				
 U23				
 U27				
 U28				
 U32				
 U35				
 U36				
 V6				

	Nespaqashuty Penn Paleography	Nesqashuty Emory Paleography	BM Djedhor Paleography	Djedhor Milwaukee Paleography	Pakharu Porto Paleography
					
	 				
	 				
					
			  		
					
	 				
					
					
	   	  	 		
					
	 		 		
	  	 	 	 	 
					
					
					
	 	 			
					
			 		
	 				
					
					

	Nesqashuty Penn Paleography	Nesqashuty Emory Paleography	BM Djedhor Paleography	Djedhor Milwaukee Paleography	Pakharu Porto Paleography
ø <sub>W22</sub>					
○ <sub>W24</sub>					
∩ <sub>W25</sub>					
∩ <sub>X1</sub>					
θ <sub>X2</sub>					
∩ <sub>X4</sub>					
△ <sub>X8</sub>					
∩ <sub>Y1</sub>					
∩ <sub>Y5</sub>					
∩ <sub>Z1</sub>					
∩∩∩ <sub>Z2</sub>					
○○○ <sub>Z2</sub>					
∩ <sub>Z4</sub>					
∩ <sub>Z7</sub>					
× <sub>Z9</sub>					
† <sub>Z11</sub>					
⊙ <sub>AA1</sub>					
○ <sub>AA2</sub>					
∩ <sub>AA5</sub>					
∩ <sub>AA11</sub>					
∩ <sub>AA15</sub>					

Nesqashuty Penn Paleography	Nesqashuty Emory Paleography	BM Djedhor Paleography	Djedhor Milwaukee Paleography	Pakharu Porto Paleography
 AA2				























































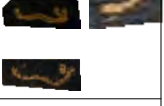













# Paleography of Hourly Vigil Coffins, Continued


	BM Irethoreru Paleography	Ankhwenennefer Inner Paleography	Ankhwenennefer outer Paleography	Isetweret MMA Paleography
 A1			 	
 A2	 			
 A4				
 A6				
 A7				
 A14				
 A17				 
 A2				
 A33				
 A4	 	 		  
 A42				
 A47	 		 	
 A51				
 A53				
 A54				
 A55				
 B1				
 B8				
 C6				

	BM Irethoreru Paleography	Ankhwenennefer Inner Paleography	Ankhwenennefer outer Paleography	Isetweret MMA Paleography
 C1				
 C11				
 D1				
 D2	 		 	
 D4	 			
 D5				
 D6				
 D21	 			
 D26				
 D28				
 D35	 		 	
 D36				
 D37	   		 	 
 D4			 	
 D43				
 D45				
 D46	 		 	
 D49				
 D54				
 D55				
 D56				
 D58	  		 	 
 D6				
 E1				

	BM Irethoreru Paleography	Ankhwenennefer Inner Paleography	Ankhwenennefer outer Paleography	Isetweret MMA Paleography
 E16				
 E23				
 E34				
 F1				
 F1				
 F1				
 F12				
 F2				
 F29				
 F3				
 F31				
 F32				
 F34				
 F35				
 F39				
 F4				
 G1				
 G5				
 G6				
 G14				
 G17				

	BM Irethoreru Paleography	Ankhwenennefer Inner Paleography	Ankhwenennefer outer Paleography	Isetweret MMA Paleography
 G18				
 G2				
 G26				
 G29				
 G36				
 G37				
 G38				
 G39				
 G4				
 G43				
 G45				
 G47				
 G52				
 H1				
 H5				
 H6				
 H8				
 I9				
 I11				
 K4				
 L1				

	BM Irethoreru Paleography	Ankhwennefer Inner Paleography	Ankhwennefer outer Paleography	Isetweret MMA Paleography
 L7				
 M2				
 M3				
f M4				
 M12				
 M17	 	 		
 M18				
 M19				 
 M23	 			
 M29	 	 		
 M36				
 N1				
 N5	 			
 N6				
 N8				
 N1				
 N12				
* N14				
 N15				
 N16				

	BM Irethoreru Paleography	Ankhwenennefer Inner Paleography	Ankhwenennefer outer Paleography	Isetweret MMA Paleography
 N25				
 N26			 	 
 N27		 		
 N29				
 N31				
 N35	 		 	 
 N37				
 N4				
 O1				
 O9	 			
 O18				
 O22				
 O28				
 O29				 
 O31				
 O34				
 O44				
 O49				
 O5				
 P1				
 P3				
 P5				
 P6			 	

	BM Irethoreru Paleography	Ankhwenennefer Inner Paleography	Ankhwenennefer outer Paleography	Isetweret MMA Paleography
⌋ P8				
⌋ Q1				
□ Q3				
⌋ Q6				
⌋ R4				
⌋ R7				
⌋ R8				
⌋ R11				
⌋ R12R2 2				
⌋ R13				
⌋ R14				
⌋ R15				
⌋ R17				
⌋ R24				
⌋ S3				
⌋ S4				
⌋ S2				
⌋ S24				
⌋ S27 V6				

	BM Irethoreru Paleography	Ankhwennefer Inner Paleography	Ankhwennefer outer Paleography	Isetweret MMA Paleography
↓ S29				
∞ S33				
⊕ S34				
† S42				
↓ S43				
← T9				
∞ T12				
† T13				
∩ T14				
⊕ T19				
← T21				
↓ T22				
∞ T28				
↘ U1				
○ U1D 12D12				
↘ U5				
↘ U7				
⊕ U15				
↘ U19				
⊕ U26				
↓ U28				
↓ U32				



	BM Irethoreru Paleography	Ankhwenennefer Inner Paleography	Ankhwenennefer outer Paleography	Isetweret MMA Paleography
∩ <sub>U33</sub>				
∩ <sub>U36</sub>				
⤵ <sub>V2</sub>				
∩ <sub>V6</sub>				
≡ <sub>V13</sub>				
≡ <sub>V15</sub>				
### <sub>V16</sub>				
∩ <sub>V17</sub>				
∩ <sub>V2</sub>				
∩ <sub>V22</sub>				
∩ <sub>V24</sub>				
∩ <sub>V25</sub>				
∩ <sub>V28</sub>				
∩ <sub>V3</sub>				
∩ <sub>V31</sub>				
∩ <sub>W9</sub>				
∩ <sub>W1</sub>				
∩ <sub>W15</sub>				
∩ <sub>W17</sub>				
∩ <sub>W19</sub>				
∩ <sub>W2</sub>				
∩ <sub>W21</sub>				


































































	BM Irethoreru Paleography	Ankhwenennefer Inner Paleography	Ankhwenennefer outer Paleography	Isetweret MMA Paleography
ø <sub>W22</sub>				
o <sub>W24</sub>				
l <sub>W25</sub>				
∩ <sub>X1</sub>				
∩ <sub>X4</sub>				
△ <sub>X8</sub>				
— <sub>Y1</sub>				
— <sub>Y5</sub>				
l <sub>Z1</sub>				
l l <sub>Z2</sub>				
e <sub>Z7</sub>				
† <sub>Z11</sub>				
⊖ <sub>AA1</sub>				
o <sub>AA2</sub>				
∧ <sub>AA5</sub>				
∩ <sub>AA11</sub>				
∩ <sub>AA15</sub>				
⊖ <sub>AA18</sub>				
† <sub>AA25</sub>				
† <sub>AA27</sub>				
l <sub>AA28</sub>				

# Paleography of Hourly Vigil Coffins, Continued

	BM Irethoreru Paleography	Ankhwennefer Inner Paleography	Ankhwennefer outer Paleography	Isetweret MMA Paleography
A1				
A2				
A4				
A6				
A7				
A14				
A17				
A2				
A33				
A4				
A42				
A47				
A51				
A53				
A54				
A55				
B1				
B8				
C6				

	BM Irethoreru Paleography	Ankhwenennefer Inner Paleography	Ankhwenennefer outer Paleography	Isetweret MMA Paleography
 C1				
 C11				
 D1				
 D2	 	 	 	
 D4	 			
 D5				
 D6				
 D21	 			
 D26				
 D28				
 D35	 		 	
 D36				
 D37	 	 	 	 
 D4			 	
 D43				
 D45				
 D46	 		 	
 D49				
 D54				
 D55				
 D56				
 D58	 		 	 
 D6				
 E1				

	BM Irethoreru Paleography	Ankhwenennefer Inner Paleography	Ankhwenennefer outer Paleography	Isetweret MMA Paleography
 E16				
 E23				
 E34		 	 	
 F1	 	 		
 F1				
 F1				
 F12				
 F2				
 F29				
 F3				
 F31				 
 F32				
 F34				
 F35	 			
 F39				
 F4				 
 G1				
 G5	 	  		
 G6				
 G14				
 G17	 	 	   	 

	BM Irethoreru Paleography	Ankhwenennefer Inner Paleography	Ankhwenennefer outer Paleography	Isetweret MMA Paleography
 G18				
 G2				
 G26				
 G29				
 G36				
 G37				
 G38				
 G39				
 G4				
 G43				
 G45				
 G47				
 G52				
 H1				
 H5				
 H6				
 H8				
 I9				
 I11				
 K4				
 L1				

	BM Irethoreru Paleography	Ankhwennefer Inner Paleography	Ankhwennefer outer Paleography	Isetweret MMA Paleography
L7				
M2				
M3				
M4				
M12				
M17	 	 		
M18				
M19				 
M23	 			
M29	 	 		
M36				
N1				
N5	 			
N6				
N8				
N1				
N12				
N14				
N15				
N16				

	BM Irethoreru Paleography	Ankhwenennefer Inner Paleography	Ankhwenennefer outer Paleography	Isetweret MMA Paleography
 N25				
 N26			 	 
 N27		 		
 N29				
 N31				
 N35	 		 	 
 N37				
 N4				
 O1				
 O9	 			
 O18				
 O22				
 O28				
 O29				 
 O31				
 O34				
 O44				
 O49				
 O5				
 P1				
 P3				
 P5				
 P6			 	



	BM Irethoreru Paleography	Ankhwenennefer Inner Paleography	Ankhwenennefer outer Paleography	Isetweret MMA Paleography
⌋ P8				
⌋ Q1				
□ Q3				
⌋ Q6				
⌋ R4				
⌋ R7				
⌋ R8				
⌋ R11				
⌋ R12R2 2				
⌋ R13				
⌋ R14				
⌋ R15				
⌋ R17				
⌋ R24				
⌋ S3				
⌋ S4				
⌋ S2				
⌋ S24				
⌋ S27 V6				

	BM Irethoreru Paleography	Ankhwennefer Inner Paleography	Ankhwennefer outer Paleography	Isetweret MMA Paleography
↓ S29				
∞ S33				
⊕ S34				
† S42				
↓ S43				
← T9				
∞ T12				
† T13				
∩ T14				
⊕ T19				
← T21				
↓ T22				
∞ T28				
↘ U1				
○ U1D 12D12				
↘ U5				
↘ U7				
⊕ U15				
↘ U19				
⊕ U26				
↓ U28				
↓ U32				

	BM Irethoreru Paleography	Ankhwennefer Inner Paleography	Ankhwennefer outer Paleography	Isetweret MMA Paleography
∩ <sub>U33</sub>				
∩ <sub>U36</sub>				
⤴ <sub>V2</sub>				
∩ <sub>V6</sub>				
≡ <sub>V13</sub>				
≡ <sub>V15</sub>				
### <sub>V16</sub>				
∩ <sub>V17</sub>				
∩ <sub>V2</sub>				
∩ <sub>V22</sub>				
∩ <sub>V24</sub>				
∩ <sub>V25</sub>				
∩ <sub>V28</sub>				
∩ <sub>V3</sub>				
∩ <sub>V31</sub>				
∩ <sub>W9</sub>				
∩ <sub>W1</sub>				
∩ <sub>W15</sub>				
∩ <sub>W17</sub>				
∩ <sub>W19</sub>				
∩ <sub>W2</sub>				
∩ <sub>W21</sub>				

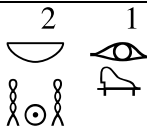
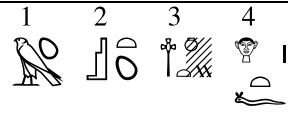

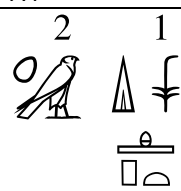
	BM Irethoreru Paleography	Ankhwenennefer Inner Paleography	Ankhwenennefer outer Paleography	Isetweret MMA Paleography
ø <sub>W22</sub>				
o <sub>W24</sub>				
l <sub>W25</sub>				
∩ <sub>X1</sub>				
∩ <sub>X4</sub>				
△ <sub>X8</sub>				
— <sub>Y1</sub>				
— <sub>Y5</sub>				
l <sub>Z1</sub>				
l l <sub>Z2</sub>				
e <sub>Z7</sub>				
† <sub>Z11</sub>				
⊖ <sub>AA1</sub>				
o <sub>AA2</sub>				
∧ <sub>AA5</sub>				
— <sub>AA11</sub>				
— <sub>AA15</sub>				
⊖ <sub>AA18</sub>				
† <sub>AA25</sub>				
† <sub>AA27</sub>				
l <sub>AA28</sub>				

## Appendix III: Select Full Translations

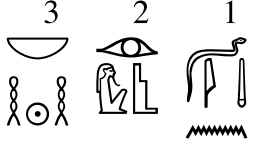
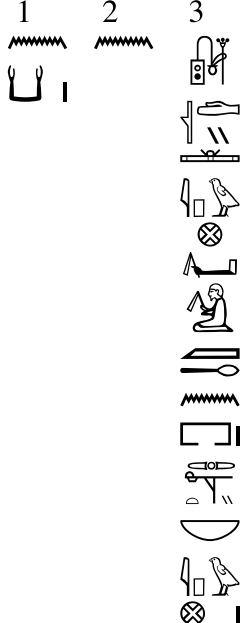


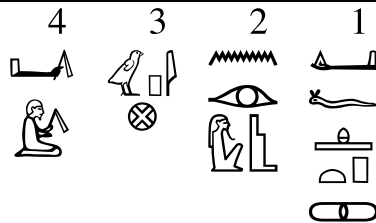
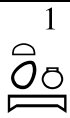
Coffin of Khui-ipuy, Rosicrucian Museum

Lid Fragments 1,3, and 5



<p>A1</p> <p>2 1</p> 	<p>1) <i>wsir</i> 2) <i>nb nḥḥ</i></p> <p>Osiris, lord of cyclical time</p>	<p>A2</p> <p>1 2 3 4</p> 	<p>1) <i>ḥr-sj- 2) ḥs.t 3) nd</i> 4) <i>ḥr it=f</i></p> <p>Horus son of Isis, who protects his father</p>
<p>A3</p> <p>1 2</p> 	<p>1) <i>wsir ḥn.ty</i> 2) <i>imnt.t</i></p> <p>Osiris, foremost of the West</p>	<p>A4</p> <p>2 1</p> 	<p>1) <i>ḥtp di nsw.t ḥr-2) s3-ḥs.t [...]</i></p> <p>Royal offerings of Horus, son of Isis<sup>860</sup></p>

<sup>860</sup> The rest of this inscription is not visible because of the way the object is displayed. It is possible that the epithet *nd it=f* "Who protects his father" follow.

<p>B1</p> <p>3 2 1</p> 	<p>1) <i>dd md.w in</i> 2) <i>wsir</i> 3) <i>nb nhh</i></p> <p>Recitation by Osiris, lord of cyclical time</p>	<p>B2</p> <p>1 2 3</p> 	<p>1) <i>n k3</i> 2) <i>n</i> 3) <i>ss-qd.w</i> <i>hw-(wi)-Ipw.y m3c-</i> <i>hrw n pr-mnw nb</i> <i>Ipw</i></p> <p>For the ka of the draftsman Khui-Ipuy, justified, of the temple of Min, lord of Akhmim</p>
<p>B3</p> <p>1 2 3</p> 	<p>1) <i>wsir nb nhh hqs d.t</i> 2) <i>ntr 3 nb m3c.t</i></p> <p>Osiris, lord of cyclical time, ruler of linear time, the Great god, lord of Maat.<sup>861</sup></p>	<p>B4</p> 	<p><i>3s.t</i></p> <p>Isis</p>
<p>B5</p> <p>4 3 2 1</p> 	<p>1) <i>di=f htp(.w)</i> 2) <i>n</i> <i>wsir</i> 3) <i>hw-(wi)-ipw.y</i></p> <p>May he give offerings<sup>862</sup> to the Osiris of Khui-ipuy</p>	<p>C1</p> <p>1</p> 	<p><i>Nw.t</i></p> <p>Nut</p>
<p>C2</p>			

<sup>861</sup> LGG III, p 639 has this title as an epithet of the "Great God."

<sup>862</sup> Note that the first line of this inscription is backwards with respect to the rest. This may be a scribal mistake, or the scribe may have been trying to visually connect captions B5 and B4, indicating that Osiris was the god whose offerings were supposed to revert to the deceased.

5	4	3	2	1	<p>1) ḥtp di nsw.t n 2) [Nw.t] wr(.t) 3) ms(.t) ntr.w 4)  di(.t)ḥtp(.w) 5) n wsir [ḥw-wi]-Ipwy</p>
					<p>Royal offerings of Nut, the great one, who bore the gods--may she give offerings to the Osiris, [Khui]-ipuy.</p>

Lid Fragments 2,4, and 6





<p>D1<sup>863</sup></p>	<p><i>ḥtp di nsw(.t) n wsīr ḥr ʒs.t nḥr.w nb.w nḥḥ di.w=sn<sup>864</sup></i>  <i>ḥtp.w dḥ.w r<sup>c</sup> nb m t<sup>865</sup> ḥnq.t k3.w ʒpd.[w] ḥʒ ḥ.t nb(.t)</i>  <i>nfr(.t) w<sup>c</sup>b(.t) ḥʒ ḥ.t nb(.t) nfr(.t) bnr(.t) n k3 n sš<sup>866</sup> n pr</i>  <i>[mnw] wsīr ḥw-(wi)-ipw.y mʒ<sup>c</sup>-ḥrw sʒ sš pr <sup>c</sup>nḥ wsīr [...]-</i>  <i>ʒs.t mʒ<sup>c</sup>-ḥrw sʒ sš [...] n pr [mnw] wsīr [...]</i></p> <p>Royal offerings of Osiris, Horus, and Isis and all of the gods of cyclical time--may they give offerings and provisions every day, consisting of bread and beer, beef and poultry, a thousand of everything good and pure, and a thousand of everything good and sweet for the ka of the scribe of the temple of Min, the Osiris of Khui-ipuy, justified, son of the scribe of the House</p>
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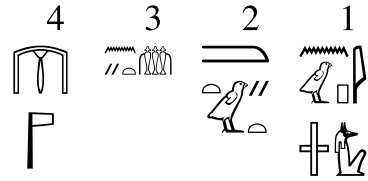
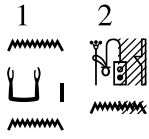
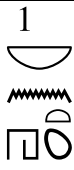
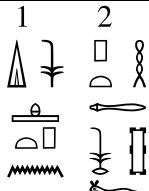
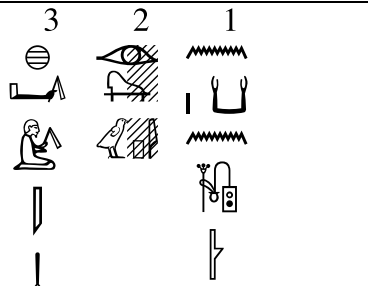
<sup>863</sup> This single column inscription runs vertically over fragments 1 and 2. The portion on Fragment 2, which starts after the word ʒpd.w is very faded and can only be read with d-stretch on the LBK setting.

<sup>864</sup> The verb here is conspicuously written with the w inflection, even though the subjunctive, which might be expected in a formula like this, doesn't take this inflection.

<sup>865</sup> This sign is written such that it looks like R7, the incense bowl. However, it may be a very stylized drawing of the bread loaf, X2, which can be used as an abbreviated spelling of the word "t".

<sup>866</sup> Elsewhere on the coffin, the owner's title is given as draftsman (sš qd.w), but here, the entire space seems to be taken by the character for scribe (sš).

	of Life, [...]Isis, Justified, son of the scribe [...] of the [Temple of Min?] the Osiris, [...] <sup>867</sup> .
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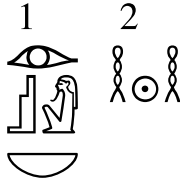
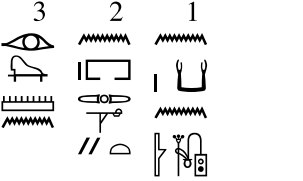


E1		E2	
<p>4      3      2      1</p> 	<p><i>inpw im.y wt<sup>868</sup> hn.ty</i> <i>sh-ntr</i></p> <p>Anubis, who is in the bandages, who is in front of the embalming tent.</p>	<p>1      2</p> 	<p><i>n k3 n sš qd.w n [...]</i></p> <p>...for the Ka of the draftsman of [...]</p>
E3		E4	
<p>1</p> 	<p><i>nb(.t) nh.t<sup>869</sup></i></p> <p>Lady of the Sycamore</p>	<p>1      2</p> 	<p><i>ḥtp di nsw(.t) n pth ꜣ</i> <i>rs.y inb=f<sup>870</sup></i></p> <p>Royal offerings of Ptah, great one south of his wall.</p>
E5			
<p>3      2      1</p> 	<p><i>n k3 n sš qd.w wsir</i> <i>ḥw-(wi)-ipw.y m3C-ḥrw</i></p> <p>...for the ka of the draftsman of Osiris, Khui-ipuy, justified</p>		

<sup>867</sup> The grandfather's name is either very short and not visible given the way the object is displayed, or cut off by the break between Fragment 2 and the missing footbox.

<sup>868</sup> For the translation "In the bandages", see LGG I p. 232. Alternately, it can be "Who is in the place of embalming."

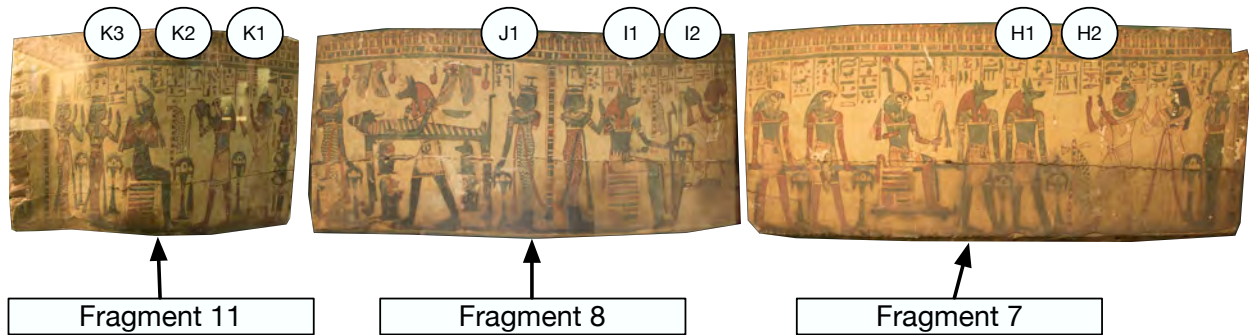
<sup>869</sup> LGG IV p. 80. Note that this goddess appears as the daughter of Ptah in P. Harris I 49,2.

<sup>870</sup> LGG IV, p. 722. This epithet is a lot more obvious in D-stretch with the YRD or LDS setting.

<p>F1</p> <p>1</p> 	<p><i>wsir</i></p> <p>Osiris</p>	<p>F2</p> <p>1 2 3 4</p> 	<p><i>sš-qd.w n pr {mnw} wsir ḥw-(wi)-ipw.y mš<sup>c</sup>-ḥrw</i></p> <p>draftsman of the Temple (of Min), the Osiris of Khui-ipuy, Justified</p>
<p>F3</p> <p>1 2</p> 	<p><i>wsir nb nḥḥ</i></p> <p>Osiris, lord of cyclical time</p>	<p>F4</p> <p>3 2 1</p> 	<p><i>n k3 n sš-qd.w n pr mnw wsir mn</i></p> <p>for the Ka of the draftsman of the Temple of Min, the Osiris of so- and-so</p>
<p>G1</p> <p>1</p> 	<p><i>ḥtp di nsw(.t) wsir ḥn.ty imnt.t nb dḏw</i></p> <p>Royal offerings of Osiris, foremost of the West, lord of Djedu.<sup>871</sup></p>	<p>G2</p> <p>1</p> 	<p><i>ḥtp di nsw(.t) n wsir nb nḥḥ [ḥqš] d.t</i></p> <p>Royal offerings of Osiris, lord of cyclical time, ruler of linear time</p>

<sup>871</sup> This word is very hard to read. It probably ends in the city glyph, but the tall sign above it could be R11 or R17--hence Djedu or Abydos.

Left Side of Basin: Fragments 7, 8, and 11



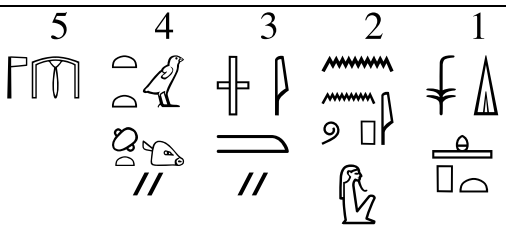
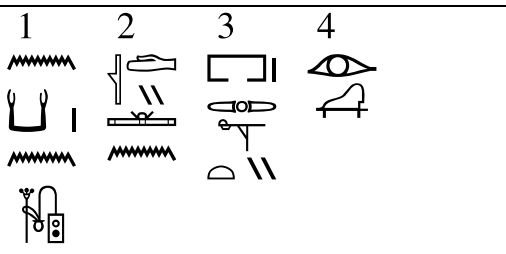

H1											
12	11	10	9	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1
<p><i>ḥtp di nsw(.t) n gb it ntr.w ity<sup>872</sup> cnh.w wdb.w snb.w cpr(.t) nh.t<sup>873</sup> di=f ḥtp.w db.w r<sup>c</sup> nb m t ḥnq.t k3.w ipd.w n wsir ḥw-(wi)-ipw.y m3<sup>c</sup>-ḥrw</i></p> <p>Royal offerings of Geb, father of the gods, sovereign (May he live, flourish, and be healthy!), who is equipped with strength. May he give floral offerings<sup>874</sup> and provisions every day, consisting of bread and beer, beef and poultry, to the Osiris of Khui-ipuy, justified.</p>											







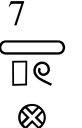





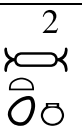

H2						
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
<p><i>n k3 n ss-qd.w n pr mnw wsir ḥw-(wi)-ipw.y m3<sup>c</sup>-ḥrw ḥm.t=f nb(.t) pr wsir ndm.t-ss.t m3<sup>c</sup>-ḥrw</i></p> <p>for the ka of the draftsman of the Temple of Min, Khui-ipuy, justified (and) his wife, the lady of the house, the Osiris Nedjmet-aset, justified.</p>						

<sup>872</sup> LGG I, p. 574. See spelling 2, which is New Kingdom. According to LGG, this title is not usually applied to Geb.

<sup>873</sup> The title 'pr nh.t is not in LGG. However, the similar title 'pr m qn.t nh.t "The one equipped with power and strength" is an epithet for the sun god in LGG II, p. 103.

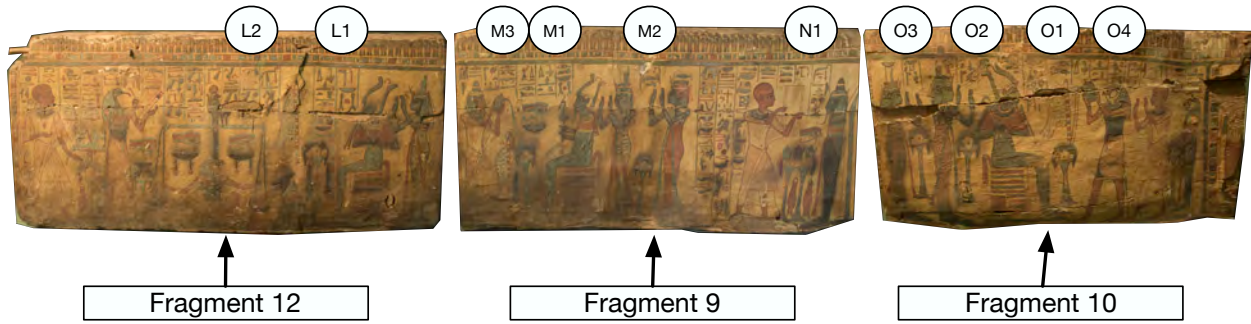
<sup>874</sup> A Dictionary of Late Egyptian, ed. by Leonard H. Lesko and Barbara S. Lesko, 5 vols (Berkeley, Calif: B.C. Scribe Publications, 1982), vol. II. p 146 has the word ḥtp spelled with the plant glyph (M2) and translates it is a floral offering.

I1	
	
<i>ḥtp di nsw(.t) n inpw im.y w.t ḥn.ty sh-ntr</i>	
Royal offerings of Anubis, who is in the bandages, who is in front of the embalming tent.	
I2	J1
	
<i>n k3 n sš-qd.w n pr Mnw wsir</i>	<i>nb.t-ḥw.t sn(.t) ntr</i>
for the ka of the draftsman of the temple of Min, the Osiris	Nephthys, sister of the god

K1							
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
							
<i>dd md.w in ḥr s3 is.t nd it=f n k3 n sš-qd.w</i>							
Recitation by Horus, son of Isis, who protects his father: "For the Ka of the draftsman, Khui-ipuy."							
K2				K3			
3	2	1		3	2	1	
							
<i>ḥtp di nsw(.t) n wsir nb m3C.t</i>				<i>ḥtp di nsw.t n n.t<sup>875</sup> is.t mw.t ntr</i>			
Royal offerings of Osiris, lord of Maat.				Royal offerings of Neith and of Isis, mother of the god.			

<sup>875</sup> It isn't certain whether Neith is part of this formula, since her caption is part of her headdress, which just happens to be inserted in the inscription.

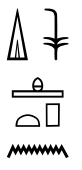
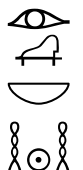

Basin Fragments: 12, 9, and 10

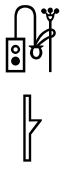

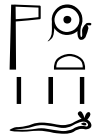




L1												
1		2										
<p><i>ḥtp dī nsw.t n wsīr nb m3<sup>c</sup>.t ntr 3 nb nhḥ</i></p> <p>Royal offerings of Osiris, lord of Maat, the great god, lord of cyclical time.</p>												
L2												
13	12	11	10	9	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1
<p><i>ḏd md.w in ḥr p3 ir.y mh3.t wi=f n=k iw=f w3 sw sip m-m 3.wy mh3.t sw gm n mty.t<sup>876</sup> m3<sup>c</sup>.t dd n=f ib=f r ḥn3 ir.ty=f ḥity=f mn r s.t=f sw pr m wsh.t m3<sup>c</sup>.ty qb.tw n=f ḥtp.w</i></p>												

<sup>876</sup> WB vol. II. p169.12 gives the definition of this word as "Gradheit des Characters". I've translated it as "virtuous."

Recitation by Horus, the keeper of the scales: "He has come to you having been made whole. He has been inspected beneath the arms of the scale and has been found virtuous and true. His *lb*-heart and mouth, along with his eyes and *Haty*-heart have been given to him, and he has been established in his proper place (as) one who has emerged from the Hall of Two Truths. May offerings and [...] be doubled for him!"

M1			M2	
1	2	<i>ḥtp di nsw(.t) n wsir nb nḥḥ</i> Royal offerings of Osiris, lord of cyclical time.	1	<i>Ni.t</i>
				Neith

M3				
5	4	3	2	1
				
<i>(r)di dw3(.t)<sup>877</sup> n wsir sn.t-ḥ n psd.t=f ir.n (n) sš qd.w</i>				
The giving of praise to Osiris, and kissing the ground before his Ennead which was done by the draftsman.				


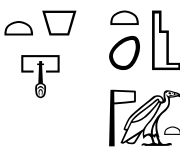
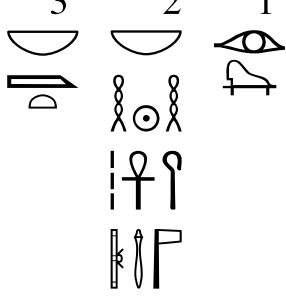

<sup>877</sup> The first sign in this group is unusual. The formula "Giving Praise to Osiris" is expected here, but instead of X8, the symbol before *dwA* is shaped like a tomb chapel (for which there was not a standard glyph in Gardiner or J-Sesh). This seems like it might be a playful writing of the phrase.

N1						
7	6	5	4	3	2	
<p>ḏd md.w in ḥry-(ḥb.t) ḥry-tp w<sup>c</sup>b {wd} {shd} wsir mn m<sup>c</sup>-hrw mn n=k tp=k ʿb.t &lt;n&gt;=k qs.(wt)=k srwd n=k ʿ.wy=k  m mw imy.w ir.t-ḥr nms.t ḥr gb ḥy wsir ḥw-(w)i-ḥpw.y wp n=k r=k m nw3 n inpw m msh.tiw m b3</p>						
<p>Recitation by the chief ritualist: "The Osiris of So-and-so, justified, is pure and illuminated. Take your head for yourself. Your bones are offered to you. Your two arms are strengthened for you with the water that is in the eye of Horus and the Nemset-vase before Geb. O, Osiris of Khui-ipuy, justified, your mouth is opened for you with the adze of Anubis and the foreleg-tool made of ore."<sup>878</sup></p>						

O1	O2
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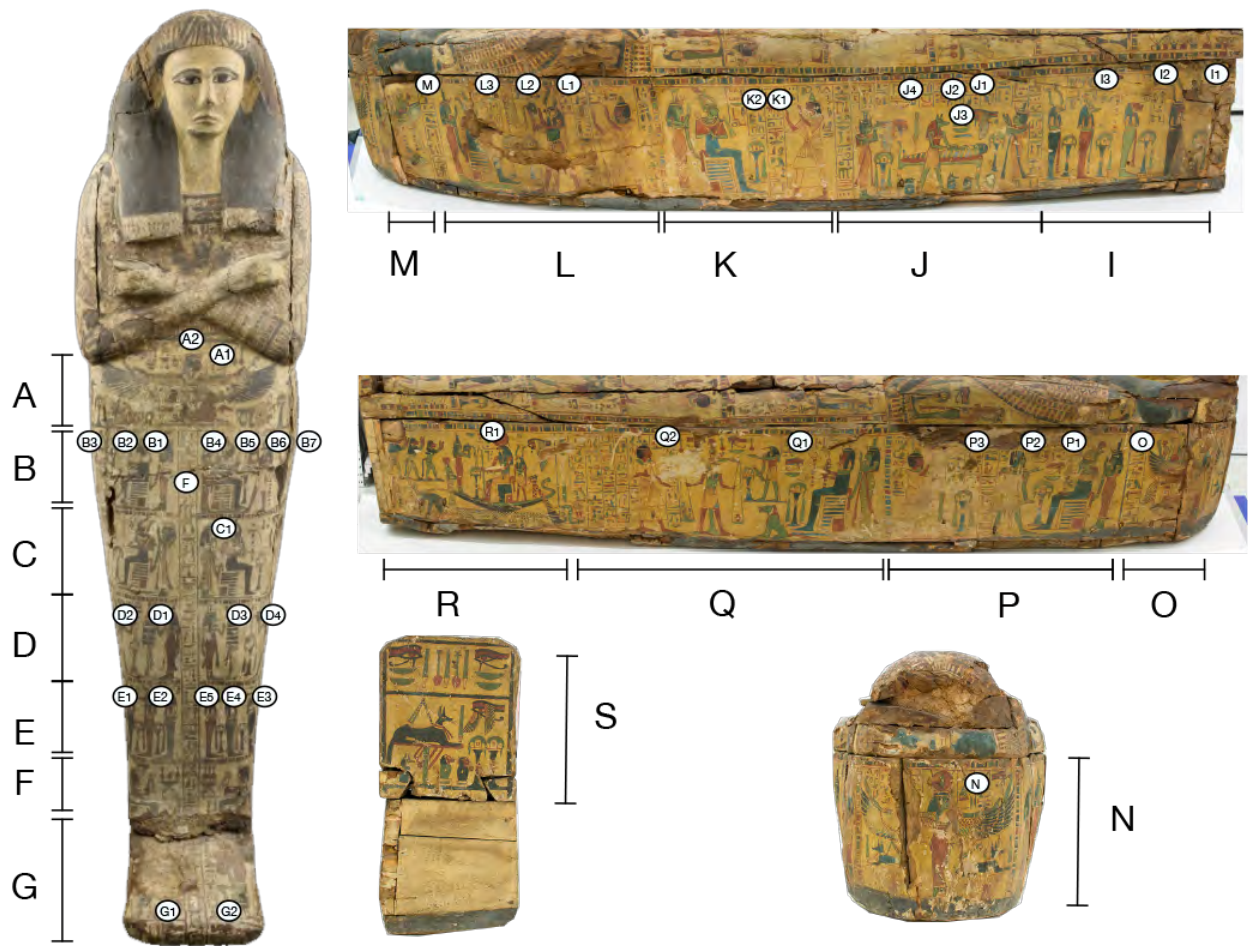
<sup>878</sup> This text seems to be a very abridged offering ritual which is a composite of several scenes from the ritual. The first five lines have parallels in Ottos' Scene 62: "Huldigung mit dem nms.t-Krug". The 6th line echoes Otto's scene 3: "Reinigung aus dem dšr.t Krug", especially text 1, recitation C, which mentions the water which is in the eye of Horus. the last line and a half can be found in Otto's Scene 26, "Mundöffnung mit dem ntr.ti-Gerät." Eberhard Otto, *Das Ägyptische Mundöffnungsritual*, Ägyptologische Abhandlungen, 1, II vols (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz Verlag, 1960), II, pp. 42, 80-83, 139-143. It is also important to note the nms.t vases on the table in the accompanying scene before the coffin of the deceased.



<p>1</p> 	<p><i>nb.t-ḥw.t sn.t ntr</i> Nephthys, sister of the god.</p>	<p>2 1</p> 	<p><i>ʒs.t mw.t ntr ḥnw.t pr-nfr</i> Isis, the mother of the god, mistress of the embalming house<sup>879</sup></p>
<p>O3</p>			
<p>3 2 1</p> 	<p><i>wsir nb nḥḥ ḥqʒ ʕnh.w ntr</i> <i>ʒ nb mʒʕ.t</i> Osiris, lord of cyclical time, the ruler of the living, the great god, lord of Maat</p>		
<p>O4</p>			
<p>1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8</p> 			
<p><i>ḥtp di nsw.t n ḥr sʒ ʒst. nḏ ḥr itʕf ntr ʒ nb mʒʕ.t diʕf ḥtp n wsir</i> Royal offerings of Horus, son of Isis, who protects his father, the great god, lord of Maat--May he give an offering to the Osiris.</p>			

<sup>879</sup> LGG vol. IV p. 153. This title applied to Isis is used from the New Kingdom to Dynasty 24.

Coffin of Knumsanapehsu, Berlin ÄS 8505



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Photographers: Sandra Steiß and Neil Crawford

A1					<i>ḏd md.w in nw.t wr.t ms.t ntr.w ir(.t) r<sup>c</sup> ḥnw.t pr-nfr  di=š ḥtp.w ḏḥ.w r<sup>c</sup> nb m ḥ.t nb nfr(.t) w<sup>c</sup>b(.t) ḥ.t nb</i>
5	4	3	2	1	
					Recitation by Nut the great one who bore the gods, the Eye of Re <sup>880</sup> and mistress of the embalming hut. <sup>881</sup> May she give offerings and provisions every day, with everything good and pure, and everything.
A2 (Caption over the head of the goddess)					
1					<i>nw.t</i>
					Nut

B1		B2	
	<i>wsir nb nḥḥ</i>	2 1 	<i>ḥr s3 {s.t} nd ḥr it=f</i>
	Osiris, lord of cyclical time		Horus, son (of Isis), who protects his father.
B3		B4	
3 2 1 	<i>wsir ḥnmw-n-s<sup>882</sup>-n3- ph-sw<sup>883</sup> m3<sup>c</sup>-ḥrw</i>		<i>wsir</i>
	The Osiris of Knumensanapehsu, justified.		Osiris
B5		B6	

<sup>880</sup> For the epithet "Eye of Re" as applied to Nut, see LGG, vol. I, p 427. Note that example 30 is actually this text.

<sup>881</sup> LGG, vol. V, p 179. Example 5 is this coffin, and it is noted that the scribe often confuses the nfr sign (F35) with the paddle (P8), which is the way it is written here.

<sup>882</sup> The paleography of the sA (Aa18) sign is unusual and has no close hieratic parallel. There is a possible analogue in Papyrus Takelothis (Berlin 3013, 2.7), but it does not seem very similar. See Verhoeven, p. 208.

<sup>883</sup> Ranke, I, vol. I p 275:17. See the second volume of the same monograph, p 383 for a note on the translation of the name. Ranke translates the name as "Knum is behind the one who attacks him", he is not sure that the "him" referred to is the person with the name in question.

	<i>hr</i>	1	2	<i>wsir hnm-n-sj-{n3}-ph-sw m3c-hrw</i>
	Horus			The Osiris of Knumensanapehsu, justified


C1	
	<i>3s.t</i>
	Isis





























D1		D2	
	<i>wsir nb m3c.t</i> <sup>884</sup>		<i>hr s3 3s.t</i>
	Osiris, lord of Maat		Horus, son of Isis
D3		D4	
	<i>wsir</i>		<i>inpw imy w.t hn.ty sh-ntr</i>
	Osiris		Anubis, who is amidst the bandages and in front of the embalming tent.

E1		E2	
	<i>dw3(.t)-mw.t=f</i>		<i>qbh-[sn.w]=f</i> <sup>885</sup>
	Duamutef		Qebehsenuf
E3		E4	
	<i>imst s3 wsir</i>		<i>h3p(y) s3 wsir</i>
	Imseti, son of Osiris		Hapy, son of Osiris
E5			
	<i>dw3-mw.t=f</i>		




<sup>884</sup> LGG vol. III p 639. Section f shows the title as a designation of Osiris.

<sup>885</sup> Roeder, II, p. 447. has on p 447 and perhaps it was not destroyed in his time.



	Duamutef		
---	----------	--	--

G1					G2				
1	2	3	4	<i>ʒs.t mw.t ntr [nb.t] imnt.t di=ʒ htp.w [...]<sup>886</sup></i>  Isis, mother of the God, lady of the West--may she give offerings [...].	4	3	2	1	<i>nb.t-ḥw.t sn.t ntr di=ʒ htp n wsir im dd.t ntr ʒ nb igr.t<sup>887</sup> (ḥry)-ib ʒbdw</i>  Nephthys, sister of the god--may she give an offering of Osiris in Djedu, the great god, lord of the Necropolis, who is in Abydos.
									
									
									
									
									
									

F	
	<i>ḥtp di nsw.t n wsir ḥr ʒs.t ntr.w ntr.w ntr.wt nb.w nḥḥ di=ʒn ḥtp.w db(ʒ.w) rʒ nb m t ḥnq.t kʒ.w ʒpd.w ḥ.t nb(.t) nfr(.t) wʒb(.t) ḥ.t nb(.t) nfr(.t) bnr(.t) nty ʒnḥ ntr.w mʒsn n wsir ḥnm-n-si-{nʒ}-pḥ-sw mʒʒ-ḥrw [ḥtp ḥrw m ḥry.t-ntr r-gs]<sup>888</sup> wsir nb nḥḥ ḥqʒ d.t</i>

<sup>886</sup> Roeder, II, p. 448. Roeder has after the plural strokes:  However, the area has experienced a lot of damage and the final sign looks more like  than . The seated man glyph is not visible at all. Perhaps this is a longer offering formula including the words "everything good and sweet" rather than an epithet of Osiris.

<sup>887</sup> LGG vol. III p 590.

<sup>888</sup> Roeder, II, p. 444. The missing area is filled in according to Roeder's transcription, though it is apparently more damaged today than it was in his time. Note also on this coffin that the scribe writes the  and the  signs identically.

	<p>Royal offerings of Osiris, Horus, Isis, and all the gods and goddesses<sup>889</sup> of linear time--may they give offerings and provisions every day with bread, beer, beef, poultry, everything good and pure, and everything good and sweet on which the gods live, for the Osiris of Knumensanapehsu, justified; [an offering which is done in the necropolis at the side of] Osiris, lord of cyclical time, ruler of linear time.</p>
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<sup>889</sup> This spelling is strange, but probably ntrw.t spelled with a y as seen in Lesko and Lesko, vol. II p 41.

<p>I1</p> <p>3 2 1</p>	<p><i>[dd md.w in imst s3 wsir] pr m [h<sup>c</sup>.w=f]<sup>890</sup></i></p> <p>[Recitation by Imseti, son of Osiris] who comes out from [his flesh].</p>	<p>I2</p> <p>2 1</p>	<p><i>dd md.w in hpy s3 wsir pr im h<sup>c</sup>.w=f</i></p> <p>Recitation by Hapy, son of Osiris, who comes out from his flesh.</p>
<p>I3</p> <p>3 2 1</p>	<p><i>dd md.w in dw3.&lt;t&gt;- mw.t=f qbh-sn.w=f</i></p> <p>Recitation by Duamutef and Qebehseuef</p>		





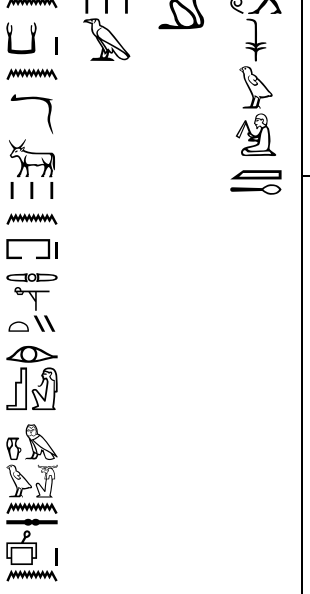


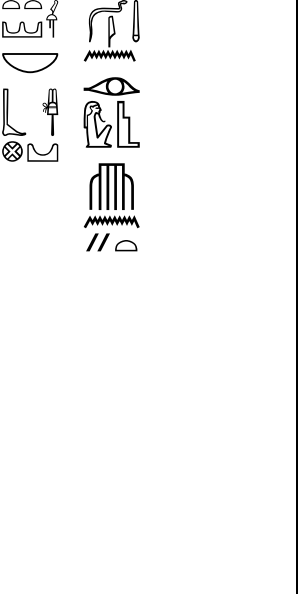
<p>J1</p> <p>1 2 3 4 5</p>	<p><i>dd md.w in is.t wr.t mw.t ntr nb(.t) p.t hnw.t imnt.t di=s htp.w m h.t nb(.t) nfr(.t) w<sup>c</sup>b(.t) h.t nb(.t) nfr(.t) bnr(.t) n wsir nb nhh</i></p> <p>Recitation by Isis, the great one, mother of the god, lady of the sky, mistress of the West--may she give offerings with everything good and pure and everything good and sweet for Osiris, lord of cyclical time.</p>	<p>J2</p> <p>3 2 1</p>	<p><i>dd md.w in inpw imy-w.t hn.ty sh-ntr nb dsr.t</i></p> <p>Recitation by Anubis, who is in the bandages, and who is in front of the embalming tent, the lord of the sacred place.<sup>891</sup></p>
<p>J3</p>		<p>J4</p>	






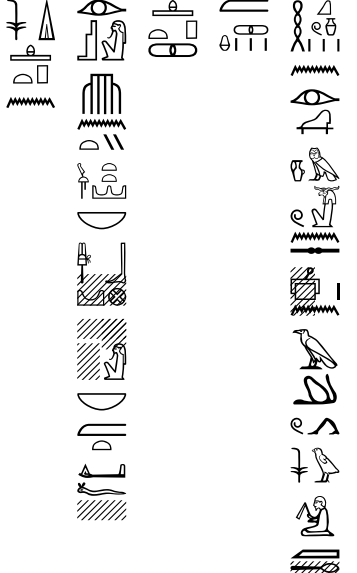
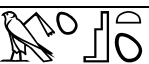
<sup>890</sup> This is now destroyed. The transliteration is copied in part from Roeder's transcription, Roeder, II, p. 449. and was probably not in good condition in his time, because he is missing the first line for which there is still space on the damaged surface. Captions I1 and I2 are the only ones on the coffin that are written in black paint rather than polychrome.


<sup>891</sup> This title is usually "Lord of the sacred land" but the word land is omitted. The grammar still works if sacred is nominal--ie. "sacred one", and this is probably what was intended since it was spelled with the hill determinative (N25).

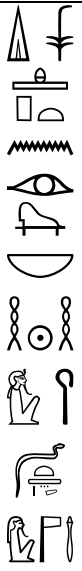
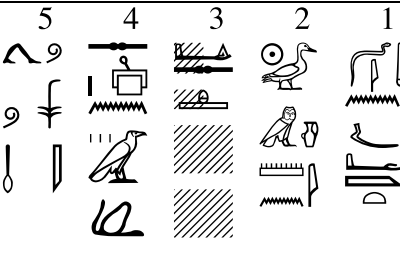
	wsir nb mꜣꜥ.t	<p>5 </p> <p>4 </p> <p>3 </p> <p>2 </p> <p>1 </p>	<p>gd md.w in nb.t-          ḥw.t sn(.t) nꜥr diꜥs          ḥtp n wsir m t ḥnq.t          kꜣ.w ꜣpd.w ḥ.t nb(.t)          nfr(.t) wꜣb(.t) ḥ.t          nb(.t) nfr(.t) bnr(.t)          nty ꜣnh nꜥr.w mꜣsn</p>
	Osiris, lord of Maat	<p></p> <p></p> <p></p> <p></p> <p></p> <p></p> <p></p>	<p>Recitation by          Nephthys, sister of          the god--may she          give an offering to          Osiris, with bread          and beer, beef and          poultry, everything          good and pure, and          everything good          and sweet with          which the gods live.</p>



<p>K1</p> <p>1 </p> <p>2 </p> <p>3 </p> <p>4 </p> 	<p><i>n k3 n imy-r k3.w n pr Mnw wsir hnmw-n-s3-n3- ph-sw m3c-hrw</i></p> <p>For the ka of the overseer of the cattle of the temple of Min, the Osiris of Knumensanapehsu, justified.</p>	<p>K2</p> <p>2 </p> <p>1 </p> 	<p><i>dd mcl.w in wsir hn.ty imnt.t nb 3bdw</i></p> <p>Recitation by Osiris, foremost of the West, lord of Abydos</p>
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<p>L1</p> <p>1 </p> <p>2 </p> <p>3 </p> <p>4 </p> <p>5 </p> 	<p><i>h3p di nsw.tn wsir hn.ty imnt.t nb 3b(dw) nb m3c.t di=f [...] h3p m t hnq.t n wsir hnmw-n-s3- n3-ph-sw m3c-[hrw]</i></p> <p>Royal offerings of Osiris, foremost of the West and lord of Abydos (...) and lord of Maat--may he give an offering with bread and beer to the Osiris of Knumensanapehsu, justified.</p>	<p>L2</p> 	<p><i>hr s3 3s.t</i></p> <p>Horus, son of Isis</p>
<p>L3</p>	<p><i>wsir nb nh3 hq3 d.t n3r 3 nb m3c.t</i></p>		

	<p>Osiris, lord of Cyclical time, ruler of linear time, the great god, lord of Abydos</p>		
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<p>M</p> 	<p><i>ḥtp dī nsw.t n wsīr nb nhḥ ḥqꜣ d.t ntr ʿ3</i></p> <p>Royal offerings of Osiris, lord of cyclical time, ruler of linear time, the great god.</p>	<p>N</p> 	<p><i>ḳd md.w in mꜣꜥ.t sꜣ(.t) rꜥ ḥnm(.t) imn dī-s [ḥtp n wsīr ḥnm-n-]sꜣ- nꜣ-ph-sw mꜣꜥ-ḥrw</i></p> <p>Recitation by Maat, daughter of Re, who is united with Amun<sup>892</sup>--may she give [an offering to Knumen] sanapehsu, justified.</p>
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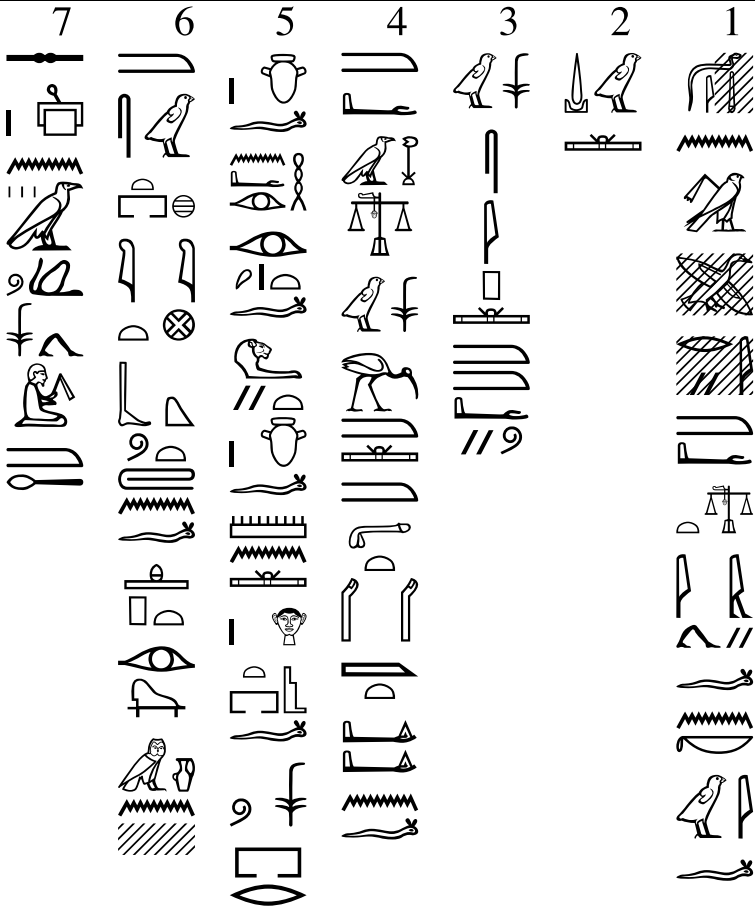
<sup>892</sup> LGG vol. VI p 19. The title is usually a designation of Maat or Hathor.

<p>O</p>	<p><i>dd md.w in m<sup>3c</sup>.t si(.t) r<sup>c</sup> hnm(.t) imn</i></p> <p>Recitation by Maat, daughter of Re, who is united with Amun</p>	<p>P1</p> <p>1 2</p>	<p><i>[wsir] nb nhh hq3 d.t</i></p> <p>[Osiris], lord of cyclical time, ruler of linear time</p>
<p>P2</p> <p>3 2 1</p>	<p><i>[hr] iwn-mw.t=f [si] is.t [nd] hr it=f</i></p> <p>Horus-lunmutef, <sup>894</sup>[son of] Isis, [who protects] his father</p>	<p>P3</p> <p>5 4 3 2 1</p>	<p><i>[rdi.t dw3.t]<sup>893</sup> n wsir sn-t3 n nb nhh di=f htp df3.w [...] r<sup>c</sup> nb n ki n imy-r k3.w [n pr] Mnw wsir hnm-[n-s3]-n3-ph-sw m<sup>3c</sup>- hrw</i></p> <p>[Giving praise] to Osiris, kissing the ground before the lord of cyclical time, that he might give offerings and provisions [...] every day to the ka of the overseer of the cattle of the temple of Min, the Osiris of Knumensanapehsu, justified.</p>
<p>O</p> <p>1 2 3 4</p>	<p><i>htp di nsw.t n wsir nb nhh d.t</i></p> <p>Royal offerings of Osiris, lord of cyclical and linear time</p>		

<sup>893</sup> This lacuna filled in from the equivalent passage from the coffin of Khui-ipyuy, M3.


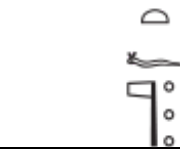
<sup>894</sup> The name of Horus is filled in from Roeder, II, p. 454. The rest of the lacunae were inferred from the other captions on the coffin.

Q2

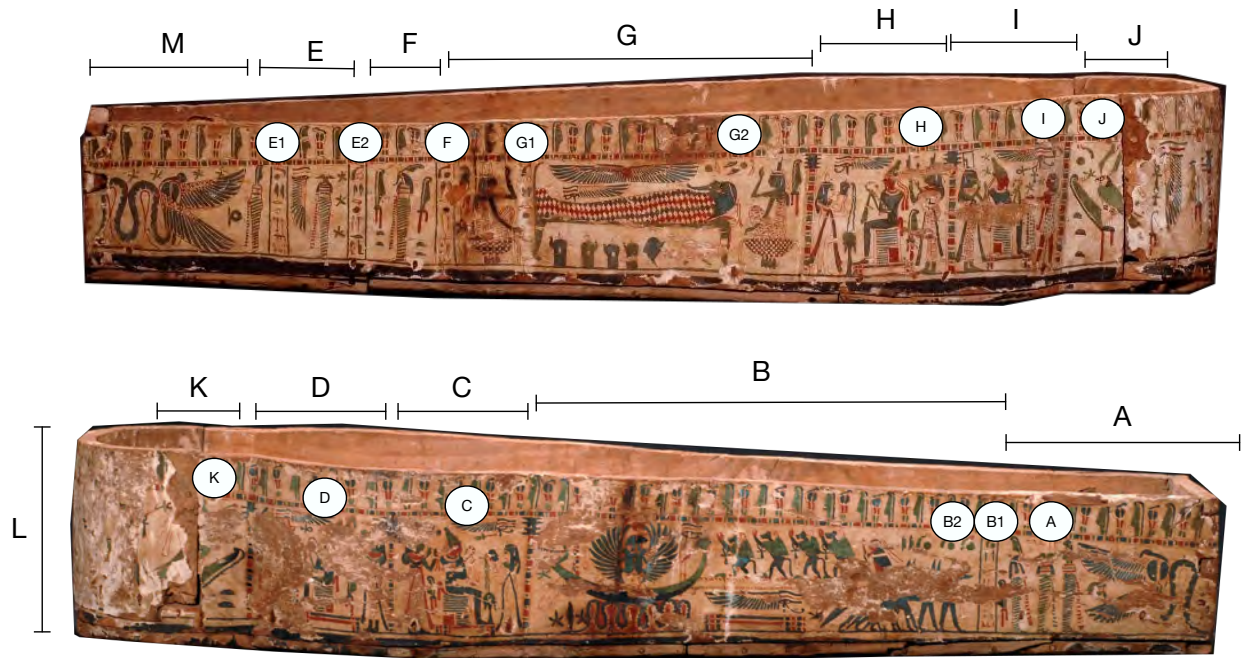


*ḏd md.w in hr [p3 iry] mḥ3.t iḏ=f n=k iw=f wḏ3(w) sw sip m-m ̣.wy mḥ3.t sw m m mty.t m3̣.t dd n=f ib=f ḥṇ ir.t(y)=f ḥ3̣.ty=f mn(w) hr s.t=f sw pr m wsḥ.t m3̣.ty qb.tw n=f ḥtp.w wsir ḥnmw-n-s3-n3-pḥ-sw m3̣-c-ḥrw*


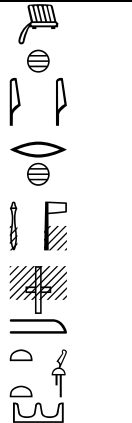


Recitation by Horus, the keeper of the scales: "He comes before you, having been made whole. He has been inspected beneath the arms of the scale and has been found to be one who is virtuous and true. His heart along with his eyes and Haty-heart have been given to him. He has been established in his rightful place (as ) one who has emerged from the Hall of the Two Truths. May the offerings of the Osiris of Knumensanapehsu, justified, be doubled for him!

R	
	<i>nb dr it ntr.w</i>
	The Lord of All, father of the gods


































Coffin of an Anonymous Woman, Australian Museum E 19466



Coffin Basin of an Anonymous Woman, E19466  
 Copyright (c) The Australian Museum  
 Photographer: Carl Bento

<p>A1</p> 	<p><i>ntr ʿ imy</i></p> <p>Great god, who is in...</p>	<p>B1</p> 	<p><i>imʿhy {hr}{rh} ntr ʿ imy imnt.t</i></p> <p>Revered one before the Great God who is in the West.</p>
<p>B2</p> 	<p><i>imʿh {w.y}{w.y}</i></p> <p>Revered ones(?)</p>	<p>C</p> 	<p>[...h]<sup>895</sup></p>

<sup>895</sup> This is so destroyed as to be unreadable.

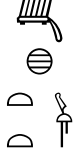

<p>D</p> <p>1  2  3 </p> <p></p>	<p><i>im3h[y] {hr} &lt;rh&gt; [...]</i></p> <p>Revered [one] before [...]</p>	<p>E1</p> <p>          </p>	<p><i>im3hy {hr} &lt;rh&gt; ntr 3 33- hrw.<sup>896</sup></i></p> <p>Revered one before the great god, whose faces(?) are many.</p>
<p>E2</p> <p>        </p>	<p><i>im3hy {hr} &lt;rh&gt; ntr 3 wsir</i></p> <p>Revered one before the great god, Osiris.<sup>897</sup></p>	<p>F</p> <p>          </p>	<p><i>im3hy {hr} &lt;rh&gt; ntr 3 imy imnt.t</i></p> <p>Revered one before the great god, who is in the west.</p>
<p>G1</p> <p>      </p>	<p><i>im3hy {hr} &lt;hr&gt; nb.t-hw.t</i></p> <p>Revered one before Nephthys.<sup>899</sup></p>	<p>G2</p> <p>      </p>	<p><i>im3hy {hr} &lt;hr&gt;<sup>898</sup></i></p>
<p>H</p> <p>  </p>	<p><i>3s.t</i></p> <p>Isis</p>	<p>I</p> <p>  </p>	<p><i>3wn-mw.t=f</i></p> <p>Iunmutef Priest</p>
<p>J</p>		<p>K</p>	

<sup>896</sup> Though the last characters are small, red, and hard to read from the available photos, the title might be "Many of Faces", LGG, vol. 2 p 218. See especially, examples 2 and 8.

<sup>897</sup> A translation of "the Great God and Osiris" is possible. However, because the Great God usually is Osiris, I've chosen to take both as the same person.

<sup>898</sup> This caption is rotated 90 degrees as shown. It reads into the large sun-disk which hovers over the body of the deceased in the mourning/mummification scene. Therefore, the subject of the formula may be the sundisk itself.

<sup>899</sup> The text ends without a subject: *im3hy hr*, but we can assume that Nephthys' emblem on her head is part of the sentence. It's right next to the end of the inscription, and the inscription reads into her.



	<p>imꜣḥ imnt.t</p> <hr/> <p>Revered! The West!<sup>900</sup></p>		<p>imꜣḥ imnt.t</p> <hr/> <p>Revered! The West!</p>
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<sup>900</sup> This caption is fully integrated into the scene of which it is part. The Imentet standard is a large glyph upon which Horus, the focus of the scene is perched. It may intended as a rebus or as a cryptogram, because the words don't really form a sentence. This is a subject that deserves further study.



MNX Asetemakhbit (MNX XI-482a)

 <p><i>Photomerge of several detailed pictures of the lid inscription of the coffin of Asetemkhebit Photos courtesy of the</i></p>	<p>Central Column</p> 	<p><i>ḥtp dī nsw.t n wsir ḥn.ty imnt.t ntr ʕ  nb ḥbdw dī(t)ḥf ḥtp(.w) dḥ.w n k3 n  wsir šmʕy.t n Imn nb(.t) pr ḥs.t-(m)-  ḥḥbi.t<sup>901</sup> m3<sup>c</sup>-ḥrw ʔ ḥbs.t<sup>902</sup> n ḥt-ntr n  mnw ḥr s3 [n] p3-[mr]-ḥr<sup>903</sup></i></p> <p>Royal offerings of Osiris, foremost of the West, the Great God, Lord of Abydos--may give offerings and provisions to the ka of the Osiris of the Chantress of Amun, the Lady of the House Asetemkhebit, justified, the wife of the God's Father of Min, Hor, son of Pamerhor, justified.<sup>904</sup></p>
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<sup>901</sup> Common name in the later 21st dynasty. See: Ranke, I, vol. I p 4, #3.

<sup>902</sup> Liptay translates this word as "wife" but gives no transliteration. The word is probably ḥbs.t, as Brech proposes, since ʕ can also be read "ḥbs". See Brech, p. 36; Liptay, 'The Cartonnage and Coffin of JS.T-M-3HBJ.T in the Czartoryski Museum, Cracow', p. 24; Penelope Wilson, *A Ptolemaic Lexikon: A Lexicographical Study of the Texts in the Temple of Edfu*, Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta, 78 (Leuven: Uitgeverij Peeters en Department Oosterse Studies, 1997), p. 637.

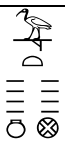

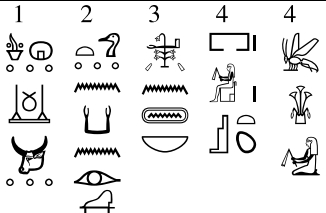
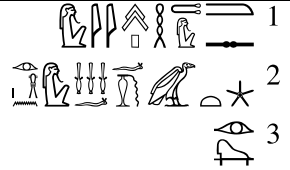

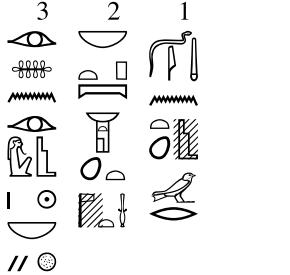


<sup>903</sup> Second character of name is abraded. Brech proposes p3-n-sn-ḥr, but I agree with Liptay that the sign is clearly U6 based on the remaining traces. Brech, p. 36; Liptay, 'The Cartonnage and Coffin of JS.T-M-3HBJ.T in the Czartoryski Museum, Cracow', p. 24.

<sup>904</sup> Note that the end of this inscription is not visible in the photograph because the footbox of the coffin has been reconstructed since the photographs used above were taken. I thank Dr. Andrzej Niwinski for the photographs from which the end of the inscription was transcribed.

MXN Asetemakhbit (MXN XI-482b)



The Cartonnage of Asetemkhebit, Photos Courtesy and Copyright the Czartoryski Museum, Cracow

<p>A1</p> 	<p><i>ḏḥw.ty nb ḥmnw</i></p> <p>Thoth, lord of Hermopolis</p>	<p>A2</p> 	<p><i>ḥtp ḏi nsw.t n wsir ḥn.ty imnt.t ntr ʕ nb ʕbdw nb p.t ḥqꜣ.t) ʕnh.w ḏi.t)sn ḥtp.w ḏḥ.w</i></p> <p>Royal offerings of Osiris, foremost of the West, the Great God, Lord of Abydos, Lord of the Sky, Ruler of the Living Ones--may they (sic) give offerings and provisions.</p>
<p>A3</p> 	<p><i>sntr mnḥ.t kꜣ.w ʕpd.w (n) kꜣ n wsir šmꜣy.t n imn nb.t pr šps.t ʕs.t-(m)-ʕḥbit</i></p> <p>(Continued from A2)...incense and clothing, beef and poultry for the ka of the Osiris of the Chantress of Amun, the Lady of the House, the Noblewoman, Asetemakhbit.</p>	<p>A4</p> 	<p><i>(i)mst ḥꜣpy<sup>905</sup> dwꜣ-mw.tꜣf qbḥ-sn.wꜣf ir(w) sꜣ n wsir</i></p> <p>Imsety, Hapy, Duamutef, and Qebehsenuf are the ones who generate protection for Osiris.</p>
<p>A5</p> 	<p><i>mꜣt</i></p> <p>Maat</p>	<p>A6</p> 	<p><i>ḏḏ md.w in ʕs.t wr(.t) nb(.t) p.t nb.t-ḥw.t sn.t-[ntr] ir(ꜣi) sꜣ n wsir rꜣ-nb sp-sn</i></p> <p>Recitation by Isis the Great One, Lady of the Sky, and Nephthys, Sister of the God: "I generate protection for Osiris every day!" (Said twice).</p>
<p>A7</p> 	<p><i>ir(.t) sꜣ (n) wsir</i></p> <p>Generating the Protection of Osiris</p>	<p>A8</p> 	<p><i>imnt.t</i></p> <p>The West</p>

B1		B2	
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<sup>905</sup> The in ḥ Hapy in text A4 is a cursive forms with hieratic parallels: see P. Chaemhor. Verhoeven, p. 208.

	<p><i>bḥd.ty ntr ʕ s3b šw.t nb(ḫ.t) p.t nb msn</i></p> <p>The one of Behdet, the Great God, whose plumage is speckled, lord of the sky, lord of Mesen.<sup>906</sup></p>		<p><i>ḥtp di nsw.t rḫ-ḥr-ʕḫ.ty- itm nb ʔ.wy iwnw [...] ḥr-nḏ-itʔ di(ḫ.t)ʔ ḥtp.w</i></p> <p>Royal offerings of Re-Harakhte-Atum, lord of the two lands and of Heliopolis [...] and of Horus who Protects His Father. May he (sic) give offerings.</p>
<p>B3</p>	<p><i>ir(.t) s3 n...</i></p> <p>Generating protection for...</p>	<p>B4</p>	<p><i>in[p/w] nb ʔ dsr ḥn.ty šḥ-ntr mʕ.t s3.t rḫ</i></p> <p>Anubis, lord of the sacred land, who is before the embalming tent, and Maat, the daughter of Re</p>
<p>B5</p>	<p><i>bḥd.ty ntr ʕ s3b<sup>907</sup> šw.t nb(ḫ.t) p.t</i></p> <p>The One of Behdet, the Great God, whose plumage is speckled, lord of the sky.</p>		

<p>C1</p>	<p><i>nḥb.t nb.t p.t</i></p> <p>Nekhbet, lady of the sky</p>	<p>C2</p>	<p><i>nḥb.t</i></p> <p>Nekhbet</p>
<p>C3</p>	<p><i>bḥd.ty ntr ʕ</i></p> <p>The one of Behdet, the Great God</p>	<p>C4</p>	<p><i>bḥd.ty ntr ʕ</i></p> <p>The one of Behdet, the Great God</p>
<p>C5</p>	<p><i>ir(.t) s3 wsir</i></p> <p>Generating the protection of Osiris</p>	<p>D1</p>	<p><i>srq.t nb(.t) p.t</i></p> <p>Serqet, the lady of the sky.</p>
<p>D2</p>			

<sup>906</sup> For "lord of Mesen" as an epithet of Horus, see LGG vol. 3 p 650.


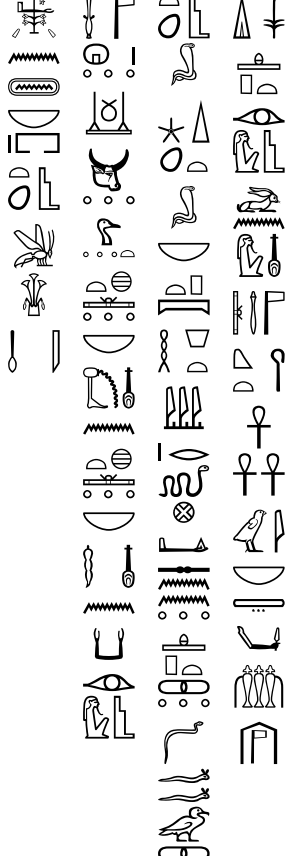
<sup>907</sup> Here, the 𓆎 is between the 𓆏 and 𓆑, maybe for space reasons.

	<i>ni.t nb(.t) p.t</i> Neith, the lady of the sky.		
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H1		I1	
	<i>p.t</i> The sky		<i>imnt.t</i> The West
J1		J2	
	<i>i{n}pw</i> Anubis		<i>wsir</i> Osiris
K1		K2	
	<i>dd md.w in is.t nb(.t) p.t</i> Recitation by Isis, lady of the sky.		<i>nw.t</i> Nut
L1		L2	
	<i>hq(.t) htp</i> Ruler. Offering.		<i>phr-hr htp.w</i> One whose face is turned. Offerings.
M2			
	<i>nb.t p.t b.wy imnt.t</i> The lady of the sky and of the two lands and the West.		

Side Inscription, Viewer's Right <sup>908</sup>		Side Inscription, Viewer's Left	
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<sup>908</sup> Good photographs of the inscriptions on the sides of this coffin were not available. This transcription was copied from the photographs provided in the picture above, and checked against a hand copy that Dr. Andrzej Niwiński was kind enough to share with me.

	<p><i>ḥtp di nsw.t r<sup>c</sup>-ḥr-šh.ty- itn nb t̄.wy iwnw ntr ʕ3 nb p.t pr m šh.t ptḥ-t̄- (tnn)<sup>909</sup> it(t) ntr.w(t)<sup>910</sup> di(/t)sn(n) ḥtp.w d(t)š.w sntr mnḥ.t ššrw k̄.w špd.w n k̄ n wsir sm<sup>c</sup>y.t n imn nb(.t) pr šs.t- (m)-šhbi.t m<sup>c</sup>-ḥrw</i></p> <p>Royal offerings of Re-Harakhte-Atum, lord of the Two Lands and of Heliopolis, the Great God, lord of the sky, who comes out in the horizon, and of Ptah-Tatenen, father of the gods--may they give offerings and provisions, incense and clothing, beef and poultry to the ka of the Osiris of the Chantress of Amun, the lady of the house, the noblewoman, Asetemakhbit, justified.</p>		<p><i>ḥtp di nsw.t wsir-wnn-nfr ntr ʕ3 ḥq3 ʕnh.w i {np}w nb t̄ dsr ḥn.ty šh-ntr šs.t spd.t nb(.t) p.t ḥnw.t šh.t ḫrw di=sn(n) ḥtp.w d(t)š.w sntr mnḥ.t ššrw k̄.w k̄.w špd.w ḥ.t nb(.t) nfr(.t) w<sup>c</sup>b(.t) ḥ.t nb(.t) nfr(.t) nḏm(.t) n k̄ (n) wsir sm<sup>c</sup>y.t n imn nb(.t) pr šs.t- m-šhbi.t m<sup>c</sup>-ḥrw</i></p> <p>Royal offerings of Osiris Wenen-nefer, the Great God, ruler of the living ones, and of Anubis, lord of the sacred land, and of Isis-Sopdet,<sup>911</sup> lady of the sky, and the mistress of the Field of Rushes.<sup>912</sup> May they give offerings and provisions, incense and clothing, beef and poultry, everything good and pure, and everything good and sweet for the ka of the Osiris of the Chantress of Amun and Lady of the House, Asetemakhbit, Justified.</p>
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<sup>909</sup> See LGG vol. 3 p 178. but this spelling is not listed and seems abbreviated.

<sup>910</sup> This seems to be the title "Father of the Gods" which can apply to Ptah-Tatenen. Here, it seems to have an extra character which is hard to read but may be another 𓆎 or an 𓆏. Liptay translates this as "Lord of the Gods". Liptay, p. 22; LGG vol. 1 p 580.

<sup>911</sup> It is possible that Isis and Sopdet are two separate deities rather than a syncretized deity here. However, it seems strange that Sopdet should have a string of epithets and Isis would not, given the pattern established by Osiris previously in the inscription. There are attestations of Isis-Sopdet in LGG, but these date to the Saite period and the Greco-roman period. LGG vol. 1 p 76.

<sup>912</sup> Contrary to Liptay, the place mentioned in the title is *sh.t-ḫrw* rather than *sh.t-r-stw*. Interestingly another attestation of this title comes from the stela of Hori--Asetemakhbit's husband. It also appears on the coffin of Tyesmutgebtui, BM EA 22939. Liptay, p. 22; LGG vol. 5, p 205.

Outer Coffin of Ankhtashepsit 1906.2 A,B

Central Inscription	
	<p><i>ḥtp di nsw.t &lt;ir&gt;{s}kr-wsīr ḥn.ty imnt.t wsīr b3 dd.t<sup>913</sup> ntr          3 nb p.t ḥq3&lt;t&gt; d.t di≠{sn} &lt;ḫ.w&gt; {mw}<sup>914</sup> (n) b3&lt;t&gt;<sup>915</sup>          ḥtp (n) ḥ(ḫ.t)<sup>916</sup> mnḥ.t p3w.t (n) sḫ di≠{sn} sntr<sup>917</sup> k3.w          3pd.w t<sup>918</sup> in wsīr cḥ-ḫ-šps.t<sup>919</sup></i></p> <p>Royal offerings of Osiris-Sokar, foremost of the West, and Osiris the Ram of Mendes, the Great God, lord of the sky and ruler of linear time--may (they) give water (to) the ba-spirit, offerings (to) the corpse, clothing and cakes (to) the divinized mummy. May (they) give incense, beef, poultry, and bread(?) to the Osiris Ankhtashepsit.</p>

<sup>913</sup> The "Ram of Mendes" is an epithet of Osiris. See LGG vol. 2 p 710.

<sup>914</sup> This formula occurs on several other coffins from this period and is characteristic of Northern coffins according to Taylor. Taylor, 'Coffins as Evidence for a "North-South Divide" in the 22nd-25th Dynasties', pp. 391–92. Apparently, it is also characteristic of coffins from Akhmim. This one is extremely abbreviated has some unconventional spellings, such as this word, which is probably mw, and ought to be spelled but is instead spelled with the land sign (N16). Anyway, it has been translated with reference to other examples.

<sup>915</sup> This bird has the striding legs of the ba bird but has a short beak and no wattle. See the paleography associated with the coffin.

<sup>916</sup> The abbreviation of with the uniliteral seems unusual but no other option seems possible.

<sup>917</sup> That the (T23) sign looks like (W19) is a characteristic of this particular scribe and occurs on the inner coffin. Because of this, there is some ambiguity as to what is being said here: *mi ntr* : "...like a god" or *sntr* : "incense". Both are possible, but the later seems more likely because what follows is a list of offerings, and the verb probably refers to these as a group.

<sup>918</sup> Reading of this group of two egg-shaped signs is uncertain. They are not as round as the two cakes in "p3w.t".

<sup>919</sup> In other literature mentioning this coffin, the owner is called "Ankhtesh." The name is never spelled the same way twice on the coffins and apparently gave the scribe some trouble as well. It is determined by the standing hippopotamus clutching an undefined stick-like on the outer coffin and twice on the cartonnage. This glyph indicates that we should be looking for some word relating to a fierce goddess like Taweret. The trouble is, there are no words that can contain the letters ḫš and the hippopotamus glyph. In the museum archives, Dr. Robert Ritner suggests the name be read ḫḥ-dšr where dšr means "the red one", a word for Hippopotamus. However, according to Wilson, this word is determined by a hippopotamus on all fours, and occurs as a euphemistic reference to Seth, which doesn't seem appropriate for a name. Brech suggests that the name should be rendered as ḫḥ-t3-n.t-t3-wr.t, where t3-n.t is abbreviated to ḫ. However, this suggestion does not account for the š appearing in the name. Valeurs Phonetique suggests that the standing Hippopotamus glyph can be read as šps.t and indeed

Cartonnage of Ankhtashepsit 1906.4



*Coffin of Ankhtashepsit, 1906.4 Courtesy of the Toledo Museum of Art*

Central Inscription

šps.t spelled with the standing hippopotamus and the pool glyph appears as an epithet for Hathor in LGG, vol. 7 p 53. Thus, I propose the name ought to be read as ḥt-šps.t. See: François. Daumas Université Paul Valéry., Institut d'égyptologie., Université de Montpellier., *Valeurs phonétiques des signes hiéroglyphiques d'époque gréco-romaine* (Montpellier: Université de Montpellier, 1988), p. 139; Brech, pp. 133, Note 12; Wilson, p. 1209.





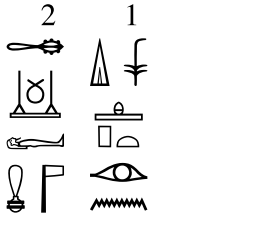
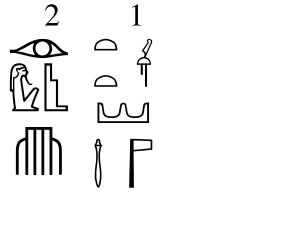
	<p><i>ḥtp dī nsw.t wsīr ḥn.ty imnt.t nb &lt;s&gt;bdw ḥq&lt;.t&gt; d.t dī=f</i>  <i>mw (n) b {}&lt;.t&gt; ḥtp (n) ḥ(ḥ.t) mnḥ.t p̄w.t (n) sḥ snḥr<sup>920</sup></i>  <i>(n) wsīr ḥn-{}&lt;ḥ&gt;-šps.t</i></p> <p>Royal offerings of Osiris, foremost of the west, lord of Abydos, and ruler of Linear Time--may (he) give water (to) the ba-spirit, offerings (to) the corpse, clothing and cakes (to) the divinized mummy, and incense (to) the Osiris of Ankhtashepsit.</p>
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<p>A1</p>	<p><i>ḥtp dī nsw.t {ws}īr &lt;n- n&gt;<sup>921</sup></i></p> <p>Royal offerings of Osiris: water...</p>	<p>B1</p> <p>1 2</p>	<p><i>pr b̄=k &lt;ir n&gt;<sup>922</sup> m̄ḥ ḥt&lt;t&gt;n</i></p> <p>May your ba-spirit come out in order to see the sun-disk.</p>
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<sup>920</sup> As mentioned above in note 917, this could either be read "...like a god, the Osiris of Ankhtashepsit" or "incense (to) the Osiris of Ankhtashepsit", because of the way (T23) is written.

<sup>921</sup> The last word here gets cut off. There are several explanations for the two (N35) characters: firstly, there is a tendency to insert an N35 at the end of lines, especially when the line end interrupts the text. This occurs on this coffin at the end of line 1 of B1 where the \_\_\_\_ (N35) makes little grammatical sense. Another possibility is that the word meant to go here is *mw*, as is the case in caption B4, and the scribe abbreviates it to fit the line by dropping an \_\_\_\_ (N35). In this case, this would be a cut-off "water to the ba" formula. It also occurs on the coffins of Djedhor, both the one in the British Museum and the one in Milwaukee.




<sup>922</sup> This sentence is a bit difficult grammatically because the (D4 N35) looks like a form of the verb *iri*, to do. However, if this is the case, it does not have an obvious subject. The word *ir* could be acting as a subordinator equivalent to *iw* (See Junge, p 124), but again, one expects a subject to be attached to a subordinator. It is more likely, given the lack of \_\_\_\_ (N35) in caption B2 that what we have here is an unusual spelling of the word *m̄ḥ* broken by an \_\_\_\_ (N35) since, as mentioned in note 921, there is a tendency to insert these at the ends of lines which break the sentence. For *m̄ḥ* spelled with two eye-glyphs, though not with the sickle, see the entry in Wilson:

<p>B2</p> <p>3      2      1</p> 	<p><i>ws(n)ir cnh(=f-n)<sup>923</sup> {t(i)-š(ps.t)} pr b3=k m33 itn(=t)</i></p> <p>Oh, Osiris Ankhtashepsit(?), may your Ba-spirit come out in order to see the sun-disk.</p>	<p>B3</p> <p>2      1</p> 	<p><i>h̄tp di nsw(.t) wsir(.t)<sup>924</sup></i> <i>h̄tp (n) h̄(3.t) mn̄h.t (n)</i> <i>s&lt;ch&gt;</i></p> <p>Royal offerings of Osiris: offerings (to) the corpse, and clothing (to) the divinized mummy.</p>
<p>B4</p> <p>2      1</p> 	<p><i>h̄tp di nsw.t (ws)ir (n)<sup>925</sup></i> <i>h̄(3.t) mn̄h.t (n) s&lt;ch&gt; mi</i> <i>n̄t<sup>926</sup></i></p> <p>Royal offerings of Osiris...the corpse, clothing (to) the divinized mummy, like a god.</p>	<p>B5</p> <p>2      1</p> 	<p><i>wsir hn.ty imnt.t n̄tr c<sup>927</sup></i></p> <p>Osiris, foremost of the west, the Great God.</p>



Wilson, p. 393; Friedrich Junge, *Late Egyptian Grammar: An Introduction*, trans. by David Warburton (Oxford: Griffith Institute, 2001), p. 123.

<sup>923</sup> This somewhat garbled phrase is hard to interpret. It could be the beginning of a male name (*cnh=f-n...*) as suggested in the museum archives by Dr. Robert Ritner, who saw this and the spelling of the word *m33* as evidence of reuse in the Ptolemaic period by a female owner. The presence of a male deceased in the BD 125 vignette in register B, and the ultimate presence of a male body in the outer coffin might be seen to support the idea.

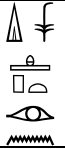




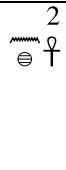

However, as odd as some of the spellings in the inscriptions are, they are normal for a Northern-style coffin from the Third Intermediate Period. Given the uniform handwriting and orthography in the inscriptions and the fact that the coffin shows no physical signs of being usurped or redecorated, it seems likely that we are dealing with a partially literate scribe and an antiquities dealer who added a male mummy at the time of sale. In this case, I suspect that the scribe might have intended to write the name of the deceased here and simply misspelled it.

<sup>924</sup> It is tempting to interpret the name of this deity as "Isis" . However, the seated figure used as the determinative clearly has a beard. The odd spelling seems to be due to the insertion of a superfluous  and an omission of . The insertion of the T is usual for this scribe--note the spelling of the word *b3* on the central inscriptions of the inner and outer coffin.

<sup>925</sup> Here, the end of line \_\_\_\_ (N35) marks a break in the sentence, which resumes somewhat later in the formula on the next line.

<sup>926</sup> The loop at the top and the lack of barbs protruding from the bulb at the bottom of this character indicate that here the character is to be read *mi* , not *sn* , raising the question of whether the ambiguity elsewhere is intentional.

<sup>927</sup> Unlike all of the other texts on this row, this caption reads retrograde.

C1		C2	
	<p><i>ḥtp di nsw.t {ws}ir &lt;n&gt;</i></p> <p>Royal offerings of Osiris</p>	<p>2 1</p> 	<p><i>ḥtp di nsw.t wsir n</i></p> <p>Royal offerings of Osiris</p>
C3		D1	
	<p><i>ḥtp wsir</i></p> <p>an offering of Osiris</p>		<p><i>{ḥtp} di nsw.t is.t</i></p> <p>Royal offerings of Isis</p>
D2		E1	
	<p><i>is.t ir {s} r&lt;sup&gt;C&lt;/sup&gt;-nb</i></p> <p>Isis is the one who makes (protection?) every day.</p>	<p>2 1</p> 	<p><i>{ws}ir n &lt;sup&gt;C&lt;/sup&gt;nh</i></p> <p>The Osiris of Ankh(tashepsit).</p>
E2			
<p>2 1</p> 	<p><i>&lt;sup&gt;C&lt;/sup&gt;nh-t&lt;n&gt;-šps.t</i></p> <p>Ankhtashepsit</p>		

Heqaankhu, AES 13-b, Outer Coffin

	<p>Transcription</p>	<p>Translation &amp; Transliteration</p>
	<p> </p>	<p> <i>ḥtp di nsw.t wsir ḥn.ty imnt[.t] ntr ʿ3 nb ʒbdw</i>  <i>[di=f mw] (n) bʒ ḥtp.w (n) ḥʒ[.t] mnḥ.t (n) sḥ</i>  <i>&lt;kʒ wsir&gt; kʒ wsir ḥqʒ-ḥḥ[...]</i> </p> <hr/> <p>                     Royal offerings of Osiris, foremost of the West, the great god, lord of Abydos--[may he give water] to the ba, offerings to the corpse, and linen cloth to the mummy of the ka of the Osiris of &lt;the ka of the Osiris of&gt; Heqa-ankh[...]                 </p>

Outer Coffin of Djedhor, Detroit Institute of Arts, 90.1S11800

 <p>Photomerge of several photos courtesy of the Detroit Institute of Art</p>		<p><i>ḥ(ḫt) {ḫp} di nsw.t wsir ḥn.ty imnt.t  ntr ʿ3 nb ʿbdw di=f mw (n) b3 ḫtp.w  (n) ḥ3.t mnḫ.t (n) sḫ (n) k3 n wsir  it-ntr dd-ḫr</i></p> <p>Royal offerings of Osiris, foremost of the West, the Great God, Lord of Abydos. May he give water to the ba, offerings to the corpse, and linen to the mummy of the ka of the Osiris of the God's Father<sup>928</sup>, Djedhor.</p>
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<sup>928</sup> For this title with this spelling, characteristic of the late and Greco-Roman period, see Gauthier, *Le Personnel du Dieu Min*, p. 27.

Outer Coffin of Besenmut:, New Walk Museum, Leicester, LA 1980.1885



Outer coffin of Besenmut, Courtesy of the New Walk Museum, Leicester

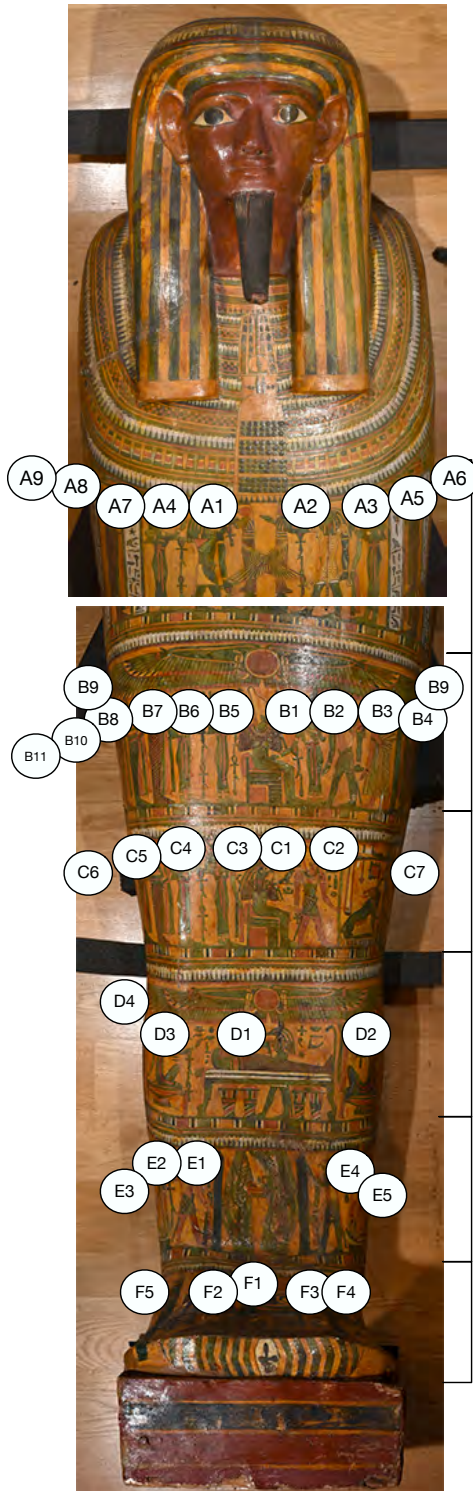


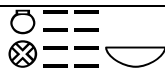
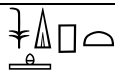


*ḥtp di nsw.t [wsir ḥn.ty imnt.t] nb ʒbdw di=f t ḥnq.t k3.w  
 ʒpd.w snṯr mnḥ.t ḥ.t nb(.t) [nfr(.t)] w<sup>c</sup>b.t [ḥ.t nb.t] i[...] pr  
 mnw [...] nb [...]*

Royal offerings of [Osiris, foremost of the west], lord of Abydos--may he give bread and beer, beef and poultry, incense and cloth, everything good] and pure, and everything [...] <sup>929</sup> the temple of [Min(?) ...] lord [...].

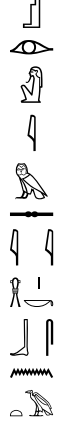



<sup>929</sup> Normally, the titles of the deceased go here, and the mention of the temple of Min might be part of these titles. After "everything good and pure" the reconstruction is very tentative.

Inner Coffin of Besenmut, New Walk Museum, Leicester, LA 1980.1885



A1	Above Thoth
	<i>nb hmnw</i> Lord of Hermopolis (Modern el-Ashmunein)
A2	Above Horus
	<i>htp di nsw.t</i> "Royal offerings..."
A3	In front of Isis, incorporating her headdress
	<i>ʒs.t</i> Isis
A4	In front of Nephthys, incorporating her headdress
	<i>nb.t-hw.t</i> Nephthys

Coffin of Besenmut, Courtesy of the New-Walk Museum, Leicester

A5	Before a human-headed mummiform deity	A6	Before a falcon-headed mummiform Deity
	<p><i>wsir ims {t}i s3=k bs-n-mw.t</i></p> <p>Osiris Imseti is your protection, Besenmut.</p>		<p><i>wsir hp-(hp)y s3=k bs-n-mw.t</i></p> <p>Osiris Hapy is your protection, Besenmut.</p>
A7	Before a baboon-Headed mummiform deity, extending over its head	A8	Before a jackal-Headed mummiform deity
	<p><i>wsir dw3-mw.t=f s3=k it-ntr bs-n-mw.t m3^c-(hrw) s3 d(d)-mhi.t-i(w)=f-cnh</i></p> <p>Osiris Duamutef is your protection, God's Father<sup>930</sup> Besenmut, justified, son of Djed-mehit-<i>iw-ef-ankh</i>.<sup>931</sup></p>		<p><i>wsir qb3-sn.w=f s3=k mry-ntr bs-(n)-mw.t</i></p> <p>Osiris Qebhsenuief is your protection, beloved of the god<sup>932</sup> Besenmut.</p>

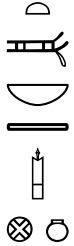

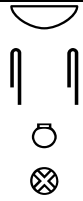


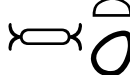





A9	Before a snake-headed mummiform deity
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<sup>930</sup> For this title with this spelling, characteristic of the late and Greco-Roman period, see Gauthier, *Le Personnel du Dieu Min*, p. 27.

<sup>931</sup> The abbreviation makes the reading of this name difficult, but the name seems clear. This is the only place on the coffin where the name of the deceased's father is given. The name means "The goddess Mehit says : 'He will live'". The female version of this name appears in Hermann Ranke, *Die Ägyptische Personennamen*, 3 vols (Glückstadt: J. J. Augustin, 1935), I, p. 411 #5.

<sup>932</sup> This is an Old Kingdom title not discussed in Gauthier, but it does occur associated with Min and almost always associated with the title God's Father--a title borne by Besenmut in column A7. Dilwyn Jones, pp. 439, #1626.





		<i>itm nb B iwntw</i>	
		Atum, lord of the land and of Heliopolis.	
B1	In front of the goddess who stands before Osiris	B2	In front of Thoth
	<i>ink is.t-(mw.t) sḥꜥk</i> I am Isis-(Mut?) <sup>933</sup> , your protection.		<i>nb ssnw</i> <sup>934</sup> Lord of Hermopolis (modern el-Ashmunein)
B3	In front of the deceased	B4	In front of a snake-headed mummiform deity
	<i>bs-(n)-mw.t</i> Besenmut		<i>itm</i> Atum
B5	In front of the first goddess behind Osiris	B6	In front of the second goddess behind Osiris
	<i>ni.t</i> Neith		<i>srq.t</i> Serqet
B7	Above a frog-headed mummiform goddess	B8	Above a rabbit-headed mummiform goddess
	<i>ḥq.t</i> Heqet <sup>935</sup>		<i>wnw.t</i> Wenut <sup>936</sup>
B9	Under the left wing of the overarching winged sun-disk	B9	Under the right wing
	<i>bḥd.ty</i> The one of Behdet (Edfu)		<i>bḥd.ty</i> The one of Behdet (Edfu)
B10	Above a mummiform figure whose head is a feather with a veil	B11	Above a mummiform deity with the head of a Djed pillar



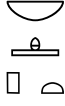
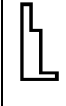



<sup>933</sup> The assimilation to Mut is not clear from the spelling of the name like it is on the coffin of Tabes. However, the figure is the same and wears the same vulture headdress.

<sup>934</sup> This is a variant spelling of nb xmnw, according to LGG III, p. 716.

<sup>935</sup> LGG V p. 490.

<sup>936</sup> According to LGG, there is a goddess with a rabbit head named Wenut. However, the name is here spelled in an abbreviated fashion that is not in the LGG, and instead uses the glyph for the Hare nome. LGG II, p. 373. LGG translates the name as "die Eilende".

	<i>m<sup>3</sup>c.t</i> Maat		<i>nb dd.t</i> <sup>937</sup> Lord of Djedu
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C1	Before the seated falcon-headed god.	C2	Before the striding crowned god.
	<i>r<sup>c</sup>-hr-3h.t(y)</i> Re-Harakhte		<i>itm nb t.wy iwnw(t)</i> Atum, lord of the two lands and of Heliopolis
C3	Before the bovine-headed goddess	C4	Before the second goddess behind Re-Harakhte.
	<i>nb(t) htp(w)</i> The Lady of the offerings. <sup>938</sup>		<i>3s.t</i> Isis <sup>939</sup>
C5	Before a Cobra-headed mummiform deity with a feather crown	C6	Before a snake-headed mummiform deity.
	<i>tm(t) nb(t) iwn.t</i> Temet, lady of Dendara <sup>940</sup>		<i>Itm nb iwnw</i> Atum, lord of Heliopolis
C7	<i>Behind the scales</i>		
	<i>inpw nb</i> Anubis, lord of... <sup>941</sup>		

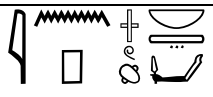
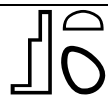

















































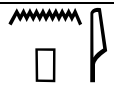
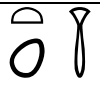
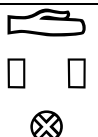


<sup>937</sup> This god's name probably incorporates the Djed Pillar that is the god's head into the name, as this is an unusual way to spell the name of the town Djedu (it usually has a Djed pillar glyph in it). The name is usually an epithet of Osiris himself but can designate other gods. LGG III p 779.

<sup>938</sup> The LGG IV (p 110) has a nb.t Htp and a nb.t Htp.w--A "lady of the offering" and a "lady of the offerings." The former is a designation for Nephthys, Isis, and Maat, and the latter is a designation for Hathor. Given that the goddess has a bovine head, the title referring to Hathor seems more likely, in which case, the scribe has left out the plural strokes on Htp, probably due to lack of space.

<sup>939</sup> Isis is unusual in this place. On Tabes and Padiaset (KHM AS 8902) the deity here is Neith. Here however, Neith stands with Osiris in the row above in the place usually occupied by Isis.

<sup>940</sup> Because of the tendency to drop feminine endings on these highly abbreviated captions, there is some ambiguity on which deity is meant here. Based on spelling alone and considering the spelling of Iwnw as Iwn.t in C2, Both C5 and C6 could refer to the god Atum, lord of Heliopolis. However, the deity in C5 is a cobra and the deity in C6 is a normal snake, of a form usually associated with Atum (See Atum in A9), indicating that they might be separate deities. I've chosen to see these two deities as different deities. The male Atum, and the female Temet, who can be a form of Hathor, see LGG VII p. 422.

<sup>941</sup> The lack of pictures giving a good view of this area makes the translation uncertain. There may be more which is just not visible.






D1	Above the mummification scene, on both sides of Anubis	D2	Above the head of Isis on the viewer's right																				
	<i>inpw im.y w.t nb B dsr</i>  Anubis, who is in the bandages, lord of the sacred land (the necropolis)		<i>is.t</i>  Isis																				
D3	The Isis to the left of the bier gives the following speech	D4	The caption below the left wing of the solar disk. <sup>942</sup>																				
<table border="0"> <tr> <td>4</td> <td>3</td> <td>2</td> <td>1</td> </tr> <tr> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> </tr> </table>	4	3	2	1																	<i>ink is.t s3k wsir bs-n-mw.t m3c-hrw</i>  1) I am Isis 2) your protection, 3) Osiris of 4) Besenmut, justified.		<i>bhd.ty</i>  The one of Behdet (Edfu).
4	3	2	1																				
																							
																							
																							
																							
E1	Above Anubis	E2	In front of the left cobra																				
	<i>inpw</i> Anubis		<i>w3d.t</i> Wadjet																				
E3	Continuing E2 in back of the left cobra	E4	In front of the right cobra																				
	<i>dp</i> <sup>943</sup>		<i>w3d.t</i> Wadjet																				
E5	Continuing in back of the right cobra																						
	<i>rs(.t) hr3k</i>  (Wadjet) is the one who watches over you.																						

F1	To the left of the Nefertem symbol	F2 <sup>944</sup>	To the left of the Imiut symbol
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<sup>942</sup> This is probably mirrored on the other side, but the lack of pictures prevents us from ascertaining this for certain.


<sup>943</sup> Wadjet is often known as *nb.t dp*, or Lady of Dep. This is probably what is meant here.


<sup>944</sup> Note that the transcription of the glyphs in F2, F3, and F4 could be incorrect or incomplete. They are what I could reconstruct from the available images, and there may be elements missing, or elements that I thought I saw but were not really there. Inscription F4 may continue, but it was not visible in any of the available pictures.

	<p><i>nfr-tm</i> Nefertem</p>		<p><i>imy-w.t</i> Imiut</p>
<p>F3</p>	<p>To the right of the falcon on a stalk</p>	<p>F4</p>	<p>To the left of the falcon on a stalk</p>
	<p><i>hry w3d.t=f</i></p> <p>The one who is on his papyrus stalk</p>		<p><i>wsir ...</i></p> <p>Osiris...</p>
<p>F5</p>	<p>In front of the winged solar disk on the far left.</p>		
	<p><i>bhd.ty</i></p> <p>The one of Behdet (Edfu).</p>		

Outer Coffin of Tabes, New Walk Museum, Leicester LA 1981.1885

The outer coffin of Tabes only has one line of inscription. Blue hieroglyphs are written on a white background, the bottom third of which has been scraped away. Because the collar of the piece resembles a 21st or 22nd dynasty piece more than a dynasty 25 piece, and because the removal of the inscription seems deliberate, it's possible the coffin was never inscribed for Tabes, its final owner. Here is the only part of the inscription which survives. It is possible that more might be visible with careful photography and the use of D-Stretch.

 *ḥtp di nsw.t wsir nb nḥḥ*

 Royal offerings of Osiris, lord of cyclical time.






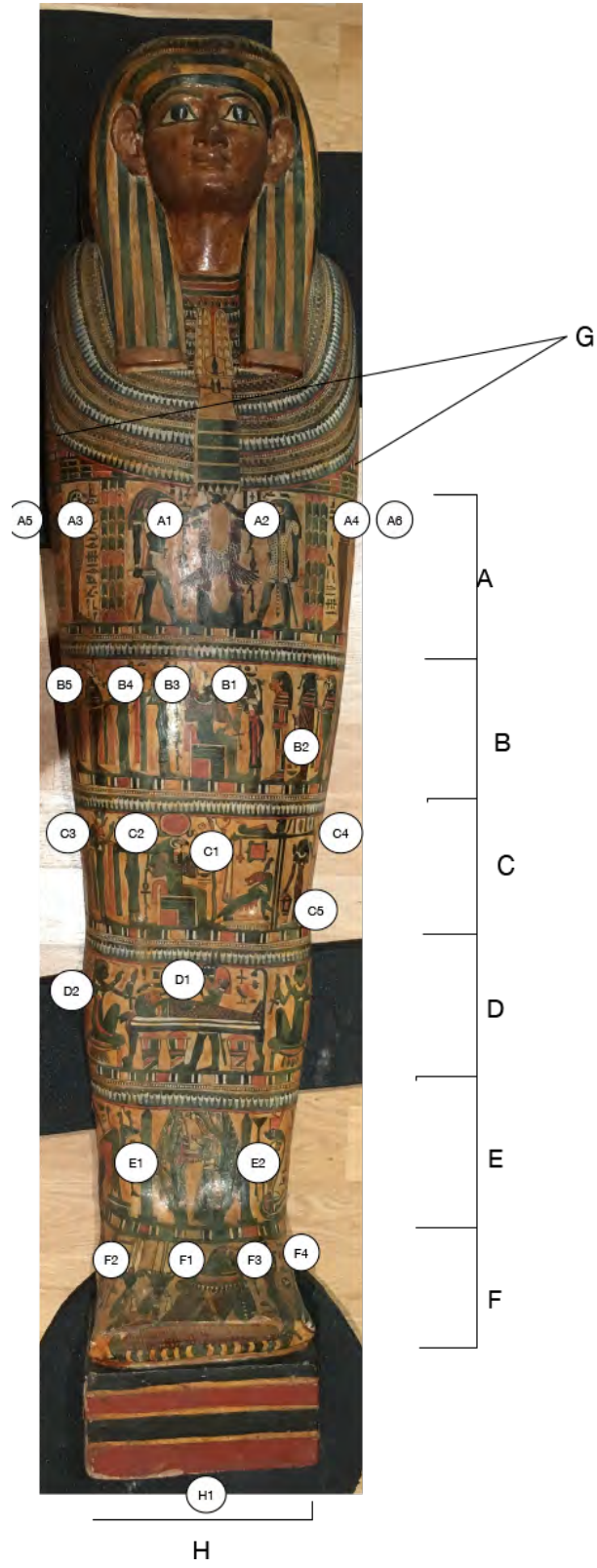





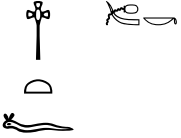
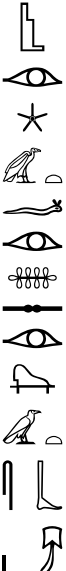

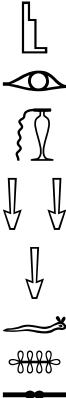





Inner Coffin of Tabes, New Walk Museum, Leicester LA 1981.1885



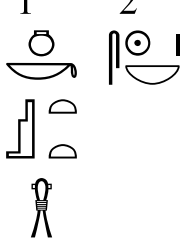
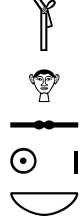
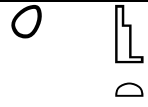


119: Coffin of Tabes, Courtesy of the New Walk Museum,

A1	In front of Thoth	A2	In front of Horus as a Sem Priest
	<i>ḥtp di nsw.t</i> Royal Offerings		<i>nd it=f ḥb=k</i> The one who protects his father (ie. Horus) is your purity. <sup>945</sup>
A3	Above a falcon-headed deity	A4	Above a human-headed deity
	<i>wsir dw3-mw.t=f ir s3=s</i> <i>wsir t3-(n.t)-bs</i>  Osiris Duamutef is the one who makes her protection: the Osiris Tabes. <sup>946</sup>		<i>wsir im(yts){sty} s3=s</i>  Osiris Imsety is her protection.
A5	Above a Jackal-headed deity	A6	Above a Baboon-headed deity
	<i>wsir qbḥ-sn.w=f s3=s</i>  Osiris Qebehsenuf is her protection.		<i>wsir ḥp(ḥp)y s3=s</i>  Osiris Hapy is her protection.

B1	In front of Isis wearing the vulture headdress	B2	In front of mummiform deity with two heads--a snake and a goose.
----	--	----	--

<sup>945</sup> On the coffin of Nespaqashuty in Detmold, which is quite similar to this one, the sentence is "Your purity is the purity of (Thoth)". Thoth's name is not written, so perhaps it was meant to be implicit in the depiction of Thoth after the incomplete sentence.




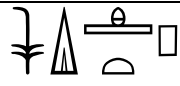
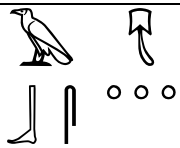
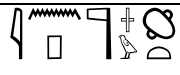

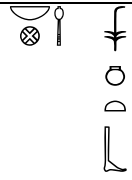


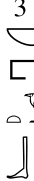
<sup>946</sup> This name is in Ranke, I, pp. 359, #15. It means "The one who belongs to the god Bes."

<p>1      2</p> 	<p><i>ink 3s.t-(mw).t<sup>947</sup> s3s r<sup>c</sup>-nb</i></p> <p>I am Isis-Mut, who protects her every day.</p>		<p><i>rs hr3s r<sup>c</sup>-nb</i></p> <p>The one who watches over her every day.</p>
<p>B3</p>	<p>The goddess directly behind Osiris</p>	<p>B4</p>	<p>The goddess behind Isis</p>
	<p><i>3s.t</i> Isis</p>		<p><i>ntr.t</i> <i>Goddess<sup>948</sup></i></p>
<p>B5</p>	<p><i>A Mummiform goddess with a feather for a head and a striped headcloth</i></p>		
	<p><i>m3<sup>c</sup>.t</i> Ma'at</p>		

<sup>947</sup> As with the coffin of Padiaset, KHM 8902, this piece incorporates in vignettes into the inscription. There are two Isises in the scene, and one has the vulture headdress, and the other has the normal Isis emblem on her head. Their names are also spelled differently indicating that perhaps that they are two different versions of Isis. With this Isis, since she has the vulture crown, and since there is a syncretized version of Isis whose name is spelled similarly to Isis-Mut in LGG I p 72, I take the Isis in this scene as Isis-mut even though Mut is nowhere specifically written. LGG references Berlin statue 17272 as a reference for this title.

<sup>948</sup> It seems as if the scribe or the artist forgot to write the goddess' emblem above their head here. Without it, the caption makes little sense. They did not make the same mistake with Isis, the phonetic components of whose name are present in the given text.







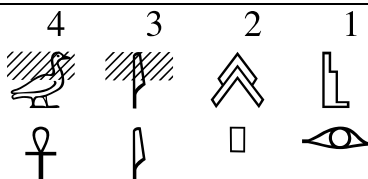
C1	Before a seated falcon-headed mummiform deity	C2	Human-headed goddess behind Re-Harakhte.
	<i>r<sup>c</sup>-hr-3h.ty-itm nb ʔ.wy</i>  Re-Harakhte-Atum, lord of the two lands.		<i>ntr.t</i> Goddess <sup>949</sup>
C3	Mummiform deity with a Djed pillar for a head	C4	Next to Toth who stands under the scales
	<i>nb (d)d.t</i> Lord of Djedu <sup>950</sup>		<i>h̄tp di nsw.t</i> Royal Offerings
C5	Before a small figure of the deceased under the scales.	D1	A two-part inscription around the head of Anubis
	<i>(ʔ)ʔ-(n.t)-bs</i> Tabs		<i>inpw imy w.t</i> Anubis, who is amidst the bandages.
D2	A snake-headed mummiform deity	E1	Two-part inscription around a vulture-headed goddess
	<i>itm</i> Atum		<i>nḥ(tb){b.t} nb(.t) ḥq-(nḥn)</i> Nekhbet, lady of Hierakonpolis <sup>951</sup>
E2	Two-part inscription around a coiled cobra.		
1  2  3 	<i>w3dy(.t) rs(.t) wsir</i> <i>nb(.t) pr ʔ-(n.t)-bs</i>  Wadjyt, who is wakeful (for) the lady of the House Tabs.		

<sup>949</sup> See Note 7 above.

<sup>950</sup> This god's name probably incorporates the Djed Pillar that is the god's head into the name, as this is an unusual way to spell the name of the town Djedu (it usually has a Djed pillar glyph in it). The name is usually an epithet of Osiris himself but can designate other gods. See LGG 3, p 779.

<sup>951</sup> See LGG IV for this title, p 113. Note that there is a spelling just like this that also dates from the 25th dynasty on the coffin of Ankhefenkhonsu, CG 41001.

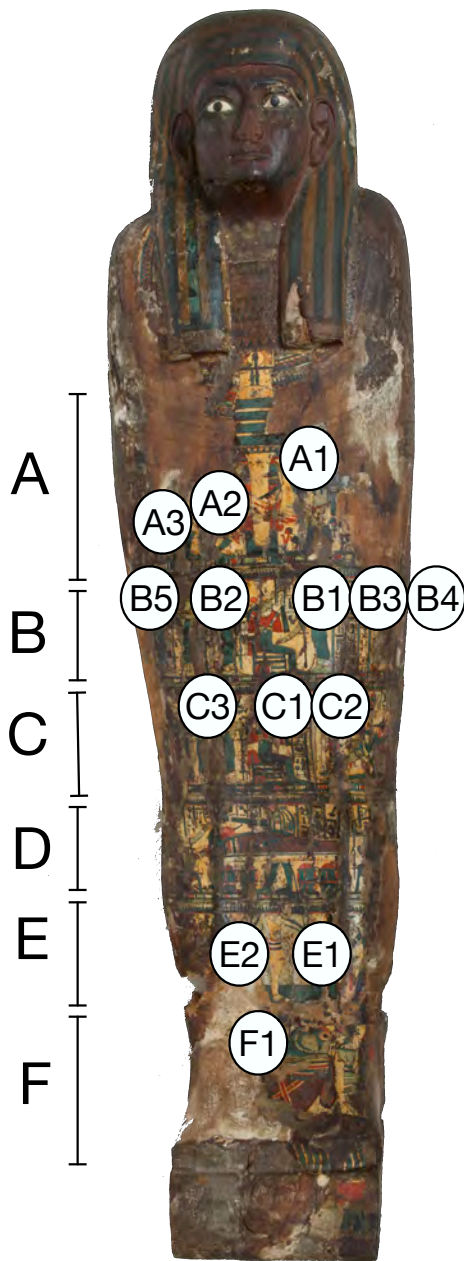
F1	In front of a lotus stalk with a menat & plumed headdress	F2	Before a winged solar disk grasping a feather
	<i>nfr-tm</i> Nefertem		<i>bhd.ty ntr</i> <sup>93</sup> The one of Behdet (Edfu), the great god.
F3	A squeezed-in caption next to a falcon on a papyrus stalk	F4	The winged solar disk on the right side of the foot.
	<i>hry w3d.t</i> <sup>952</sup> The one who is on his papyrus stalk.		<i>bhd.ty</i> The one of Behdet (Edfu).

G	On each shoulder, beneath the curve of the collar but above the first register is a feather which can be read as the name of the goddess Maat.
H	Above the back of a running Apis bull on the bottom of the pedestal
<p>4      3      2      1</p> 	<i>wsir hpy</i> <sup>953</sup> Osiris, the living Apis bull.

<sup>952</sup> This unusual title can be seen in LGG 4, p 360.

<sup>953</sup> This title occurs in LGG 2, p 555, but is only so far attested in the New Kingdom, making this caption, which is probably 25th dynasty, unusual.

Coffin of Paenbes, Barnum Museum, Bridgeport CT, 1894.1.2 A, B<sup>954</sup>








A1	In front of Thoth <i>nb hm̄nw</i> (Thoth), <sup>955</sup> lord of Hermopolis
A2	Before a figure wearing a panther skin. <i>[...] n̄tr ʕ nb [...?]</i> [...] the Great god, lord of [...]
A3	In a column separating this scene from the one to the viewer's left, now destroyed. <i>[...] s̄k ws̄r</i> [...] <sup>956</sup> your protection, Oh Osiris.

<sup>954</sup> This is only a partial translation. It was not possible to translate the parts of the inscriptions that run onto the sides of the coffin and the texts on register D because good photographs of these parts of the coffin were not available.

<sup>955</sup> There is probably not room for Thoth's name here in the lacuna.

<sup>956</sup> Based on a the complete text on the coffins of KHM ÄS 8902 (Padiaset) and L.A.1980.1885 (Besenmut), the text that probably went here was *ws̄r* (Son of Horus) *s̄k ws̄r* "Osiris (Son of Horus) is your protection, oh Osiris, so-and-so". The Osiris Hymn which appears on the coffins SMB 17940 and the Lisbon E 136 (Paenbes) apparently did not occur on this coffin since this phrase does not appear in this text.

B1	Text in front of Osiris	B2	Caption for Nephthys, incorporating her headdress.
	<i>dd md.w in wsir</i> [...] ḥqꜣ ʿnḥ.w(?)  Recitation by Osiris [...] ruler of the living.		<i>nb.t-ḥw.t</i>  Nephthys
B3	Caption for Isis, incorporating her headdress.	B5	Caption for Serqet, the third goddess behind Osiris.
	<i>ʿs.t</i>  Isis		<i>srq.t</i>  Serqet
B4			
		<i>dd md.w in wsir ḥn.ty imnt.t nṯr ʿꜣ nb ʿbdw di=f mw (n) bꜣ=k ḥtp nb (n) ḥꜣ.t=k ḥbs<sup>957</sup> (n) sꜥḥ kꜣ n wsir mr-nṯr smꜣ.ty ipw<sup>958</sup> inpw<sup>959</sup> mw.t nṯr ḥm-nṯr 3 nw mnw pꜣ-(n)-bs sꜣ n pꜣ-di-ʿs.t<sup>960</sup> {sꜣ}<sup>961</sup> pꜣ-ḥr<sup>962</sup></i>  Recitation by Osiris, foremost of the West, the Great God, lord of Abydos--may he give water do your ba, all offerings to your corpse, and linen clothing to the mummified body of the Ka of the Osiris of the God's Beloved, the Stolist of Akhmim, Anubis, and the God's Mother, the Third ḥm-nṯr priest of Min, Paenbes, son of Padiaset, (son of) Pakharu.	

<sup>957</sup> The paleography of this sign is strange. On other coffins which use this formula, it's S113 (mnḥ.t). On this coffin, the sign is probably S28, even though it has oddly rounded edges, making the word ḥbs.

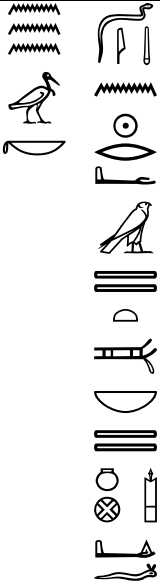
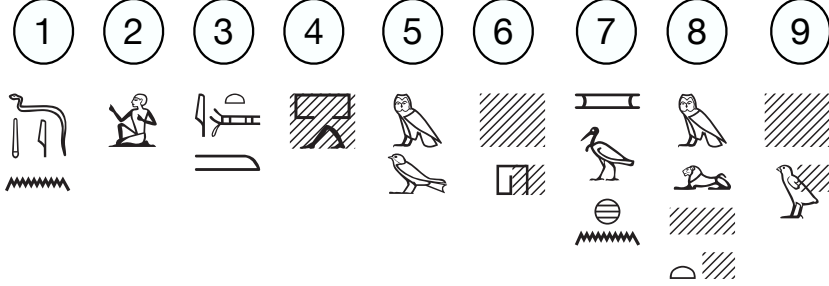
<sup>958</sup> This group of signs could be inpw (Anubis) or ipw (Akhmim). The clear jackal sign after this may be a determinative and argues for the former interpretation, but the sign on the lower right of the group is more rounded than we would expect for a Q3 throne sign. I've thus taken the group as the name of the city of Akhmim.

<sup>959</sup> The sign beneath Anubis may be a baseline upon which he is crouching, and I've chosen to interpret it thus. However, it has wedges on the extremities like a N1 sky sign.

<sup>960</sup> Ranke, I, p. I, p 14 #10.

<sup>961</sup> pꜣ-ḥꜣrw is certainly a name, however, his relationship with the coffin owner's father is uncertain. There's no text elaborating on the filiation. If it was ever present, it was written in the negative space around the image of the coffin owner which is now destroyed.

<sup>962</sup> Ranke, I, vol. I, p 116, #117.

C1	In front of Re-Harakhte
	<p><i>ḏd md.w in r<sup>c</sup>-ḥr-ḥj.ty-itm nb t.wy iw<sup>n</sup>w dī=f mw (n) b<sup>3</sup>f</i></p> <p>Recitation by Re-Harakhte-Atum, lord of the Two Lands and of Heliopolis--may he give water to your ba!</p>
C2	Above the scale and beneath its arms <sup>963</sup>
	
<p><i>ḏd md.w<sup>964</sup> in<sup>965</sup> i itm [pr]<sup>966</sup> m wr [hn]h[nw] mr(?)<sup>967</sup> &lt;b&gt;{ḥ} n-m rw.ty [h]w[y]</i></p>	
<p>Recitation: Oh Atum who comes forth in the great Hnhnw waters, who is equipped as Ruty...</p>	

C3		C4	
----	--	----	--


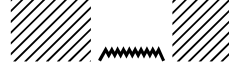


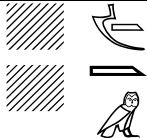
<sup>963</sup> This spell is written above the scale in six columns, which are either one or two characters in height. The spell wraps around after line six, and continues beneath the arm of the scale such that line 7 is beneath line 2, and line 8 is beneath line 3, etc.

<sup>964</sup> This is a very abbreviated excerpt from Book of the Dead spell 3,

<sup>965</sup> The "in" is superfluous since there is no specified speaker.

<sup>966</sup> This sign is completely missing, but the verb "pri" easily fits in the space.

<sup>967</sup> The canal sign N36 here may be a determinative for Hnhnw or the word mri: "beloved" as an epithet of Atum. However, the sign that is used for the word mr elsewhere on the coffin is U6.

	<i>ḥw.t-ḥr nb.t [nn]nsw.t</i> <sup>968</sup> Hathor, lady of Herakleopolis		<i>[w]n[wt]?</i> <sup>969</sup>
E1		E2	
	<i>nb ḥmnw</i> Lord of Hermopolis.		<i>ḥwn-ḥt</i> <sup>970</sup> Pillar of his father.
F			
	<i>m<sup>s</sup>c m[...]</i> ...true in... <sup>971</sup>		

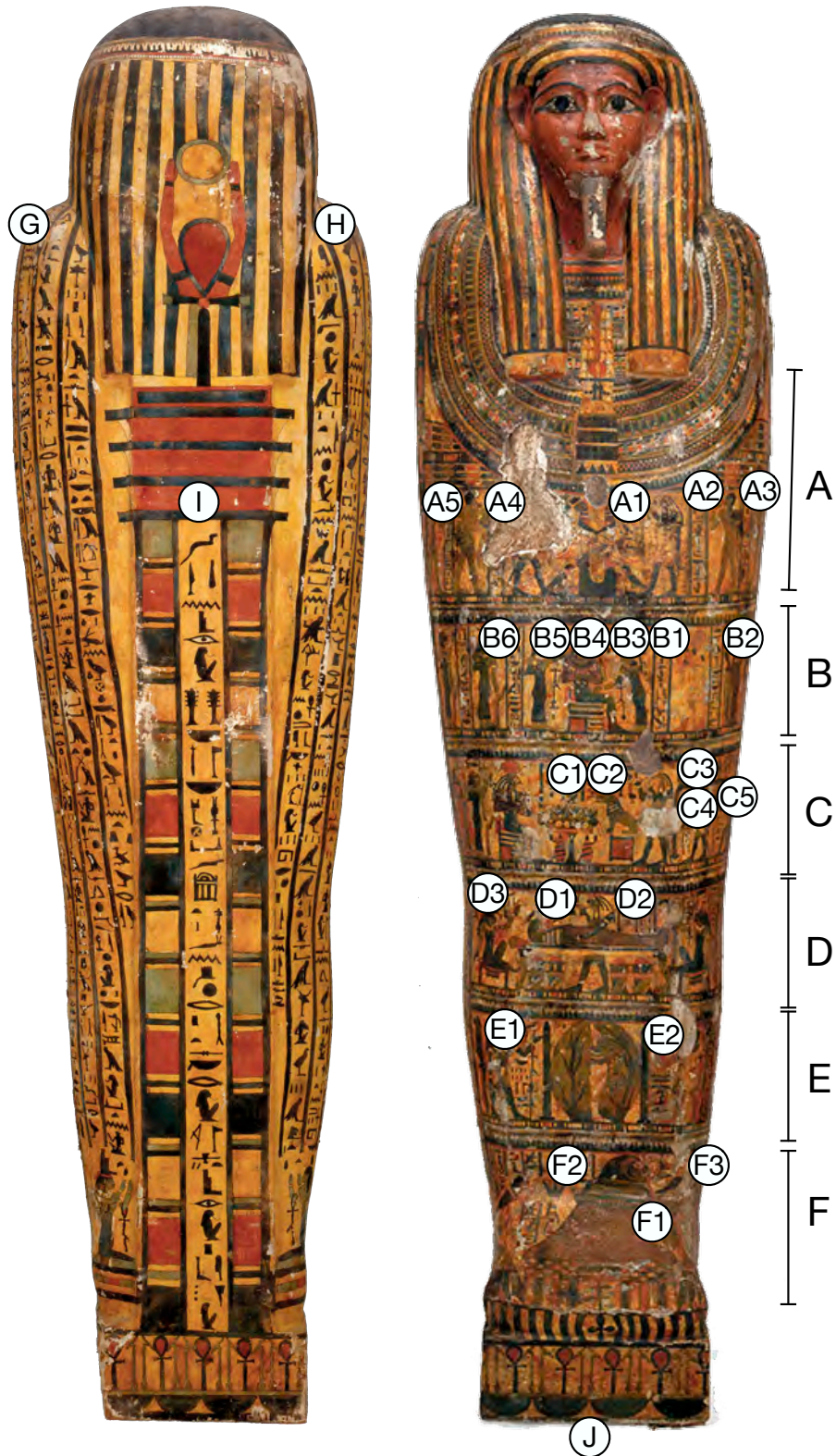
<sup>968</sup> LGG vol. IV, p 76 for this as a designation of Hathor. Because the coffin is so damaged, the full context and extent of the inscription is uncertain. Therefore, the epithet "Lady of Herakleopolis" ought to be treated as just one possibility among others.

<sup>969</sup> The title of the hare headed goddess is not legible. However, on the coffin of Besenmut L.A.1980.1885, this goddess is labeled as "Wenut", so perhaps the one character that is visible, N35, is part of that name.






<sup>970</sup> The lunmutef priest occurs in this position on other coffins of this type, including Lisbon E 136. The caption here is probably misspelled, and the priest here is probably also the lunmutef priest or Horus as lunmutef.

<sup>971</sup> Not enough remains to translate anything coherent here.

Coffin of Paenbes, Museu Nacional de Arqueologia Lisbon E136

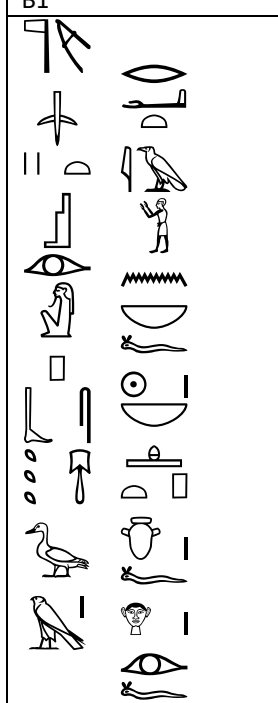
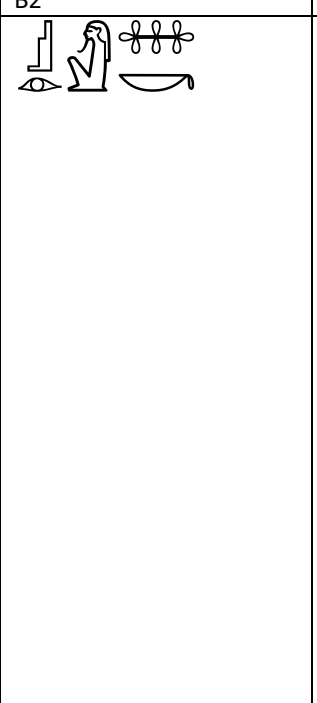
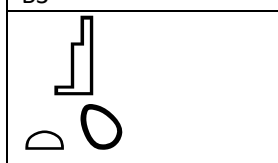
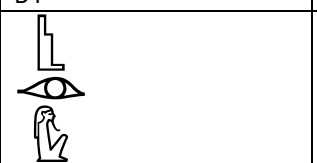
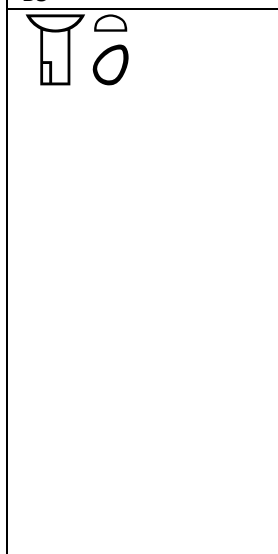
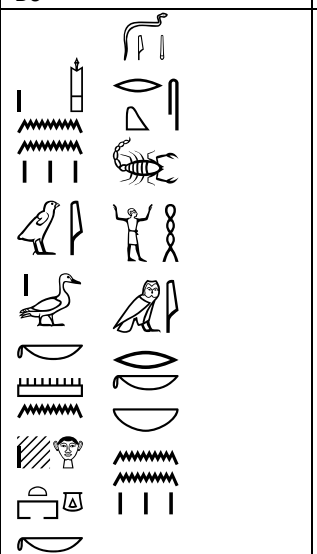


Coffin of Paenbes/Pabasa, E 136 Museu Nacional de Arqueologia, Lisbon



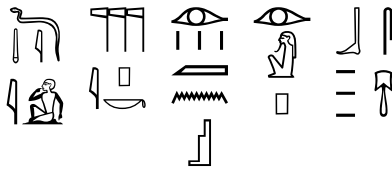
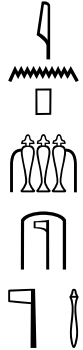

<p>A1</p> 	<p><i>dd</i> ⟨<i>md.w</i>⟩ in <i>hr-nd-it=f</i></p> <p>Recitation by Horus Who Protects his Father</p>	<p>A2</p> 	<p><i>[i]mst sḥn n=i it=k wsr</i><sup>972</sup></p> <p>Imsety is the one who ensures that your father, Osiris, settles down with me.</p>
<p>A3</p> 	<p><i>ḥpy s<sup>h</sup>c s(i) iw=f</i></p> <p>Hapy is the one who establishes him when he comes.</p>	<p>A4</p> 	<p><i>dw3-[mw.t-f...] n s3=f hr</i></p> <p>Dua[mutef ...] for his son, Horus.</p>
<p>A5</p> 	<p><i>qbḥ-sn.w(y)=f qbb m mw rmpy nḥ=f</i></p> <p>Qebehsenuf is the one who libates with refreshing water so he might live.</p>		


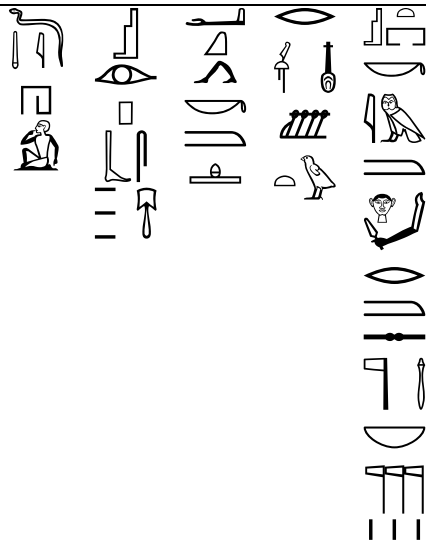
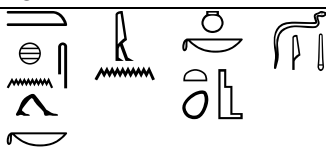

<sup>972</sup> The texts in A2, A3, and A5 are like those which appear in an Osiris hymn in *P. Ns-b3-nb-dd II*. See Burkard, p. 253.




<p>B1</p> 	<p><i>mr ntr sm<sup>3</sup>.ty wsir p<sup>3</sup>-(n)-bs s<sup>3</sup> hr rdi.t 3w n nb=f r<sup>C</sup>-nb htp ib=f hr ir=f</i></p> <p>The God's Beloved, the Stolist, the Osiris Paenbes, son of Hor: giving praise to his lord every day, his heart is pleased with what he does.</p>	<p>B2</p> 	<p><i>wsir s3=k</i></p> <p>(The Protection of?) Osiris is your protection.</p>
<p>B3</p> 	<p><i>3s.t</i></p> <p>Isis</p>	<p>B4</p> 	<p><i>wsir</i></p> <p>Osiris</p>
<p>B5</p> 	<p><i>nb.t-hw.t</i></p> <p>Nephthys</p>	<p>B6</p> 	<p><i>dd md.w i(n) srq.t h<sup>3</sup>i im r=k nb=n iwn=n iw s<sup>3</sup>=k mn hr ns.t=k</i></p> <p>Recitation by Serqet: Rejoicing is in your mouth, oh our lord, our Pillar,<sup>973</sup> for your son is established on your throne.</p>

<sup>973</sup> For "pillar" as an epithet of Osiris, see Wilson, p. 51.

<p>C1</p> 	<p><i>dd md.w &lt;i&gt;n r<sup>c</sup>-hr- sh.ty ntr ʕ nb p&lt;.t&gt;</i></p> <p>Recitation by Re-Harakhte, the Great God, lord of the sky.</p>	<p>C2</p> 	<p><i>dd md.w &lt;i&gt;ink dhw.ty ir sʕk m<sup>c</sup>k.n=(i) tw</i></p> <p>Recitation: I am Thoth who generates your protection, and I have <i>mk</i> protected you.</p>
<p>C3</p> 	<p><i>dd md.w &lt;i&gt; i ntr.w ip=k ir.w mʕ(.w) n wsir p(ʕ)-n-bs</i></p> <p>Recitation: Oh, gods, may you take account of the righteous actions of the Osiris Paenbes.</p>	<p>C4</p> 	<p><i>inpw hn.ty sh-ntr ntr ʕ</i></p> <p>Anubis, who is in front of the Embalming Tent, the Great God.</p>
<p>C5</p> 	<p><i>hr-nd-it=f sʕk</i></p> <p>Horus-Who-Protects-his-Father is your protection.</p>		

<p>D1</p>  <p><i>hr sšh it=f wsir</i></p> <p>Horus, who glorifies his father, Osiris.</p>		<p>D2</p>  <p><i>ḳd md.w (i) hy wsir p(i)-(n)-bs- c q=k m ḥtp r imnt.t nfr(.t) ššp.tw s.t=k im (hr) ḳsr<sup>974</sup> m=s ntr ʿ3 nb ntr.w</i></p> <p>Recitation: Oh, Osiris Paenbes, may you enter n peace to the beautiful west. Your place there is taken up, the Great God, lord of the gods is resplendent in it(?).</p>	
<p>D3</p>  <p><i>ḳd md.w (i) ink šs.t ii.n=(i) m šḥn=k</i></p> <p>Recitation: I am Isis. I have come that you might rest.<sup>975</sup></p>		<p>E1</p>  <p><i>ḳd md.w i{n} nb ḥmnw ntr ʿ3 nb p.t</i></p> <p>Recitation by the lord of Hermopolis (ie. Hemenu), the Great God, lord of the sky.</p>	
<p>E2</p>		<p>F1</p>	

<sup>974</sup> This word is difficult mainly because of the angle from which the available photograph was taken and the lack of comparable texts. Another option for this group is  nḡm-ib, but this makes even less grammatical sense than ḳsr.

<sup>975</sup> Literally, "Alight." WB 4, 253.11-254.6

	<p><i>īwn-mw.t=f<sup>c3</sup> n wsīr nb pr-wr <sup>c</sup>b [...] s<sup>c</sup>q wsīr p(β)-(n)-bs r hr.t-ntr šš nb.w dwš.t</i></p> <p>The lunmutef priest, the eldest son of Osiris, lord of the Per-wer shrine,<sup>976</sup> who purifies [...],<sup>977</sup> who causes Osiris Paenbes to enter into the Necropolis as the lords of the Duat have commanded.</p>		<p><i>wsīr p(β)-(n)-bs</i></p> <p>The Osiris, Paenbes.</p>
<p>F2</p>	<p><i>dd md.w (i) ink mk<sup>978</sup> m(k)n=(i)<sup>979</sup> tw mk(?)<sup>980</sup> it=(i) wsīr hw.n=i wsīr p(β)-(n)-bs</i></p> <p>Recitation: I am the protector. I have protected you (with) the protection of my father, Osiris. I have defended the Osiris Paenbes.</p>	<p>F3</p>	<p><i>dd md.w (i)n hr ir sš=k r<sup>c</sup>-nb mk.n(=i) tw</i></p> <p>Recitation by Horus, who generates your protection every day: "I have protected you."</p>

G, Cols 1, 2.<sup>981</sup>

<sup>976</sup> The epithet that is usually associated with lunmutef is "purifier of the Per-wer" (*bw pr-wr*). Rummel notes that prior to the Ptolemaic period, it is only used in temple contexts where the god is upholding the legitimacy of the king. Perhaps this is an earlier example of the god taking on a funerary function. Ute Rummel, 'Pfeiler seiner Mutter --Beistand seines Vaters: Untersuchungen zum Gott lunmutef vom Alten Reich bis zum Ende des Neuen Reiches' (unpublished PhD Dissertation, Universität Hamburg, 2003), p. 214,219. The title *nb pr wr* is not attested for lunmutef. So, perhaps the title should instead be read "Lord of the pure Per-wer shrine." This is also not an attested title in LGG, but gives a similar sense to the title attested for lunmutef discussed above.

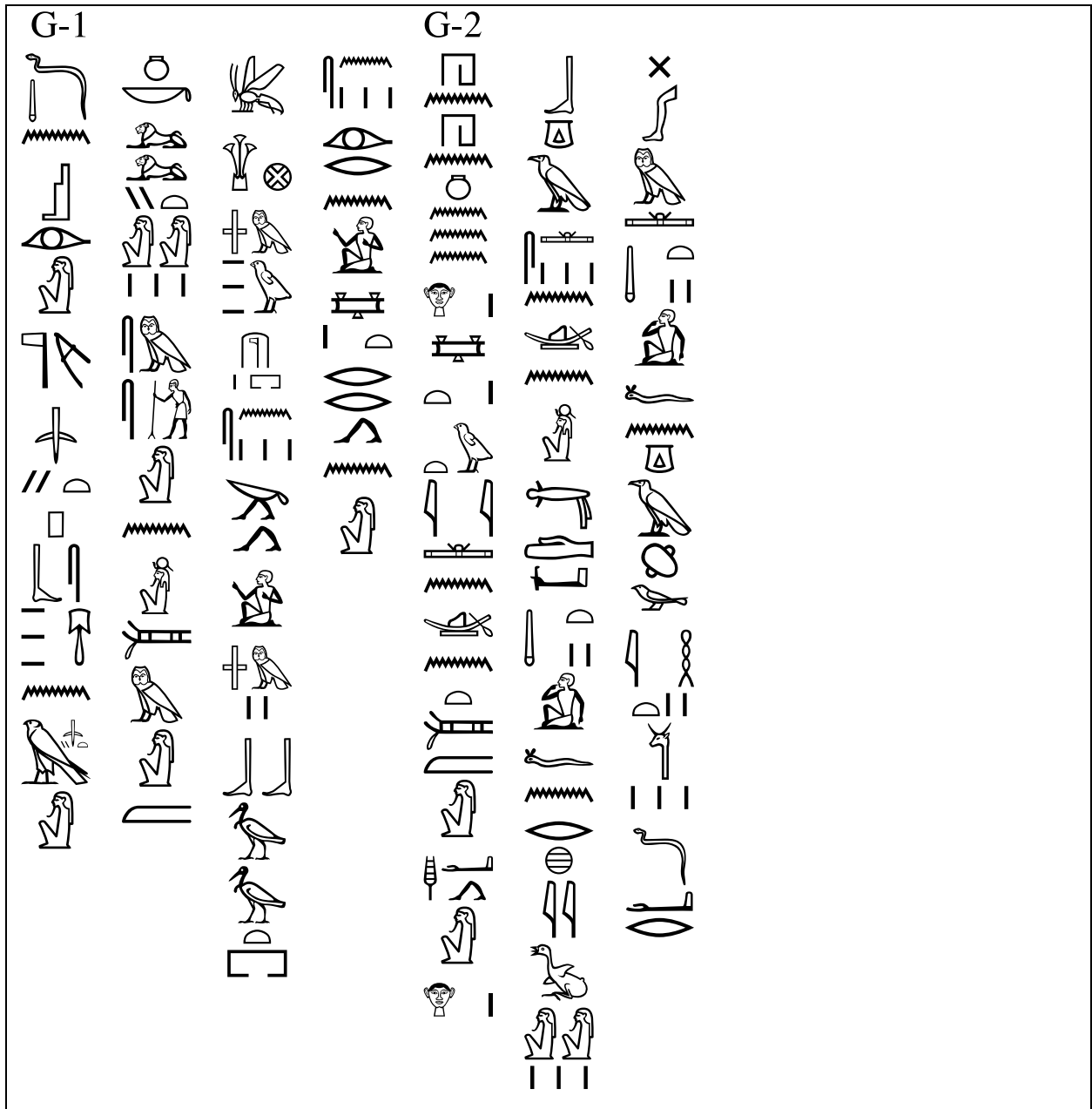
<sup>977</sup> This sign was hard to make out from the existing photographs from which this translation was made. The sign is tall and has a bulb-shape at the top. One possibility is *bw šm.w* "Who purifies the Holy Might". This is an epithet of Horus, Behdety. See LGG vol. II p 84.

<sup>978</sup> The LGG only has Amun-re as a holder of the epithet "Protector" or *mk*. There is a *mk it=f wsīr r nw=f* "Protector of his father Osiris in his time" which applies to Horus. See: LGG, vol. III, pg 448.

<sup>979</sup> Another option here might be a miswriting of *di.n=i tw* the more obvious *mi* (Give!) doesn't seem to work grammatically.

<sup>980</sup> Because it's spelled differently than the other versions of the word *mk*, and because it's partly destroyed, a better translation may be *m nb it=(i) wsīr* I have protected you as (my) father, Osiris.

<sup>981</sup> The text on this side of the coffin is transcribed but not translated in the museum publication. *Antiquidades Egipcias 1: Lisboa, Museu Nacional de Arqueologia.*, p. 298. The transcription has several mistakes which are



corrected here. Some of these derive from the confusingly similar way in which the scribe renders the reed leaf (M17) and the folded cloth (S29)

1) *ḏd md.w (i)ḏn wsir mr ntr sm3.ty p(i)-(n)-bs s3 n sm3.ty hr ink rw.ty<sup>982</sup> sms n r<sup>c</sup>-itm m ih-bi.t imy.w sh.w=sn  
 ssm(.w)=i imy.w<sup>983</sup> b3b3{w}(t)=sn ir.ni=i w3.t phr.n=i<sup>984</sup>*  
 2) *hnhn.w hr w3.t twy<sup>985</sup> n w3 n itm ch<sup>c</sup>=i hr bgs.w n w3 r<sup>c</sup> šd<sup>986</sup> md.wt=i<sup>987</sup> n rhy.t<sup>988</sup> whm md.wt=f n g3-ih<sup>t</sup>y.w...*

Recitation by the Osiris of the God's Beloved, the Stolist Priest Paenbes, son of the Stolist Priest Hor: I am Ruty, the eldest son of Re-Atum in Akhbit. My guides are the ones who are in their pavilions. The ones who make a way for me are those in their caverns. I have circled the flood-waves<sup>989</sup> on this route of the barque of Atum. I have stood on the deck-planks<sup>990</sup> of Re's barque, reciting his words to the commoners, repeating his words to the narrow-throated ones...

<sup>982</sup> The text here is Book of the Dead spell 38, "For living on air in the Gods' Land". Quirke, p. 111. It is very similar to that appearing on another Akhmim coffin, CG 41030. This piece has historically been treated as a Theban coffin since it was published with the coffins of the priests of Montu, but it seems likely that Moret has made a mistake in the attribution of the piece. It is the work of the Paenbes or Besenmut artist. See: Moret, I, p. 273.

<sup>983</sup> Both Backes' translation of P Turin 1791 and Quirke's translation of P. Nu use noun-phrases and imperatives for this sentence. "Oh, inhabitants of pavilions, Guide me!". This interpretation here would require that the dependent pronoun *wi* be miswritten as the suffix pronoun, =i, both here and in P. Turin 1791, which is very similar. I've chosen to interpret the sentence structure as a nominal sentence where the second element is a participle and received emphasis. In this scenario, the plural ending on the participle has been dropped. This seems to me to be the more likely mistake if indeed a mistake has been made. For Backes' translation, see: 'Spruch 38', trans. by Burkhard Backes, *Das Altägyptische Totenbuch* <<http://totenbuch.awk.nrw.de/spruch/38#NachweiseSpruchtext>> [accessed 19 February 2022]. For Quirke's translation, see: Quirke, p. 111.

<sup>984</sup> This spelling of phr occurs in the same spell in P Turin 1791 (Carl Lepsius, *Das Totenbuch Der Ägypter Nach Dem Hieroglyphischen Papyrus in Turin* (Leipzig, 1842), fig. XVII.) and can be found in Wilson, p. 366.

<sup>985</sup> This word is the feminine demonstrative twy, and appears in the Ptolemaic version in P Turin 1791 (ibid Lepsius, XVII) but not in P. Nu as transliterated by Quirke (ibid, 111). For its grammatical function, see James P. Allen, *Middle Egyptian: An Introduction to the Language and Culture of Hieroglyphs*, Second Edition (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), p. 55.

<sup>986</sup> P. Turin 1791 has a pronoun =i here, making it circumstantial, but here, there is no pronoun on either this verb or the following parallel one. I've chosen to interpret them as infinitives.

<sup>987</sup> The scribe has a tendency to write the plural of "md.wt" as a dual "md.yt". The plural is clearly written in P. Turin 1791.

<sup>988</sup> Note that the glyph here is not G24 (rhy.t) but G47 (t3)

<sup>989</sup> The meaning of this word is also ambiguous. Quirke (111) translates as flood wave, following Gauthier and Brugsch. Henri Gauthier, *Dictionnaire des Noms Géographiques Contenus dans les Textes Hiéroglyphiques*, 7 vols (Cairo: Imprimerie de L'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, 1928), IV, p. 6.

<sup>990</sup> The specific meaning of the word is unknown. See Wb I, 483.3. It's a part of a ship a person can stand on. I follow Backes' interpretation on the Totenbuch projekt website (see above, note 983)

G, Cols 3,4		
<p>G-3</p>	<p>G-4</p>	<p>3) <math>\text{d}^{\text{C}}\text{rw}^{\text{z}}\text{i} \text{i}^{\text{z}}\text{i} \text{m} \text{m}^{\text{s}}\text{rw} \text{p}^{\text{t}}\text{h} \text{r}^{\text{z}}\text{i} \text{wnm}^{\text{991}} \text{m}</math>  <math>\text{C}^{\text{n}}\text{h} \text{C}^{\text{n}}\text{h}^{\text{z}}\text{i} \text{m} \text{d}^{\text{d}}(\text{m}).\text{t} \text{w}^{\text{h}}\text{m}^{\text{z}}\text{i} \text{C}^{\text{n}}\text{h}^{\text{z}}\text{i} \text{m}</math>  <math>\text{h}.\text{t}^{\text{992}} \text{m}^{\text{t}}^{\text{993}} \text{m}^{\text{i}} \text{r}^{\text{C}} \text{r}^{\text{C}}\text{-nb}^{\text{994}} \text{i} \text{itm} \text{d}^{\text{i}}.\text{t}(\text{w})^{\text{995}}</math>  <math>\text{n}^{\text{z}}\text{i}</math></p> <p>4) <math>(\text{w})\text{b}^{\text{z}}\text{w} \text{p}(\text{w})\text{y} \text{n}^{\text{d}}\text{m}.\text{t} \text{i}^{\text{m}}\text{y} \text{s}^{\text{r}}.\text{t}^{\text{y}}\text{k} \text{i}^{\text{n}}\text{k}(\text{t})</math>  <math>\text{sms} \text{wr} \text{h}^{\text{r}}\text{y}-(\text{nw})\{\text{i}^{\text{b}}\} \text{wnw} \text{i}^{\text{n}}\text{k} \text{s}^{\text{w}}\text{h}.\text{t} \text{t}^{\text{w}}\text{y}</math>  <math>\text{nt} \{\text{n}\}^{\text{z}}\text{gg} \text{wr} \text{i}^{\text{w}}^{\text{996}}</math></p>
		<p>I will seek my father in the evening.          May my mouth open, sampling life.          May I live in Djedu. May I repeat my life          after death like Re every day. Oh, Atum,          may I be given the sweet air which is in          your nostrils! I am the great eldest one          who is in Wenu.<sup>997</sup> I am this egg of the          Great Cackler, and...</p>

<sup>991</sup> The sentence here follows a similar pattern to some of the prior ones where a first verb is followed by what appears to be an infinitive. In Turin 1791, wnm is clearly circumstantial and has an attached pronoun.

<sup>992</sup> The character AA1 on probably belongs to the group m-h.t and has been placed outside the determinative by accident.

<sup>993</sup> WB II, p 165 notes that mt/mtw can be written with the tongue sign as the phonetic group mr.

<sup>994</sup> Here ends Book of the Dead spell 38 and begins Book of the Dead Spell 54, for "Giving Air to the Deceased in the God's Land".

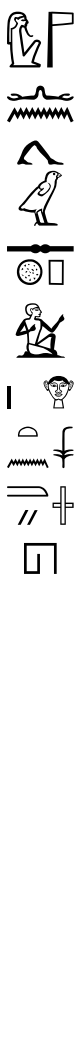
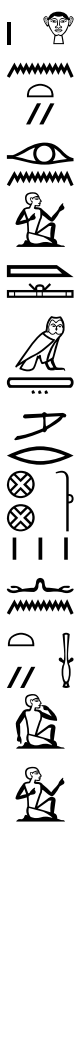



<sup>995</sup> In P. Turin 1791 and in P. Nu, this is imperative:  $\text{m}^{\text{i}} \text{n}^{\text{z}}\text{i} \text{b}^{\text{z}}\text{w}$

<sup>996</sup> The spell breaks off with the non-enclitic particle iw belonging to a non-existent following sentence. There is still a little room left in the column.

<sup>997</sup> The statement  $\text{i}^{\text{n}}\text{k} \text{sms}(\text{w}) \text{wr} \text{h}^{\text{r}}\text{y}-\text{i}^{\text{b}} \text{wnw}.\text{t}$  was apparently borrowed from Spell 56. The following line dealing with the "cackler" is similar in both spells 54 and 56 and may have led to some confusion. For Spell 56 and Wenu as a name for Heliopolis, see Quirke, p. 139.

<p>1</p>	<p><i>dd md.w in wsir {nb} ddw (nb) ntr 3 nb 3bdw di=f qrs.t nfr.t n im3hw hr pth-skr mr ntr sm3.ty wsir p(3)- (n)-bs</i></p>
	<p>Recitation by Osiris, lord of Djedu, the Great God, lord of Abydos: may he give a good burial for the revered one before Ptah-Sokar, the God's Beloved, the Stolist Priest, the Osiris of Paenbes.</p>



H, cols 1,2					
		H-2		H-1	<p>1) [dd md.w] &lt;i&gt; ind hr=tn<sup>998</sup> ntr.w ipn<sup>999</sup> rh=ī tn rh  m=tn nn hr=ī n š<sup>c</sup>d=tn nn s<sup>r</sup>=tn bin n ntr p(w)y n.ty  tw=tn<sup>1000</sup> m-h.t=f</p> <p>2)nn iw sp=ī hr=tn dd tn m<sup>3</sup>.t hr=ī m-b<sup>3</sup>h nb r-(t<sup>3</sup>) {dr}  hr n.ty ir.n=ī m t<sup>3</sup>-mri nn snt=ī ntr nn iw sp=ī hr ns.wt  imy h(w=f)</p>
					<p>1) Recitation: "Hail to you, you gods!<sup>1001</sup> I recognize you, knowing your names. I will not fall to your cutting, for you will not allow an evil one to ascend to this god whom you follow."  2)My conduct will not come before you. May you speak truly about me before the Lord of All regarding the Maat that I did on Earth.<sup>1002</sup> I will not curse against a god, and my conduct will not come before the reigning king.</p>

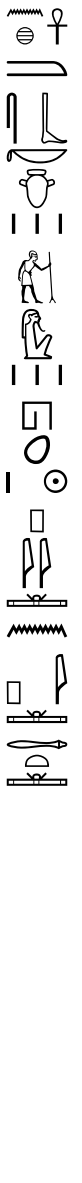

<sup>998</sup> Here begins Book of the Dead spell 125, part C. This is actually closer to the 18th dynasty version in P. Nu than that in the Ptolemaic version in P Iwefankh (P Turin 1791). Quirke, p. 273.



<sup>999</sup> Lit. "Hail to you, oh these gods!"

<sup>1000</sup> Late Egyptian 2nd person dependent pronoun, see Junge, p. 77.

<sup>1001</sup> In other versions of this spell, the recitation is "Hail to you, oh Gods of the Hall of Two Maats."

<sup>1002</sup> lit. Egypt.

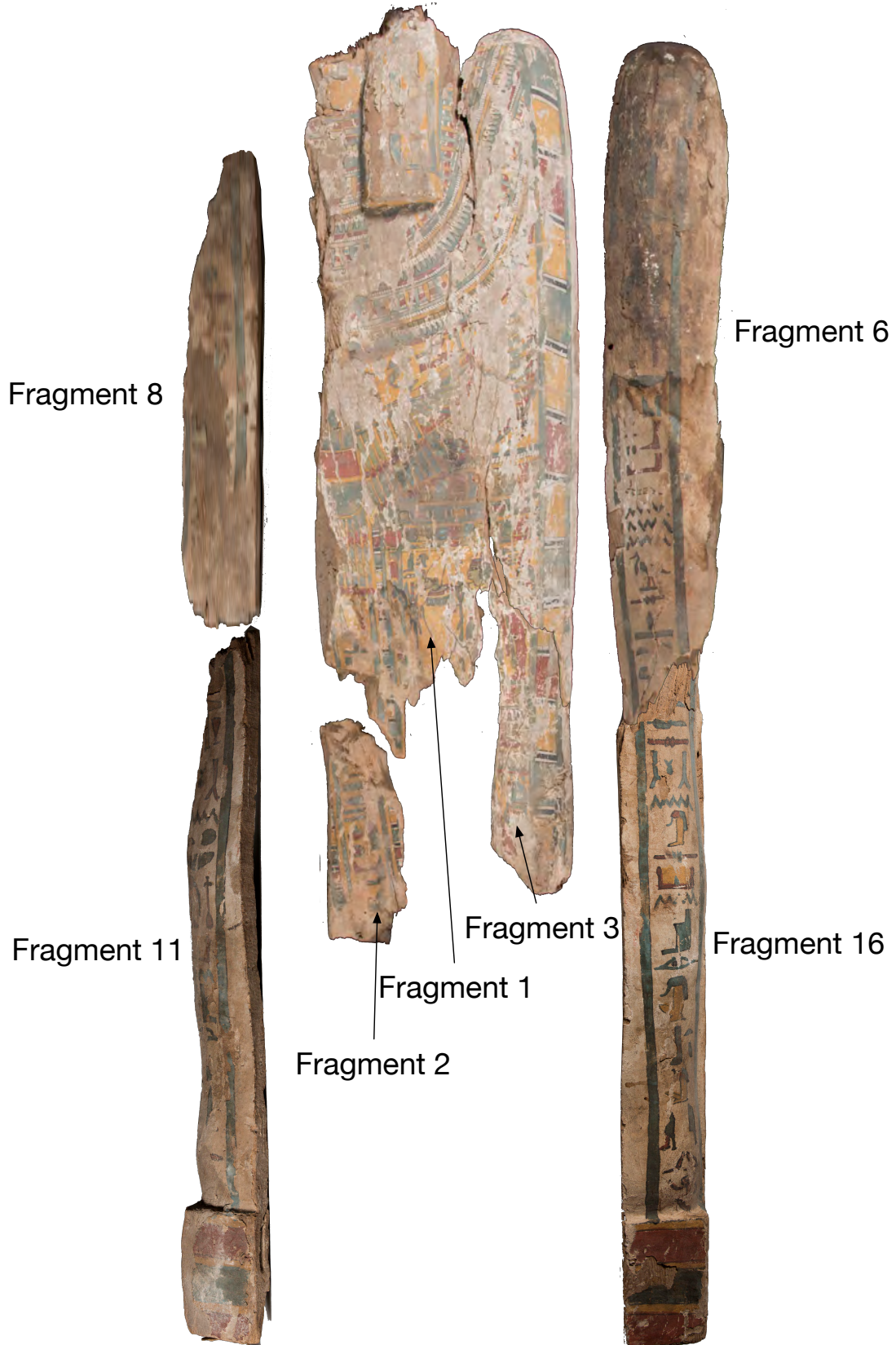
H, Cols 3, 4				<p>1) <i>ḏnd hr=tn ntr.w wsh.t n.t m3<sup>c</sup>.ty (s) {iw} ty grg m h.t=sn</i>  <i>ḥnḥ.w m m3<sup>c</sup>.t m iwnw smw m-h3.t=</i></p> <p>2) <i>sn m-b3ḥ r<sup>c</sup> imy itn=f nḥm=tn (wy) m-<sup>c</sup> b3by<sup>1003</sup> ḥnḥ</i>  <i>m bsk.w<sup>1004</sup> wr.w hrw p(w)y n ip(.t) 3.t</i></p>
	<p>H-4</p> 	<p>H-3</p> 		<p>Hail to you, oh gods of the Hall of Two Maats, in whose bellies there are no lies, who live in Heliopolis on Maat, which is consumed in front of them in the presence of Re who is in his Aten! May you rescue me from Baba, who lives on the hearts of the great ones on this day of the Great Reckoning.</p>

J1		J2	
	<p>3s.t Isis</p>		<p>nb.t-ḥw.t<sup>1005</sup> Nephthys</p>

<sup>1003</sup> LGG vol. II p 736, Variant 19.

<sup>1004</sup> Note that with this scribe, the characters for head (D2) and heart (F34) are drawn almost identically.

<sup>1005</sup> The captions for Nephthys and Isis both incorporate the emblems on their heads. The Nephthys sign (O9) is the variant peculiar to Akhmim which has a little step at the front. Lüscher and others, p. 44.



Fragments 8 & 11	Right side of coffin basin, side inscription.
	<p>[ḥtp di nsw.t] rꜥ-ḥr-ḥtj.ty-itm nb tꜥ.wy iwnw<sup>1006</sup> [...] snṯrmnh.t n ḥ.t nb(.t) nfr(.t) wꜥb(.t) (n) kꜣ n wsir [ꜣs.t]-ii(.ti)<sup>1007</sup></p> <p>[Royal offerings] of Re-Harakhte-Atum, lord of the two lands and of Heliopolis [...may he give...] incense, linen cloth, and everything good and pure (for) the ka of the Osiris of [Aset]ii.</p>

<sup>1006</sup> The formula starting on fragment 8 breaks off shortly below this and a large chunk of the offering formula must be on a missing fragment. The formula resumes with the word snṯr (incense) on fragment 11.

<sup>1007</sup> This name is not in PN. However, a similar name with a similar spelling without the stative inflection on the end is: bꜣst.t-ii(.ti?) This name dates to the Late Period. Ranke, I, vol. 1 p 90 #5.

Fragments 6 and 16	Left side of coffin basin, side inscription
	<p>ḥtp di nsw.t n wsir ḥn.ty imnt.t [ntr] 3 nb 3bdw di=f mw b3s ḥtp m [ḥ3]<sup>1008</sup>.t3s  mnḥ.t n s'ḥ=s<sup>1009</sup> (n) k3 n wsir 3s.t-ii.(ti)<sup>1010</sup></p> <p>Royal offerings of Osiris, the foremost of the west, the Great God, and the lord of Abydos--may he give water to her ba, offering(s) to her corpse, and linen cloth to her mummified remains (s'ḥ) of the Ka of the Osiris of Asetii.</p>





Fragments 1,2	Central inscription on Lid, starting on fragment 1, continuing fragment 2.
	<p>ḥtp di nsw.t [n r']-ḥr-[ḥ.ty]-itm nb t3.wy iwnw di=f t [...]</p> <p>Royal offerings of [Re-]Harakhte-Atum, lord of the two lands and of Heliopolis--may he give bread [...]</p>

<sup>1008</sup> The last glyph on fragment 6 is the fish (K4), whose head is barely visible. The inscription continues apparently with no other loss than the bottom of the fish glyph on fragment 16.


<sup>1009</sup> It is unclear whether the symbol after the word s'ḥ is a pronoun or a bookroll (Y1) determinative since it is slightly damaged. I've taken it as the later because it has a smear of blue around the middle and on the other s (S34) pronouns have red knobs in the center.

<sup>1010</sup> The goddess determinative after 3s.t has a clear uraeus.

### Fragment 1 Captions

Above right wing of ram-bird	Above Osiris	Above Goddess, incorporating her headdress	Above a snake-headed mummiform deity
			
bḥd.ty nṯr ʁ [nb p.t] <sup>1011</sup> The one of Behdet, the Great God, [lord of the sky]	wsir Osiris	[ʃs.t] <sup>1012</sup> Isis (?)	itm nb tʃ.wy Atum, lord of the two lands.

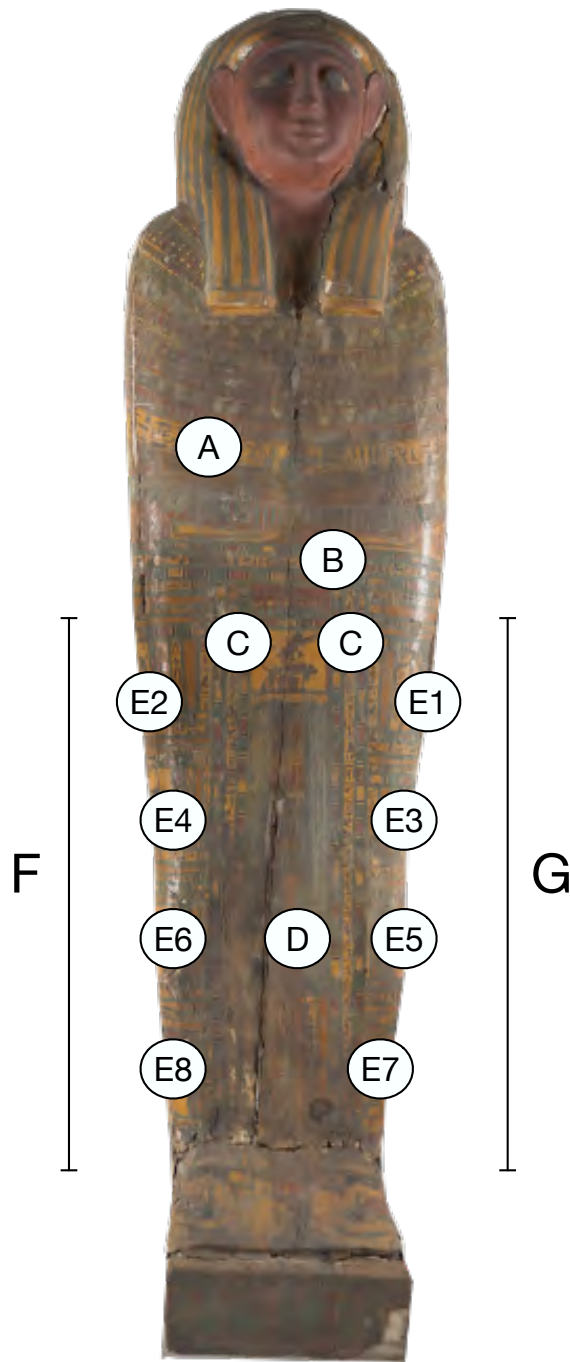
### Fragment 3 Captions

Above a mummiform deity, the shape of whose head is indeterminate because of damage.

ḥ:py Hapy

<sup>1011</sup> This sentence changes read directions in the middle and consists of two parts. The word bḥd.ty reads towards the birds' head, while the second half of the sentence, nṯr ʁ [nb p.t] reads away from the head. This is the case on the coffin of Irbastetwedjanefu in the Musées Départementaux de Siene-Maritime 1857.10, and the coffin of Dihoriaut, Museum of Fine Arts Budapest 51.1995 as well, from which the missing final epithet is reconstructed on this piece.

<sup>1012</sup> This is either Isis or Nephthys because the inscription includes the sign on the head of the goddess, which is damaged. It clearly has the Isis throne, but since the Isis throne is incorporated in the O9 "Nephthys" glyph on these coffins, the identity of the goddess is uncertain. I've gone with Isis here because there doesn't seem to be enough room between the goddess' head and the top of the register to accommodate the basket on top of the Nephthys glyph, though this could be certainly attenuated for lack of space.

Coffin of Nespaqaishuty, Penn Museum E 883a-c<sup>1013</sup>



<sup>1013</sup> The coffin of Nespaqaishuty is heavily damaged. That this translation, such as it is, was possible is due in great part to the generosity of the conservators at the Penn Museum, namely Lynn Grant, who provided me with conservation photographs of the piece. Because of the condition of the piece, only a translation of the texts on the right side of the lid was possible, as well as the long horizontal text running along the edge of the basin.

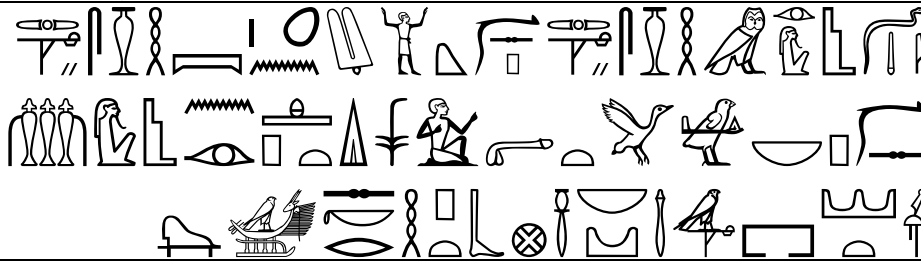
A: Running from viewer's right to left, above the wings of Nut in the first register. One line.



ḏd mdw. i(n) [...imy-r ḥs.w] n mnw n(y)-s(w)-pꜣ-qꜣ-šw.ty [sꜣ ḥry] ḥs(.w) mnw n(y)-s(w)-pꜣ-nb-mꜣ(?) pšs=s  
[mw.t]=k nw.t ḥr=k m rn=s n š{t}pt <ḳ>{di}=s wnn=k <n-n>{m} nꜥr nn ḥft nb

Recitation by [... the overseer of the singers Nespaqaišuty, son of the head of the singers, Nespanebmetja<sup>1014</sup>--  
Your mother, Nut spreads over you in her name of "Shetpet". She causes you to be as a god without any  
enem(ies).

B: One long line of text from right to left.



ḏd md.w i(n) imy-{r} <sup>1015</sup>ḥs(.w) mnw n(y)-s(w)-pꜣ-qꜣ-šw.ty sꜣ n ḥry ḥs(.w) mnw n(y)-s(w)-pꜣ-nb-mꜣḥtp di nsw.t n  
wsir ḥn.ty imnt.t nꜥr ꜣ nb ꜣbdw(b) pth-skr-wsír

Recitation by the overseer of the singers of Min, Nespaqaišuty, son of the head of the singers of Min,  
Nespanebmetja: royal offerings of Osiris, foremost of the West, the Great God, lord of Abydos, and of Ptah-  
Sokar-Osiris.

<sup>1014</sup> The name of the deceased's father, mentioned several times on the coffin, is uncertain ("Nespaneb...") on the museum's website and in Brech. The last signs are written clearly but hard to interpret. A translation on the assumption that there are no mistakes or sign substitutions may be n(y)-s(w)-nb-di.w-pꜣ-mt, "he who belongs to the lord who is given the phallus". This makes little sense and is not in PN. The epithet is not in LGG, either. One possibility for the second half of the name is the word ꜣm.wt, or foreskin. This requires that the G41 be a miswriting for G47. LGG has an epithet of Min, nb ꜣm.wt "The lord of the foreskin" (LGG, III, p 784). The most likely option is that the scribe has mistaken G20 for G45 and G47 for G41, in which case the name is ((y)-s(w)-pꜣ-nb-mꜣḥtp: "The one who belongs to the lord of the phallus". Min has the epithet nb-mꜣḥtp (LGG III, p 557), and the word mꜣḥtp can be spelled ꜣꜣ (Wilson,78). Leitz, I–VII, vol. III p 794, 557; Wilson, p. 477.

<sup>1015</sup> This group is uncertain because of a glare in the photograph. However, it appears that the character "r" is not present.



C	Two columns on either side of a central vignette. <sup>1016</sup>
<div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-around;"> <div style="text-align: center;"> <p>②</p> </div> <div style="text-align: center;"> <p>①</p> </div> </div>	<p>1) <i>dd mdw in wsir</i><sup>1017</sup> <i>imy-r ḥs(.w) n mnw n(y)-s(w)-pṣ-qbṣ-šw.ty sṣ n ḥry ḥs(.w) n mnw n(y)-s(w)-pṣ-nb-mṣ [pn] ḥk3(=s) pn ḥr s pn n.ty=s.t {ḥr=f} bnn r tsm.w ḥṣḥ {r} šw [m] nw [m] q[mṣ].w</i></p> <p>2) <i>n nṯr.w m sgr rdi bgṣ nwr srf r dmḍ.n=k ḥk3[...]</i></p> <p>1) Recitation by the Osiris of the overseer of the singers of Min, Nespaqaishuty, son of this head of the singers of Min, Nespanebmetja:<sup>1018</sup>This magic of hers<sup>1019</sup> (sic) from this man who has it, faster than a hound, quicker than light [from] those whom the gods 2) created in silence. The cry of the <i>Nwr</i>-bird is given, the mouth is warm, and you have collected (my) magic....</p>

<sup>1016</sup> The two long columns are of the same length, but the first is much longer than the other because of the poor preservation of the coffin. The lower half of the second column is damaged, but may perhaps be translatable with cleaning and imaging technology.

<sup>1017</sup> Note the change in read direction of the text here.

<sup>1018</sup> This text is spell 24 of the Book of the Dead, for retrieving the magic of a person in the underworld. This excerpt actually occurs towards the end of the spell as it is written in P Turin 1791 and others.

<sup>1019</sup> The pronoun here may be an indication that the text was copied from an original written for a woman. Elsewhere on the coffin, masculine pronouns are used in this spell.

D	Beneath the central vignette, in three columns which alternate with blank columns. The third column, if it had text, is destroyed.
	<p>ḡd md.w i(n) wsir imy-r ḥs(.w) [n mnw n(y)-s(w)-pꜣ]-  qꜣi-sw.ty sꜣ n ḥr.y ḥs(.w) n mnw n(y)-s(w)-[pꜣ-nb-mꜥꜣ...]</p> <p>Recitation by the Osiris of the overseer of the singers  of Min, Nespaqishuty, son of the head of the singers  of min, Nspanebmetja...</p>




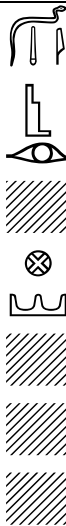
E1	Right side of central element, retrograde	E2	Left side of central element.
	<p><i>dd mcl.w i(n) wsir ink (r<sup>c</sup> nb)<sup>1020</sup> {s3=k} mr=k wnn (m=i) {i m s3}</i></p> <p>Recitation by the Osiris: "I am your son of Horus, whom you love. I exist as {your protection}."</p>		<p><i>dd mcl.w i(n) wsir (i)mst ir (pr) {s3}<sup>1021</sup> wsir imy-r hs(.w) mnw n(y)-s(w)-ps-qsi-sw.ty</i></p> <p>Recitation by the Osiris of Imsety, who makes the protection of the Osiris of the overseer of the singers of Min, Nespaqashuty.</p>
E3	Retrograde	E4	
	<p><i>dd mcl.w i(n) wsir mr=k wnn n-m s3=k(t) n(y)-s(w)-ps-qsi-sw.ty s3 n n(y)-s(w)-ps-nb-m3</i></p> <p>Recitation by Osiris,<sup>1022</sup> whom you love: "I exist as your protection, Oh Nespaqashuty, son of Nespabmetja."</p>		<p><i>dd mcl.w i(n) wsir dw3-[mw.t]<sup>1023</sup> =f hs [imy-r] hs(.w) mnw n(y)-s(w)-ps-qsi-sw.ty</i></p> <p>Recitation by Osiris Duamutef: Oh, [Overseer] of the singer of Min, Nespaqashuty!</p>

<sup>1020</sup> Here, the scribe mistakes the group "your son" with "every day."

<sup>1021</sup> The sign after "ir" in the second column is clearly a pr (O1) or h (O4). This can be translated sensically: "Imsety makes a house for the Osiris", however, this has no parallel and the usual statement here is "makes the protection (s3) of the Osiris."

<sup>1022</sup> Since Osiris usually does not ever directly address the deceased (and is in fact associated with the deceased) in these recitations, it seems something is missing here.

<sup>1023</sup> It is hard to see how the remnants here could correspond with the vulture sign, but the name of the god Duamutef seems to have gone here given the text before and after the damaged section.

<p>E5<sup>1024</sup></p> 	<p>[...] n<sup>1025</sup> nṯr ink ...a god. I am...</p>	<p>E6</p> 	<p>ḡḡ md.w i(n) wsir<sup>1026</sup> [...] h[? ...]  Recitation by Osiris(?)...Oh....</p>
<p>E7</p> 	<p>wsir imy-r ḥs(.w)  The Osiris of the overseer of the singers.</p>	<p>E8</p> 	<p>ḡḡ md.w i(n) wsir [ḥn.ty imnt.t?...]  Recitation by Osiris [foremost of the West?...]</p>

<sup>1024</sup> E5-E8 are very damaged, so all translations are very tentative.

<sup>1025</sup> The glyph "n" is highly tentative and could be one of several long, short glyphs.

<sup>1026</sup> The recitation could also be conceivably be by Isis.

F: Text f runs in columns from the head to the foot of the coffin, retrograde.<sup>1027</sup>



- 7.5) *ḏd md.w ink ḥpr.t*  
 8) [*ḏs*]=*f ḥr.y w<sup>c</sup>r[.t] mw.t=f di wnšw m-tp*  
 4) [...] *imy.w nnw bnw (n) imy(.w) ḏḏ.t*  
 5) *is dmd.t(w) n=i ḥk*  
 6) *zī pn m (y) m pr=s.t r n in*


<sup>1027</sup> The text reads retrograde, but the scribe was either copying from a document that was retrograde and didn't realize it, or he was reading from a document that was not retrograde and interpreted it as if it was. Alternately, he might have been copying from an intermediary document which had the problems already baked in because the previous scribe had made the mistake described above. The origin document in question must have had columns roughly twice the height of the ones on the column, because the columns can be divided into sequential pairs that then jump back towards the beginning of the spell. Hence, while the columns are transcribed as they are on the coffin, they are transliterated and translated in the order in which they ought to be read to be coherent.

- 2) *ḥr.yt-nṯr išt (w.t=f)<sup>1028</sup> i[...] ḥr=f bnn r tsm.(n)w*  
 3) *ḥḥs r šw i inn mḥ(n.t)*  
 1) *[...] rwd cḳz k m mḥ.t {m} ḥn.t=k<sup>1029</sup> r iw nsrsr<sup>1030</sup> m*

- 7.5)<sup>1031</sup> Recitation: "I am the one who appears  
 8) by himself on the lap of his mother, who puts a jackal atop  
 4) [...] those who are in the Nun, and a Bennu bird to those who are in the judgement hall,  
 5) for this magic of mine has been collected for me  
 6) from <in its coming out. Spell for bringing...><sup>1032</sup>  
 2) the necropolis [...] whom it is with, faster than hounds,  
 3) quicker than sunlight. Oh, bringer of the ferry,  
 1) your tow-rope is taught, floating, on your voyaging south to the Isle of Flame in...<sup>1033</sup>

<sup>1028</sup> Excepting the final preposition ḥr=f, The remnants here do not contain the expected phrase m bw nb n.ty=f im ḥr s pw n.ty ḥr=f " from any place where it is with any man who (has it)".

<sup>1029</sup> Backes' transliteration sees ḥn.ty as a mistake for mḥn.t, resulting in the translation "The ferry boat floats". However, Quirke, in his translation of the New Kingdom version reads mḥ.t ḥn.t, two infinitive verbs. This seems closer to what we have here. If this is correct, there is probably a missing preposition between the two verbs. Quirke, p. 87; 'Spruch 24', trans. by Burkhard Backes, *Das Altägyptische Totenbuch* <<http://totenbuch.awk.nrw.de/spruch/24#NachweiseSpruchtext>> [accessed 19 February 2022].

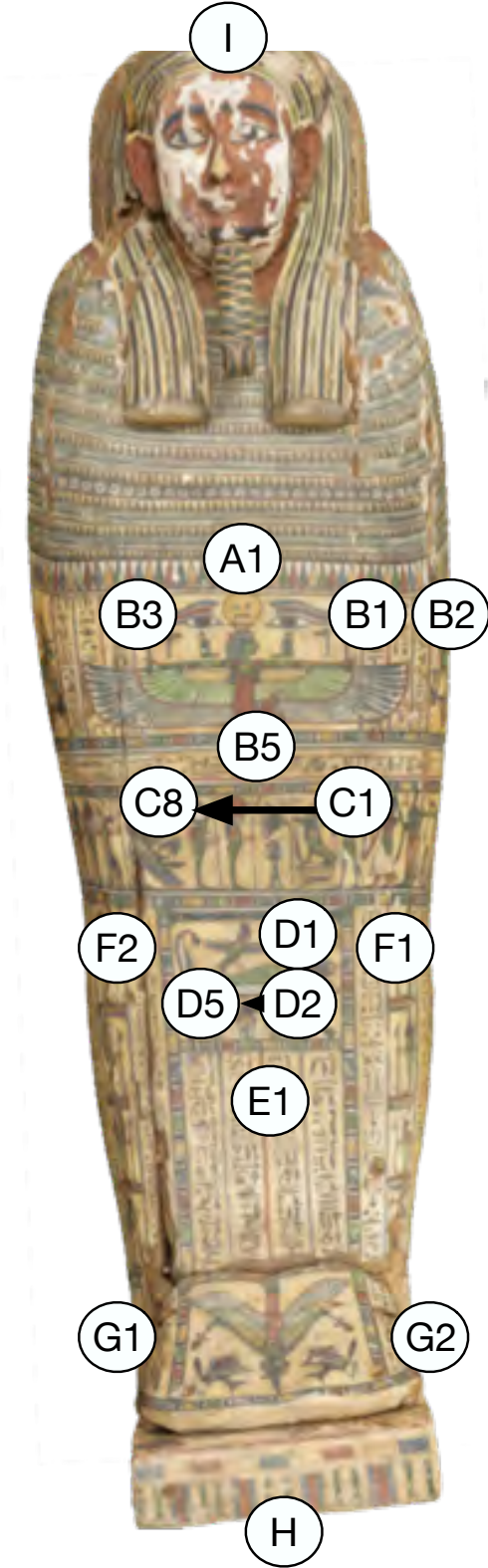
<sup>1030</sup> It is not entirely clear how the group  ought to be interpreted. The last two signs could be a determinative for iw nsrsr, as Wilson has noted this spelling in the Ptolemaic temple texts. Wilson, p. 47.




<sup>1031</sup> Note that lines 7-7.5, 8, 9, and 10 contain a part of spell 22, which is written on the other side of the coffin.

<sup>1032</sup> Note that this line contains the last few words of Book of the Dead spell 22 as well as the first part of the title of Spell 24.

<sup>1033</sup> At this point, the spell ends abruptly.

The Inner Coffin of Ankhwenennefer, Washington Historical Society, Tacoma WA



A1	In the sun-disk above the goddess' head.
	<p><i>nw.t</i></p> <p>Nut</p>
B1	Above the goddess' right wing.
	<p><i>dd md.w in pth-skr<sup>1034</sup>-wsir hry-ib št[y].t<sup>1035</sup> inpw imy &lt;bd&gt;<sup>1036</sup> w.t=f</i></p> <p>Recitation by Ptah-Sokar who is in the Shetyt-shrine, and Anubis, who is in his place of embalming.</p>
B2	Above the goddess' left wing.
	<p><i>dd md.w in hnmw sš wsir di=f htp.w &lt;t&gt; nb n wsir hm-ntr 2 nw<sup>1037</sup> cnh-wnn-nfr</i></p>

<sup>1034</sup> The original has a "7" shaped stroke here that does not actually seem to be a glyph but rather a space filler. The text continues with the word "Osiris" below the goddess' left wing.

<sup>1035</sup> LGG vol. V. p 348

<sup>1036</sup> This may be a mistake. There is no title *imy ;bd w.t=f* in LGG for anubis. It seems like the author made a mistake, perhaps caused by the break in the text because of the wing of the goddess, like the anomalous stroke in Note 129. The mistake was a temporary confusion of two epithets: "Who is in his term/month" (*imy ;bd=f*) and "who is amidst the bandages," (*imy w.t=f*) which the author corrected to the later the best he could.

<sup>1037</sup> For the Second *hm-ntr* priest of Min, who is really the second priest after the high priest, see Gauthier, *Le Personnel du Dieu Min*, p. 17. According to Gauthier, these only exist at Akhmim, and not at Coptos. They are also only known from the late period. Other holders of the title include Nesmin, whose coffin is now at RISD, and the owners of CG 22025, and CG 23130.



Recitation by Knum,<sup>1038</sup> son of Osiris:<sup>1039</sup> May he give all offerings to the Osiris of the Second ḥm-ntr priest, Ankhwenennefer.

<p>B3</p>	<p>Above the Goddess' Right Wing</p> <p><i>ḏd md.w in nw.t wr(.t) ms(.t)</i>  <i>ntr.w psš.t<sup>1040</sup> r-ḥr=k wsir</i>  <i>ḥm-ntr 2 nw mnw ḥr ʒs.t n Ipw ḥnḥ-wnn-nfr</i>  <i>m3ḥ-ḥrw</i>  <i>ir(w) n=k ḫ.w n ḥnḥ r f(n).t=k<sup>1041</sup> pr(.t)<sup>1042</sup> m-ḫ.t(=k)</i></p> <p>Recitation by Nut the Great, who bore the gods, and the one who spreads (herself) upon you: "(Oh), Osiris, Second Priest of Min, Horus, and Isis of Akhmim, Ankhwenennefer, Justified: The breath of life which is at your nose is made for you. (It) comes out in front of (you)!"</p>
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<sup>1038</sup> For the labelling of the rams on the sides of the first register as Knum perhaps in spite of their Solar-Osirian symbolism, see Elias, 'Coffin Inscription in Egypt after the New Kingdom: A Study of Text Production and Use in Elite Mortuary Preparation', p. 512.

<sup>1039</sup> Interestingly, the title "Son of Osiris" is not otherwise attested for Knum. LGG vol. VI. p 76-77

<sup>1040</sup> Here, the winged scarab may be a determinative on psš, clarifying its meaning--what Nut spreads over the deceased is her wings. It may be an allusion to the Ptolemaic word for flying, ḥpy. Wilson, pp. 149-50.

<sup>1041</sup> This word, though written ft is probably fn.t, which is the word fnd (nose) with a consonant shift. For fnt, see though none of the spellings here are so abbreviated.

<sup>1042</sup> It is not entirely clear whether pri here is an infinitive with a dropped ending, a participle referring to ḫw, or a circumstantial with a missing subject. I'm taking it as the last, but other translations are possible. The pronoun has certainly been left off of the preposition at the end of the sentence.

B5: Below the Nut register (One long row)	
<p><i>ḥtp di nsw.t n gb<sup>1043</sup> iry-p<sup>c</sup>.t ntr.w inp ḥn.ty sh-ntr nb t3.wy dsr<sup>1044</sup> di=f qrs.t nfr(.t) prt.t-ḥrw ḥnq.t k3.w ṣpd.w sntr</i></p> <p>Royal offerings of Geb, Prince of the Gods, and Anubis, who is in front of the embalming tent, lord of the two lands and the holy land--may he (sic) give a good burial and a voice offering of bread, beer, beef, poultry, and incense.</p>	

C1	Above a goddess	C2	Above the deceased
	<p><i>m3(.t) s3.t r<sup>c</sup></i></p> <p>Maat, daughter of Re</p>		<p><i>wsir ḥm-ntr 2 nw n(y)-s(w)-p3-ḥrd<sup>1045</sup> m3<sup>c</sup>-ḥrw</i></p> <p>Osiris, the second ḥm-ntr priest Nespakhered</p>
C3	Above Thoth	C4	Above Ammit
	<p><i>ᜀ nb ḥmnw</i></p> <p>The Great One, Lord of Hermopolis</p>		<p><i>t3-(i)m(.t) c33</i></p> <p>The One Who Devours Many<sup>1046</sup></p>
C5	Above an enthroned deity	C6	Above Osiris
	<p><i>r<sup>c</sup>-ḥr-ḥ.ty ntr ᜀ</i></p> <p>Re-Harakhty, the Great God</p>		<p><i>wsir</i></p> <p>Osiris</p>
C7	Above a Winged Isis	C8	Above a Legged Snake
	<p><i>ṣs.t</i></p> <p>Isis</p>		<p><i>[n]ḥbk3(w)</i></p> <p>Nehebkhou<sup>1047</sup></p>

<sup>1043</sup> The spelling of Geb in this manner doesn't have exact parallels. It is close to example 65 (Third Intermediate Period) in LGG, vol. VII. p 303

<sup>1044</sup> Anubis is usually just nb t3 dsr --lord of the Holy Land (ie. the Necropolis). However, some gods have the title nb t3.wy N where N is a city name. See, for example, the title nb t3.wy iwnw, which occurs on several coffins discussed here, such as the cartonnage of Asetemkheb MNX XI-482b, inscription B2. I've followed that model here.


<sup>1045</sup> This is obviously not the name of the deceased, nor is it the name of any of the deceased's ancestors. It is the only place in which this name appears on the coffin. Perhaps it is a nickname for the deceased, or even a mistake. There is no indication that the coffin ever belonged to another person.

<sup>1046</sup> See Leitz, I–VII, vol. II p 113; Christine Seeber, *Untersuchungen Zur Darstellung Des Totengerichts Im Alten Ägypten*, Münchner Ägyptologische Studien, Heft 35 (München ; Berlin: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 1976), pp. 169, Note 776. The title is attested in the 26th dynasty and later, according to Seeber.


<sup>1047</sup> For examples of this god on a coffin in Marseilles see LGG, vol. IV. p 274, example 62.

D1	Above the mummified body	D2	On a Human-headed canopic jar
	<p><i>wsir ḥm-nṯr 2nḡ n mnw ḥnḡ-wnn-nfr m3<sup>c</sup>-ḥrw</i></p> <p>Osiris, the second ḥm-nṯr priest of Min, Ankhwenennefer, justified.<sup>1048</sup></p>		<p><i>imst</i></p> <p>Imsety</p>
D3	On a Baboon-headed canopic jar	D4	On a Jackal-headed canopic jar
	<p><i>ḥ3p(i){y}</i></p> <p>Hapy</p>		<p><i>dw3-mw.t=f</i></p> <p>Duamutef</p>
D5	On a Falcon-headed canopic jar		
	<p><i>qb {h}-sn {w}=f</i></p> <p>Qebehseuef</p>		

<sup>1048</sup> Ranke, I, pp. 63, No 9.

E	Central Inscription, 4 cols
	<p><i>dd md.w in wsir hn.ty imnt.t ntr 3 nb 3bdw wsir-skr ntr 3 hry-ib ipw di=[sn]</i></p> <p><i>qrs.t nfr(.t) h.t nb.t nfr(.t) w<sup>c</sup>b(.t) ndm(.t) bnr(.t)<sup>1049</sup> n im3h(w) n wsir sm3.ty ipw hm-ntr 2 nw n mnw [nb]</i></p> <p><i>n ipw hm-ntr n hr-nd-it=f hry-ib ipw hm-ntr hnsw p3-iwn-tr 3nh-wnn-nfr m3c-hrw s3 [...]</i></p> <p><i>hm-ntr 2 nw wnn-nfr m3c-hrw s3 m3-nw 3nh-wnn-nfr m3c-hrw ms(.t n) nb.t pr t3-(n.t)-ty=w m3c-hrw</i></p> <p>Recitation by Osiris, foremost of the West, Great God, Lord of Abydos, and Osiris Sokar, the great god who resides in Akhmim. May (they) give a good burial and everything good and pure, sweet and delicious, to the revered one of Osiris, the Stolist Priest of Akhmim, the Second hm-ntr Priest of Min, (lord) of Akhmim, the hm-ntr Priest of Horus-who-Protects-his-Father who resides in Akhmim, and the hm-ntr Priest of Khonsu, the one of Dendara(?)<sup>1050</sup>, Ankhwenennefer, justified, son of the [...] Second hm-ntr Priest Wenennefer,<sup>1051</sup> justified, son of the like-titled Ankhwenennefer, justified, who the lady of the house Tatjau,<sup>1052</sup> justified, bore.</p>

<sup>1049</sup> It is not entirely clear whether this is a writing of the word ndm.t using two pods, as is usual in the Ptolemaic period according to Wilson (566), or wither the two pods are two different words for sweet, ndm and bnr. Bnr is here translated as "delicious". The two characters have a slightly different morphology, with the second being more cursive and consisting of a distinctive upper and lower part. The same character is more clearly written as bnr in the nearly identical passage on the coffin of Isetweret. Therefore, the phrase is here read ndm(.t) bnr(.t): "sweet and delicious". Wilson, p. 566.

<sup>1050</sup> This god's name is uncertain. It appears one other object, also from Akhmim: the stela of Pakheredtaihert CG 22057. On this object, it is spelled , without the arm wielding a stick (D40). LGG, vol. V, p 763; Ahmed Kamal, *Stèles Ptolémaïques et Romains Nos 22001-22208*, Catalogue Générale Des Antiquités Égyptiennes Du Musée Du Caire (Cairo: Service des Antiquités de L'Égypte, 1905), 1,2, pp. 55–56.

<sup>1051</sup> Ranke, I, pp. 79, No. 19.

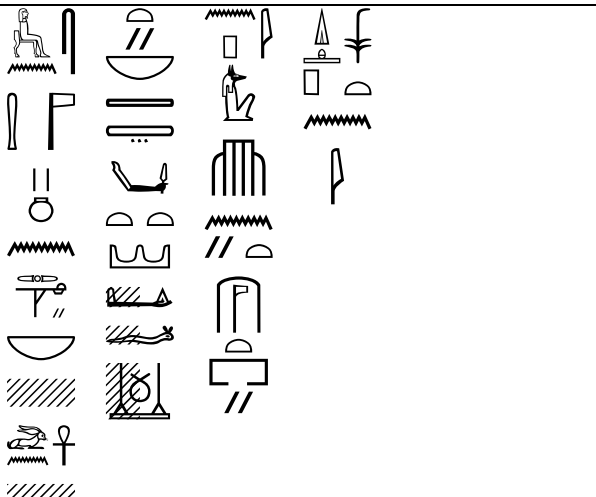
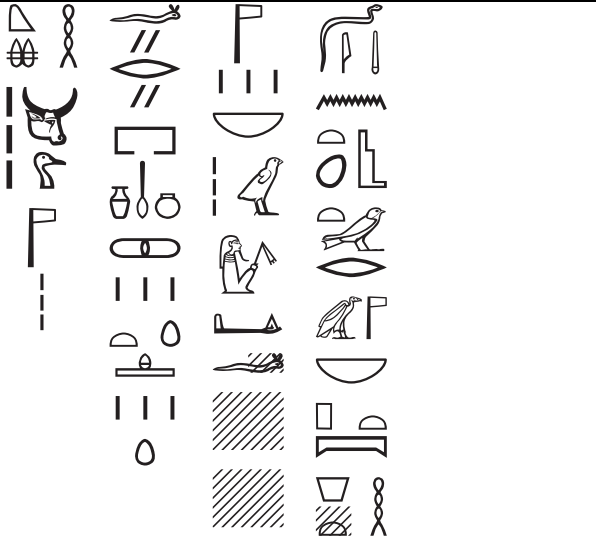
<sup>1052</sup> The name has no other parallels. It may be a feminine version of the name p3-t3w. May also be related to the female name t3-tt.t which is spelled similarly: Ranke, I, pp. 419, No 19 and 372, No 11.

F1	Two columns, with a vertical column of images between	F2	Two columns, with a vertical column of images between
	<p><i>dd md.w in imstꜥ di=f pr.t-ḥrw ḥnq.t t kꜣ.w ʒpd.w sntr mnḥ.t ir[p[ irꜥt ḥ.t nb(.t) nfr(.t) [...] wꜣb(.t) ḥ.t nb(.t) nfr(.t) bnr(.t) nḏm(.t) ḥnḥ ntr im=f ḥtp.w nb ḏ(t)ḃ.w nb ḏ(w.t-ib)<sup>1053</sup> nb(.t) n kꜣ n wsir ḥnḥ-wnn-nfr mꜣḥrw</i></p> <p>Recitation by Imsety: may he give a voice offering of beer and bread, beef and poultry, incense and linen clothing, wine and milk, everything good and everything pure, and everything delicious and sweet upon which a good lives. All offerings, and provisions, and joyful things to the ka of the Osiris of Ankhwenennefer, justified.</p>		<p><i>dd md.w in rḥ-ḥr-ʒḥ.ty ntr ʒ ḥry ntr.w pr m ʒḥ.t itm nb ʒ.wy iwnw di=f qrs[.t] nfr[.t ...] pr.t-ḥrw ʒ [...] ḥnq.t kꜣ.w ʒpd.w sntr mnḥ.t irp irꜥt ḥ.t<sup>1054</sup> nb(.t) nfr(.t) wꜣb(.t) ḥ.t nb(.t) nfr(.t) bnr(.t) nḏm(.t) ḥnḥ ntr im=f ḥtp.w nb ḥtp</i></p> <p>Recitation by Re-Harakhte, the great god who is above the gods, who comes out in the Horizon, and Atum, lord of the Two Lands and Heliopolis-- may he (sic) give a good burial...and a voice offering of bread and beer, beef and poultry, incense and linen clothing, wine and milk, everything good and pure, and everything good, delicious, and sweet upon which a god lives. All offerings and an offering.<sup>1055</sup></p>

<sup>1053</sup> See WB 1, 4.17-19 ʒw.t-ib as Joy.

<sup>1054</sup> It seems as if the scribe got used to writing words starting with "ir" and mistakenly spelled ḥ.t as irḥ.t here.

<sup>1055</sup> The formula got cut off here, and the scribe inserted an extra offering table R4 in the little space remaining.

<p><b>G1</b></p>  <p>The grid for G1 contains 35 hieroglyphs arranged in four columns and eight rows. The symbols include various signs such as the seated god (G1), lotus (G2), falcon (G3), and others, some of which are partially damaged or less distinct.</p>	<p><b>On Right Ankle</b></p> <p><i>ḥtp dī nsw.t n(i)<sup>1056</sup></i>  <i>inpw ḥn.ty šḥ-ntr(y)</i>  <i>&lt;ty&gt; nb ʔ.wy dšr dī=f mnḥ.t</i>  <i>šps<sup>1057</sup> n ḥm-ntr 2 nw n mnw nb [ipw]<sup>1058</sup> ḥnḥ-wnn-[nfr]</i></p> <p>Royal offerings of Anubis, who is before the place of embalming, lord of the two lands, and the holy land-- may he give linen clothing of the God's statue to the second ḥm-ntr of Min lord of (Akhmim) Ankh-wenen(nefer).</p>
<p><b>G2</b></p>  <p>The grid for G2 contains 35 hieroglyphs arranged in four columns and eight rows. It includes signs like the goddess Isis (G4), falcon (G3), and various symbols representing offerings and divine figures, with some damage indicated by hatching.</p>	<p><b>On Left Ankle</b></p> <p><i>dḏ md.w in ʔs.t wr.t mw.t ntr nb(.t) p.t ḥnw.t</i>  <i>ntr.w nb.w dī=f [qrs.t(?) n...]</i>  <i>...fr<sup>1059</sup> pr.t-ḥrw t</i>  <i>ḥnq.t kʔ.w ʔpd.w {s}ntr(?)</i></p> <p>Recitation by Isis the Great One, Mother of the God, Lady of the Sky, Mistress of all the gods, may he (sic) give [a good burial] and a voice offering of bread and beer, beef and poultry and incense(?).<sup>1060</sup></p>

<sup>1056</sup> It is to be noted here that many of the mistakes occur on the ends of the lines where the sentence is physically interrupted.

<sup>1057</sup> There is no equivalent glyph in J-sesh for the enthroned figure here, who has an elaborate plumed crown, god's beard, and is sitting on a block-shaped throne. The word seems to refer to šps in terms of a god's statue. WB 4, 541-8,9.1


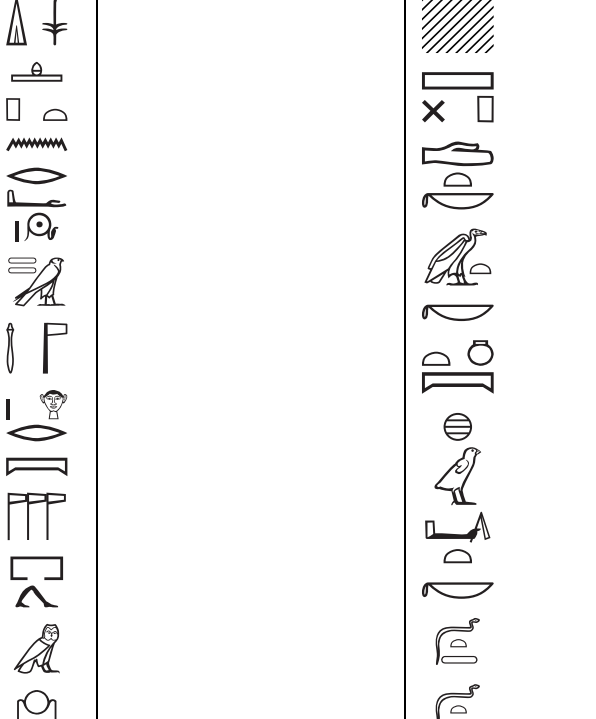
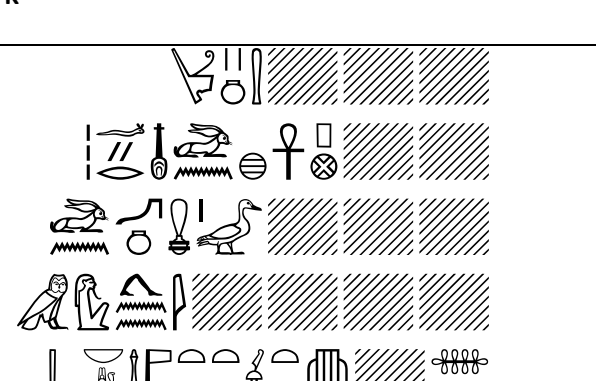
<sup>1058</sup> The word Ipw (Akhmim) ought to go here, but the chick glyph (G43) is not clear in the fragmentary remains.

<sup>1059</sup> This area is heavily destroyed, but the end of the peculiarly spelled word nfr on the beginning of line 3 make it likely that this was a wish for a good burial which was partially interrupted by the line ending.

<sup>1060</sup> Technically, the word here is ntr.w (Gods), but the next item in the formula is sometimes incense, sntr. We can only guess why the author made this mistake. It doubtless had to do with the lack of space.

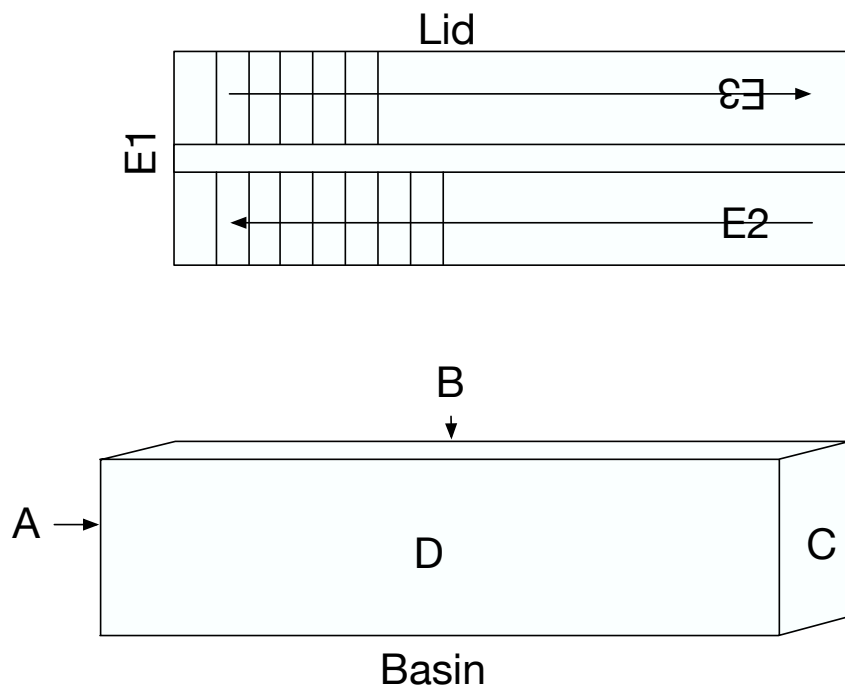
<p><b>H</b></p>	<p><b>Bottom of Pedestal, around a picture of a scarab on the horizon.</b></p> <p><i>ḥtp di nsw.t n r<sup>c</sup>-ḥr-ḥtj.ty ntr 3 ḥry ntr.w pr m ḥ.t itm nb ʔ.wy [iwnw] di=f qrs.t nfr.t pr.t-ḥrw t ḥnq.t k3.w ʔpd.w sntr [mnḥ.t] irp irtt ḥ.t nb.t nfr(.t) w<sup>c</sup>b(.t) ḥ.t nb(.t) [nfr.t ndm.t] bnr(.t)</i></p> <p>Royal offerings of Re-Harakhte, the Great God, who is above the gods, who comes out in the horizon, and of Atum, the lord of the two lands [and Heliopolis]. May he (sic) give a good burial and a voice offering of bread and beer, beef and poultry, incense and linen clothing, wine and milk, everything good and pure, and everything [good, delicious,] and sweet.</p>
<p><b>G</b></p>	<p><b>On the top of the head, around a picture of a winged goddess.</b></p> <p><i>[...]1061 sn(.t) ntr ḥnw.t [ntr.w nb.w] di=s [qrs].t nfr(.t) n wsir ḥm-ntr 2 nw ʕnh-wnn-nfr</i></p> <p>...sister of the good, mistress of (all the gods)--may she give a good burial to the Osiris of the second ḥm-ntr priest, Ankhwennefer.</p>


<sup>1061</sup> These two lines are on the basin of the coffin head, below the picture of the winged goddess. It is a continuation of several short columns above the goddess' head which are now destroyed--only a few fragmentary signs from the viewer's rightmost column are visible, and these cannot be reconstructed with certainty other than the final glyph, which is plural strokes (N33A or Z2). The title "Sister of the god" makes it clear that the goddess here is Nephthys.

<p>J</p> 	<p><b>Inside of Lid, around a standing goddess, labeled Nut.</b></p> <p><i>ḏd md.w in wsir sm<sup>3</sup>.ty ipw  ḥm-nṯr 2 nw mnw nb ipw ḥm-nṯr n ḥnsw  [ps iw<sup>n</sup>].t ḥnḥ-wnn-nfr  [m<sup>3</sup>c-ḥrw] s<sup>3</sup> m<sup>3</sup>-nw wnn-nfr [m<sup>3</sup>c]-ḥrw  ms [nb.t pr] t<sup>3</sup>-ḥw [...m<sup>3</sup>c]-ḥrw  n psš ḏr.t(y)≠k mw.t=k nw.t ḥw.t=k d.t d.t  ḥtp d<sup>3</sup> nsw.t n r<sup>c</sup>-ḥr-ḥ.ty nṯr ḥry nṯr.w pr m ḥ.t</i></p> <p><b>Recitation by the Osiris, the stolist priest of Akhmim, the second ḥm-nṯr priest of Min, lord of Akhmim, the ḥm-nṯr of Khonsu, [the one of Dendara], Ankhwenennefer, [justified], son of the like-titled Wenennefer, justified, who the [lady of the house] Tatjaiu bore [...justified].</b></p>
	<p><b>Your mother, Nut, spreads your (sic) hands, protecting you forever, forever!</b></p> <p><b>Royal offerings of Re-Harakhte, who is above the gods, who comes out in the horizon.</b></p>
<p>K</p> 	<p><b>Inside of Basin, around a standing goddess labeled Nut, partly obscured by "black goo".</b></p> <p><i>[...] ḥm-nṯr 2 nw n  [mnw nb ipw ḥnḥ-wnn-nfr  [...m<sup>3</sup>c ḥrw] s<sup>3</sup> m<sup>3</sup>-nw wnn...  [nfr...] ḥ.⟨n⟩n≠i m  s<sup>3</sup>≠k [wsir] ḥn.ty imnt.t nṯr ḥ nb ḥb&lt;ḏw&gt;</i></p> <p><b>[...] second ḥm-nṯr priest of Min, lord of Akhmim, Ankhwenennefer [...] justified, son of the like-titled Wenennefer [...] I have come as your protection, [Osiris], foremost of the West, Great God, lord of Abydos.</b></p>



The Outer Coffin of Ankhwenennefer, Washington Historical Society, Tacoma WA



<b>A1</b>	<b>The Caption around a vignette of Nephthys, kneeling</b>
	<p><i>nb.t-ḥw.t nb.t p.t sn(.t) nṯr</i></p> <p><b>Nephthys, Lady of the Sky, Sister of the God</b></p>

<b>A2</b>	<b>On the right and left of the Nephthys vignette</b>
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6	5	4	3	2	1	<p>1) dd md.w in wsir hm-ntr 2 nw n mnw [nb] i[pw] ʿnh-wnn-nfr mʿ-hrw</p> <p>2) ind<sup>1062</sup> hr={k}<sup>1063</sup> tn<sup>1064</sup> nb [.w...] mʿ.tyw ind hr=k &lt;n&gt;</p> <p>3) ntr ʿ nb mʿ.tyw ii=i hr=k nb &lt;r&gt; in=k &lt;t&gt;<sup>1065</sup></p> <p>4) wi r mʿ ds=k<sup>1066</sup> wh<sup>c</sup>=k wi sfh</p> <p>5) wi &lt;k&gt; imi {w}i r ʿ imi mr&lt;tw&gt; {w.t}=i</p> <p>6) i.n&lt;tw&gt; nb-hr-w<sup>c</sup> r=i ink bik n{.t} p.t</p>
<p>1) Recitation by the second hm-ntr priest of Min, lord of Akhmim, Ankhwenennefer, justified.</p> <p>2) Hail to you, lords of the Two Truths! Hail to you,</p> <p>3) Great God, lord of the Two Truths! I come before you, O Lord. You have brought</p> <p>4) me in order to see your own self. "May you release me! Free me!"<sup>1067</sup></p> <p>5) Put me on the ground! Cause me to be loved,<sup>1068</sup></p> <p>6) Says the Lord of One-Face to me. I am the falcon of the sky,</p>						

<sup>1062</sup> Here begins Book of the Dead Spell 125. This introduction is very similar to the text that appears in P. Turin 1791. The version of 125 on this coffin has an excerpt from spell 71 "spliced" into the middle of it, starting on line 4. Spell 125 continues in line 14 on side B, at the same point which it left off.

<sup>1063</sup> The scribe (or the model from which the scribe was working from) has some difficulty with Middle Egyptian pronouns throughout this text. Here, "=tn" is expected, but instead, we get "=k tn".

<sup>1064</sup> This is a known spelling variant of the suffix pronoun "=tn" in late Egyptian. Junge, p. 52.

<sup>1065</sup> The "t" here can be considered a mistake, as often occur at the end of lines with this scribe (See notes 1034,1036).

<sup>1066</sup> The expected word here for spell 125 was "nfr.wt" Here begins the excerpt of spell 71. The ds=k probably comes from the statement swd<sub>3</sub>=k wi mi swd<sub>3</sub>=k tw ds=k "Heal me like you heal yourself" at the very beginning of spell 71. There is no way of knowing why the scribe made this mistake, but the two spells may have been written close to each other on the model from which the scribe was copying.

<sup>1067</sup> The words sfh and wh<sup>c</sup> both seem to have a sense of loosening bonds (WB 242.19, WB1 348.3-349.15). However, their English translations are synonymous. Quirke proposes that the spell may have accompanied or referred to the unstrapping of the coffin or body after the funeral procession. Quirke, p. 172.

<sup>1068</sup> The form of this verb is a little confusing. In P. Turin, it is a passive sdm.tw=f. However, in the 18th dynasty P. Nu, it is a Perfective Active Participle: mr.wt=i. Hence, Quirke, following P. Nu, translates as "love of me." However, here, the determinative follows the group "tw" as it would with a nominal form. On line B2, it even has plural strokes. Therefore, I'm taking this as the 18th dynasty participle version with a consistently mistakenly spelled ending. In fact, the change may have occurred because a similar mistake, leading the form mrw.t=i to become mr.tw=i, which has little effect on the meaning of the statement. The version here would thus be a transitional state.

B (Lines 1-5)	Groups of 3 columns surrounding vignettes of knife-wielding mummiform deities
	<p>1) <i>nsw.t dhwtj<sup>1069</sup> i imi {w}i r t̄ imi</i></p> <p>2) <i>mr&lt;tw&gt;{w.t}̄i i &lt;k t&gt;{n nb hr} w<sup>c</sup> r̄i ink</i></p> <p>3) <i>bik m-hnw<sup>1070</sup> šsd(.t)̄i wb̄&lt;t&gt;</i></p> <p>4) <i>[hr sdb i.n]=hr-s̄i-s̄s.t swd̄=k w{i}</i></p> <p>5) <i>[mi] swd̄=k {ds=k} n p.t mhy.t<sup>1071</sup> ⟨hs⟩{sh}tp ⟨n⟩</i></p> <p><b>1) the king, and Thoth. "Oh, put me on the ground!</b></p> <p><b>2)Cause me to be loved," says the lord of one face to me. "I am</b></p> <p><b>3) the falcon inside of my shrine<sup>1072</sup> who opens</b></p> <p><b>4) [the two lands on account of the binding," says] <sup>1073</sup> Horus, son of Isis.</b></p> <p><b>5) May you heal me like you heal (yourself). ...Of<sup>1074</sup> the southern sky who pacifies...</b></p>

<sup>1069</sup> In P. Turin 1791 (Lepsius, Figure XXVII). this line says "*ink bik n.t p.t r̄sy.t dhwtj n.t p.t mhy.t*". The scribe apparently mistook the word *r̄sy.t* for *nsw.t*. The two can be nearly identical in hieratic. See Verhoeven, p. 156,222. A second mistake occurs here too, and that is that the scribe seems to have jumped ahead in the spell while copying. The set of commands to "free me and put me on the ground" is repeated multiple times in the spell, and the "lord of one face" has a different proclamation after each one. Here, the scribe seems to realize that he's copying from a later line in the spell (line 4 in P. Turin 1791) and jumps towards the beginning, repeating the series of commands and the proclamation that he missed. On line 5, this spell breaks suddenly and resumes right where the earlier sequence was inserted on line 1. Hence, if we were to read the spell in the following order, it would be coherent: Second part of B1, B2, B3, B4, First Part of B5, Second Part of A2.4,A2.5, A2.6, First part of B1, Second Part of B5. It is also possible we have another instance of the scribe copying unaware from a retrograde source, but the excerpt is too short to be certain.

<sup>1070</sup> Spelling similar to that in Wilson Wilson, p. 797.

<sup>1071</sup> Here is the break where we resume where we left off on line B1.

<sup>1072</sup> Quirke translates *šsd.t* as "window" (170). I feel that in context, "shrine" is a better translation here. See WB 3, p 302, No 6-7.

<sup>1073</sup> This lacuna is not actually damaged but covered by a modern wooden shim holding the wall of the coffin together. The lacuna is filled here but should be corrected if the coffin is ever reconverted and the actual remnants of the text visible. Reconstruction based on P. Turin 1791 as translated following the German translation by Backes: Backes, 'Spruch 24'.

<sup>1074</sup> See note 1071 and 1069.

B (Lines 6-10)	Texts on side B Continued
	<p>6) <i>ns[r.t n]š{c}{n}.tw<sup>1075</sup> s<sup>c</sup>r m<sup>s</sup>c.t</i></p> <p>7) <i>n nb=s dhwtj swḏ=k tw ḏs=k wh<sup>c</sup></i></p> <p>8) <i>=k wi sfh [...] <sup>1076</sup> &lt;wi k&gt; {=k wi} imi&lt;t&gt; mr. {w}t</i></p> <p>9) <i>&lt;tw&gt;=i {i} <sup>1077</sup> nb ḥr w<sup>c</sup> r=i nfr.w{t} =k <sup>1078</sup> iw=i</i></p> <p>10) <i>r{h} t{w rh}.kwi <sup>1079</sup> rn n p<sup>3</sup> 42 n &lt;i&gt; ntr{.w} wn.w &lt;r&gt;</i></p> <p>6)...the fiery one who is enraged, and the one who causes Maat to ascend</p> <p>7) to her lord and Thoth. "May you heal yourself. May you release</p> <p>8)me. May you free me. Cause me to be loved,"</p> <p>9)(said) the Lord of One Face to me. ...to see your beauty. I</p> <p>10) know you, and (I have learned) the names of these 42 gods who exist</p>

<sup>1075</sup> This should be nšn with the A40 determinative, but instead we have D36. The 18th dynasty text in P. Nu has this as a stative: nšny.ti Quirke, p. 171. We can perhaps see this as a Late Egyptian old perfective equivalent. nšn.tw . Junge, p. 82. This change in the inflection happens in P Turin 1791 as well. Lepsius, fig. XXVI.

<sup>1076</sup> A determinative must have gone in this lacuna because nothing is missing here grammatically. However, the usual  $\Delta$  doesn't fit with the remains.

<sup>1077</sup> The scribe apparently forgot the word "i", perhaps confused by the reduplication of the A1 character in the sentence.

<sup>1078</sup> The eye glyph here (D6) is the determinative for the word m<sup>s</sup>; in line A2.4. Here, spell 71 ends and 125 resumes exactly where it left off in line A2.4. See note 1066.

<sup>1079</sup> The scribe might to have gotten confused by the repetitiveness of this phrase and, not really understanding its meaning, shortened it, as he apparently also did on line 9--see note 1077. What appears in P. Turin 1791 (Lepsius, figure XLVI) is iw=i rḥ tw rḥ=kwi rn=k rḥ.kwi rn n p<sup>3</sup>y=k 42. "I know you, having learned your name, and having learned the name of your 42 gods." Here the phrase is unreadable on its own without proposing omitted terms. I have reconstructed it with the fewest possible.

































































































B (Lines 10-15)	Continuation of text on side B
	<p>11) <math>r\text{-}h\text{n}^c \neq k\ m\ wsh.t\ m^c.ty\ ^c n\dot{h}.w\ m</math></p> <p>12) <math>s\dot{s}w\ \dot{d}w.w\ s^c m.w\ m\ s\{n\}f \neq \{s\}n^{1080}</math></p> <p>13) <math>\{hr\ h\}rw^{1081}\ pwy\ hsb.t\ qdw\ m\text{-}\{b\dot{h}\}^{1082}\langle m\dot{h}\rangle\ wnn\text{-}nfr</math></p> <p>14) <math>m^c\text{-}hrw\ mk\ wi\ \{r\dot{h}\}\langle k\rangle\ \{nb\}\ m^c.ty^{1083}\ \langle h\rangle\ m \neq k\ m\text{-}k\ wi\ \langle n\rangle</math></p> <p>15) <math>\{r\}h\ tn\ nb.w\ m^c.ty\ in.n \neq i\ n \neq tn\ m^c.t</math></p> <p>11) with you in the Hall of Two Truths: the ones who live on</p> <p>12) a protector of evildoers, and the ones who swallow their blood</p> <p>13) on this day of reckoning of character in the presence of Wenen-nefer,</p> <p>14) the justified. Look at me! The Lord of Two Truths is your name. See, I</p> <p>15) know you all, oh Lords of Two Truths, and I have brought you the goddess Ma'at.</p>









<sup>1080</sup> The character ought to be the doorbolt (O34) but is instead the twist of rope (V2).

<sup>1081</sup> lwefankh has hrw

<sup>1082</sup> Here, the character is mistaken for , which is interesting given their hieratic forms are usually quite different. Verhoeven, p. 122,196.

<sup>1083</sup> The passage in P. Turin 1791 reads "mk b3.wy nb m3.ty rn=k mk wi rḥ=tn nb.w m3.ty" "See, the two bas of the lord of two-truths is your name. I know you, oh lord of the two truths." This seems to have confused the scribe who has shortened it rendering it nonsensical in a comparable way to line B.10 (See note 1079). Again, I've filled in the minimal amount to make it intelligible here.

B (Lines 16, 17)	Continuation of text on side B.																																		
<table border="0" style="width: 100%;"> <tr> <td style="text-align: center;">17</td> <td style="text-align: center;">16</td> </tr> <tr> <td></td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td></td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td></td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td></td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td></td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td></td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td></td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td></td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td></td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td></td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td></td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td></td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td></td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td></td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td></td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td></td> <td></td> </tr> </table>	17	16																																	<p>16) <i>dr-ı̄ i(n) {s} f.t nn ir-ı̄ bw d̄w</i></p> <p>17) <i>n(=f) {n ir-ı̄} <sup>1084</sup> tp r rm̄ nb.t r<sup>c</sup> nb (m) b̄k(ı̄k) <sup>1085</sup></i></p> <p>16) I drive away Isfet. I have done no evil.</p> <p>17) I did not impose, on any person on any day, labor (beyond)...</p>
17	16																																		
																																			
																																			
																																			
																																			
																																			
																																			
																																			
																																			
																																			
																																			
																																			
																																			
																																			
																																			
																																			
																																			

C1	Caption for a vignette of Isis, kneeling
       	<p><i>ı̄s.t <sup>1086</sup> wr.t mw.t n̄tr [nb.t] p.t ı̄nw.t n̄tr.w nb.w</i></p> <p>Isis the great one, mother of the god, lady of the sky, mistress of all the gods.</p>

<sup>1084</sup> In P. Turin 1791 (Lepsius, Figure XLVI Line 5), this reads *nn ir-ı̄ tp r rm̄ nb hrw nb b̄kiw m-ı̄r-ı̄f iri.n-ı̄f* "I did not impose on any man on any day labor beyond what he (could have) done." I follow here Backes' interpretation of this sentence. 'Spruch 125', trans. by Burkhard Backes, *Das Altägyptische Totenbuch* <<http://totenbuch.awk.nrw.de/spruch/125#NachweiseSpruchtext>> [accessed 19 February 2022].

<sup>1085</sup> Written with the bennu bird (G1) instead of the stork (G29)




<sup>1086</sup> The identity of the determinative is uncertain. It is B1 with two short strokes on the lap. See the B1 entry in the paleography.

C2 Lines 1-3	Six lines of text around the vignette of Isis.
	<p>1) <i>ir.n=f nn spr m=i w3(t) [hr]p</i></p> <p>2) <i>n{n} spr=i hw(q.t)<sup>1087</sup> (k){nb}<sup>1088</sup> d.t ds[...]<sup>1089</sup></i></p> <p>3) <i>bw.tiw htp.w hrp hw[&lt;q.t&gt;]</i></p> <p>1) ...what he had done before. My name did not reach the barque of the supervisor.</p> <p>2) I did not reach the food of the lord of linear time(?) [...]</p> <p>3) ... the officers of offerings of the supervisor of food</p>

<sup>1087</sup>P. Turin 1790 (Lepsius, Fig XLVI, line 5) has  here, which Backes tentatively translates "Hw": food. Backes, 'Spruch 125'.

<sup>1088</sup>I've speculated that k is a mistake for nb based on the fact that the scribe has made this mistake before, ie. on line B.14. Because this line is so confused and has a lacuna, though, this is far from certain.

<sup>1089</sup>Bibliothèque National 24-32, Louvre 3233 and P. Turin 1791, used for comparison here, all diverge from each other at this point, as well as from this source, for which I couldn't find any parallels for the statements of lines C2.2 and C2.3, which deal with transgressions pertaining to offerings and food. At the end of line 2,

C2 3-6	Continuation of texts on side C.		
<div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-around;"> <div style="text-align: center;"> <p>6</p>  </div> <div style="text-align: center;"> <p>5</p>  </div> <div style="text-align: center;"> <p>4</p>  </div> </div>	<p>4) &lt;ḡd&gt; wdḥ.w<sup>1090</sup> nn s3.t=i nn</p> <p>5) m&lt;r&gt; {r}<sup>1091</sup>=i nn nmḥ.w=i<sup>1092</sup> nn</p> <p>6) ir=i [...]m [...]1093 bw.t ntr.w nn</p> <p>4) and gifts. I did not blaspheme. I did not</p> <p>5) cause pain. I did not impoverish (anyone). I did not do</p> <p>6) [.....] the abomination of the gods. I did not...<sup>1094</sup></p>		

<sup>1090</sup> This word is uncertain because it is spelled strangely with the negative hands and the insertion of the term ḡd at the beginning of the line. In context wdḥ.w is probably the best bet here, and is spelled with glyph V25 in WB 1 p 393. The word in P. Turin 1791 is wd.t which Backes translates as "Befehl". Backes, 'Spruch 125'.


<sup>1091</sup> The semi-horizontal sign above the owl sign is uncertain because it is drawn over a dowel which has come loose flaking away plaster. It does not match any character used in the spelling of mr "illness", but this is the word that goes here P. Turin 1971. The word in P. Nu is more clearly causative: smr.

<sup>1092</sup> The word is nmḥ, "to be poor" or "orphan" WB 2, 268. Though the Wörterbuch does not ever state that this word can be transitive, the 18th dynasty version of the text indicates that it must have been: P. Nu has nn nmḥ=i nmḥ n ḥ.t=f, which Quirke translates as "I did not deprive an orphan of his goods". Quirke, p. 271. Here and in P. Turin 1791, it has lost its object, but the verb is probably passive given the insertion of the w.

<sup>1093</sup> The text between ir=i and bw.t is hard to parse because of damage and this reconstruction is tentative. The text in P. Turin 1791 simply reads: nn ir=i bw.t ntr.w "I did not do the abomination of the gods."

<sup>1094</sup> The spell is here cut off midsentence and on side D, another spell begins.



D	In columns of two or three lines between knife-wielding mummiform deities.				
<div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-around; text-align: center;"> <div style="border: 1px solid black; border-radius: 50%; width: 30px; height: 30px; line-height: 30px; margin: 0 auto;">5</div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; border-radius: 50%; width: 30px; height: 30px; line-height: 30px; margin: 0 auto;">4</div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; border-radius: 50%; width: 30px; height: 30px; line-height: 30px; margin: 0 auto;">3</div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; border-radius: 50%; width: 30px; height: 30px; line-height: 30px; margin: 0 auto;">2</div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; border-radius: 50%; width: 30px; height: 30px; line-height: 30px; margin: 0 auto;">1</div> </div> 	<p>1) <i>ḏd md.w<sup>1095</sup> in ḥm-nṯr 2 nw n mnw ḥr ʒs.t n ipw ḥnḥ-wnn-nfr</i></p> <p>2) <i>mʒ<sup>c</sup>-ḥrw ḥr wsir i nb stī wbn</i></p> <p>3) <i>m ʒḥ.t ʒb.t n.t p.t psd=k m ḥr</i></p> <p>4) <i>wsir ḥm-nṯr 2 nw n mnw ḥnḥ-wnn-nfr mʒ<sup>c</sup>-ḥrw dwʒ</i></p> <p>5) <i>(n) {f} tw m dwʒw štp=f</i></p> <p>1) Recitation by the Osiris of the second ḥm-nṯr priest of Min, Horus, and Isis of Akhmim, Ankhwenennefer</p> <p>2) the justified before Osiris: Oh, lord of illumination who rises</p> <p>3) in the eastern horizon of the sky, may you shine on the face of</p> <p>4) the Osiris of the second ḥm-nṯr priest of Min, Ankhwenennefer, justified.</p> <p>5) May he praise you in the morning. May he satisfy...</p>				

<sup>1095</sup> Here begins version A of the solar hymn Book of the Dead. Spell 15.

D Lines 6-10	Continuation of text D.
	<p>6) <i>tw m [m]šrw pr b3=f hn<sup>c</sup>=k</i></p> <p>7) <i>r &lt;t.p&gt; {p.t} wdi.t m m<sup>c</sup>nd.t mskt.t</i></p> <p>8) <i>[3bh]</i><sup>1096</sup> <i>m iḥm.w-wrd.w</i></p> <p>9) <i>m &lt;tp&gt; {p.t} wsir ḥm-nṯr 2 nw mnw nb ipw ḥnh-wnn-nfr</i></p> <p>10) <i>m3<sup>c</sup>-ḥrw [wn wn].tw</i><sup>1097</sup> <i>ḥtm ḥtm.tw</i></p> <p>1) you in the evening. May his ba come out with you</p> <p>2) to the sky, setting out in the <i>m<sup>c</sup>nd.t</i> and <i>mskt.t</i> barques<sup>1098</sup></p> <p>3) and mingling with the untiring stars</p> <p>4) in the sky.<sup>1099</sup> The Osiris of the second ḥm-nṯr priest of Min, lord of Akhmim, Ankhwenennefer<sup>1100</sup></p> <p>5), justified. That which opens is opened, that which seals is sealed.</p>

<sup>1096</sup> At the end of this word there are traces of a flat line with a hard, uncurved edge. The flatness makes the ending sign unlikely to be glyph I9 as it is in P. Turin 1791. A possibility is that the glyph might be N33, which the scribe has confused for I9 on multiple occasions (Text D, Line 5, for example). Another possibility is the hand with the flail D40, in which case the pronoun is dropped entirely. I've interpreted this as the later, taking the verb as infinitive.

<sup>1097</sup> Based on the fact that this is stative in P. Nu, and has the inflection ".ti", this is probably a Late Egyptian old-perfective. See Junge, pp. 81–82.

<sup>1098</sup> Initially, these are the day and the night boats respectively. However, the distinction gets fuzzier over time, which is why I've left them untranslated on this late version of the spell. See Wilson, p. 467.

<sup>1099</sup> Interestingly, this version of Hymn 15 doesn't quite fit with any of the variants discussed in Mosher's analysis of the spell. It would be version 2 or 3 since it explicitly mentions the horizon in line 3, but unlike these versions it does not elaborate on what the deceased does in the two solar barques in lines 6 and 7 like both of these variants do. Jr. Mosher Malcolm, *The Book of the Dead, Saite through Ptolemaic Periods: A Study of Traditions Evident in Versions of Texts and Vignettes* (Prescott A: SPBDStudies, 2016), VOL 1 (BD SPELLS 1-15), pp. 311–15.

<sup>1100</sup> This is the beginning of Book of the Dead spell 92: "Spell for opening the tomb chamber for the ba-soul and shade" Quirke, pp. 210–11.

D Lines 11-15	Continuation of text on surface D.
	<p>11) <i>sḏr wn[&lt;=i?&gt;]<sup>1101</sup> wn.tw in bṣi</i></p> <p>12) <i>imy=st ir.t ḥr-ṣḥ.ty šd.w wsir wnn-nfr nṯr ʒ<sup>1102</sup></i></p> <p>13) <i>smn.tw &lt;nfr.w&gt; n-n wp.t nṯr &lt;d&gt; pḏ.t nmt.t(&lt;=i&gt;)<sup>1103</sup> dwn.t</i></p> <p>14) <i>mṣ.ty(&lt;=i&gt;) ir&lt;.t&gt;.n=ī {w<sup>c</sup>.t} it.w=ī<sup>1104</sup> rwd&lt;n&gt;</i></p> <p>15) <i>ink ḥr-nḏ-ḥr-it=f in wrt.t &lt;n&gt;</i></p> <p>11) Oh sleeper! That which opens is opened for my ba</p> <p>12) who is in it! Oh, Eye of Harakhte!, Osiris-Wenen-nefer, the Great God is saved.</p> <p>13) (Beauty) is established upon the forehead of the god.<sup>1105</sup> (My) stride is wide and (my) knees are stretched.</p> <p>14) Make (way) for me, for my ancestors flourish!</p> <p>15) I am Horus-who-protects-his-father, who brings the Great Crown</p>

<sup>1101</sup> Only a short line remains of the character after wn here. It is likely the seated man A1, as appears in P. Turin 1791. This raises the question of whether the statement here is circumstantial *sḏm=f*. This would make wn.tw the object. Backes interprets the statement this way, and seems to take wn.tw as a passive participle. ‘Spruch 92’, trans. by Burkhard Backes, *Das Altägyptische Totenbuch* <<http://totenbuch.awk.nrw.de/spruch/92#NachweiseSpruchtext>> [accessed 19 February 2022].


<sup>1102</sup> The final sign here resembles more than however the later is actually expected here and would fit with the word that follows as a subject+stative.

<sup>1103</sup> Backes interprets pḏ.t and dwn.t as adjectives, and here, I follow his interpretation because this particular scribe does not seem to mark participles with a t-ending, rendering an interpretation of the words thus less likely.

<sup>1104</sup> P. Turin 1791 has *ir n=ī ws.t ʒ.t iwfrwd* "Make the great way open me, for (my) flesh is hale!"






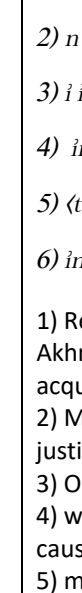
<sup>1105</sup> In other versions, this is explicitly Re. It is tempting to speculate that our scribe mistook one small roundish hieratic sign for another and instead of a solar disk N5 wrote a hand D46, which doesn't really make sense in context.



E1	Central column on lid, one column
	<p data-bbox="824 254 1414 422"> <i>ḥtp di nsw.t n wsir ḥn.ty imt.t ntr ʿ3 nb ʿbdw wsir-skr  ḥry-ib ipw di=f qrs.t nfr(.t) ḥ.t nb(.t) nfr(.t) wʿb(.t)  bnr(.t) nḏm(.t) ʿnh ntr im=f n imḥ n wsir sm3.ty ipw ḥm  ḥr rḥ nsw.t ḥm-ntr 2 nw n mnw n ḥr-nḏ-(f) {i}t=f} ḥm-  ntr n ḥn[sw] p3 iwn[tr...]1111 ʿnh-wnn-nfr [... t3]w  m3c-ḥrw</i> </p> <p data-bbox="824 457 1414 810"> Royal offerings of Osiris, foremost of the West, the Great God, lord of Abydos, and of Osiris-Sokar, who resides in Akhmim--may he(sic) give a good burial and everything good, pure, delicious, and sweet upon which a god lives for the revered one of Osiris, the stolist priest of Akhmim, the Servant of Horus priest, the King's acquaintance,<sup>1112</sup> the second ḥm-ntr priest of Min, the ḥm-ntr priest of Horus-who-protects-his-father, the ḥm-ntr priest of Khonsu, the one of Dendara...Ankh-wenennefer [...born of the lady of the house Tatjai]u, justified. </p>



<sup>1111</sup> For this uncertain title, see text E on the inner coffin. below this line, a piece of wood is missing from the coffin.

<sup>1112</sup> The lid of the outer coffin is only place on the coffin set where the deceased is given this title.

E2	Text on occupant's right side of lid, starting at the foot and reading towards the head, in 23 columns.					
<p>⑥</p> 	<p>⑤</p> 	<p>④</p> 	<p>③</p> 	<p>②</p> 	<p>①</p> 	<p>1) <i>ḏd md.w</i><sup>1113</sup> <i>in wsir sm.ty ipw ḥm ḥr rḥ nsw.t ḥm-nṯr</i> 2 <i>nw</i></p> <p>2) <i>n mnw nb ipw ḥnḥ-wnn-nfr m<sup>c</sup>-ḥrw</i></p> <p>3) <i>i inny i p(rḥ) {ḥr}r</i></p> <p>4) <i>imi sh=f nṯr ḥ di=k iw &lt;n&gt;</i></p> <p>5) <i>&lt;tw&gt;</i><sup>1114</sup> <i>n=i b<sup>z</sup>-i m bw nb n-n.ty=f</i></p> <p>6) <i>im ir wdf</i><sup>1115</sup> <i>in.tw</i></p> <p>1) Recitation by the Osiris of the stolist priest of Akhmim, the Servant of Horus priest, the king's acquaintance, and the second ḥm-nṯr priest of</p> <p>2) Min, lord of Akhmim, Ankhwenennefer, the justified:</p> <p>3) Oh, bringer! Oh, runner</p> <p>4) who is in his pavilion! Oh, Great God, may you cause that</p> <p>5) my ba come to me from any place where he</p> <p>6) might be! If there is delay in bringing</p>

<sup>1113</sup> Here beings Book of the Dead Spell 89, for enabling a Ba to rest on its corpse. Lacunae are filled using traces of the original and the parallel text in P. Turin 1791. See Lepsius, fig. XXXIII.

<sup>1114</sup> The text in P. Turin 1791 is *iw n=i b<sup>z</sup>-i* "May my ba come to me". The scribe seems to have made a mistake here, perhaps confusing the ending on this word with the same ending which he correctly uses for the word "to bring" *ini* in the next phrase. It should be noted that many of this scribe's mistakes happen at the ends of lines, and many of them happen with inflections.

<sup>1115</sup> The determinative  (G39) is used instead of the expected  (G35) here.

E2 Lines 7-12						
12	11	10	9	8	7	
						7) [n=i] b3=i {m} bw nb n-n.ty=f im gm
						8) [=k ir].t hr c h <sup>c</sup> .tw <sup>1116</sup> r=k mi
						9) n[b3] rs.w nn sdr.w
						10) [...] <sup>1117</sup> m iw <sup>n</sup> w t tn
						11) h3.w n d[mi.ti] im=f iw it.tw
						12) n=i b3[=i 3h].w hn <sup>c</sup> =i
						7) my ba [to me] from any place where he might be, you will find the
						8) [Eye] of Horus standing against you, like
						9) [those] vigilant ones who never sleep
						10)[...] in Heliopolis and in the land of
						11) thousands for the [one who comes upon] <sup>1118</sup> it. May my ba be taken
						12) for me and the Akh who is with me

<sup>1116</sup> This seems to be a late Egyptian Old Perfective corresponding to the stative ending in the 18th dynasty version. See Quirke's transliteration of P. Nu. Quirke, p. 205.

<sup>1117</sup> The lacuna probably contains a determinatives and plural strokes based on the part of P. Turin 1791 in question.

<sup>1118</sup> Here, I'm reconstructing the lacuna as dmi following P. Turin 1791, and following Backes' translation of dmi in this context as "treffen auf". 'Spruch 89', trans. by Burkhard Backes, *Das Altägyptische Totenbuch* <<http://totenbuch.awk.nrw.de/spruch/71#NachweiseSpruchtext>> [accessed 19 February 2022].

E2 Lines 13-18					
18	17	16	15	14	13
<p>13) &lt;t&gt; m b[w n.ty]=f im m nw  14) r=k iry [.w p.t n b3]=i ir wdf.tw  15) r[di.n=k m33] b3=i h3.t n<sup>1119</sup>=i  16) gm=k [ir].t hr h<sup>c</sup>.tw r=k &lt;n&gt;  17) mi n3 i ntr.w st(p)3y.w  18) w3 [nb] h3.w inn.w hry.(t)<sup>1120</sup> n dw3.t</p> <p>13) from any place where he might be, as one of those  14) of yours who belong to the sky of my ba.<sup>1121</sup> If you are delayed  15) in allowing my ba to see my corpse,  16) you will find the Eye of Horus standing against you  17) like those! Oh, gods who tow  18) the barque of millions, who bring the Upper Sky to the Duat,</p>					

<sup>1119</sup> This scribe has a habit of ending lines with "n". Sometimes, it makes some grammatical sense--here, it could be an indirect genitive, which would be unusual here, but legitimate. In most places it does not seem to have a grammatical function.

<sup>1120</sup> Quirke translates hry as sky here, and Backes as "die oberen Himmel." I've followed Backes in order to distinguish this word from p.t "sky". Backes, 'Spruch 89'; Quirke, p. 205.

<sup>1121</sup> This sentence is problematic even for Backes to parse, and his translation, with which I agree, is tentative. Backes, 'Spruch 89'. The passage is not in the 18th Dynasty versions--an earlier version may have shed some light on the meaning of the enigmatic phrase "sky of my ba."



E2 Lines 19-23					
23	22	21	20	19	<p>19) &lt;ir?&gt; s[hr̥y] <sup>1122</sup> nn.t<sup>1123</sup> stky.(w)<sup>1124</sup> &lt;n&gt;  20) [b̥i.w] r s<sup>c</sup>h.w <sup>c</sup>.wy=sn  21) [m̥h hr̥] <sup>c</sup>q̥i.w=tn i&lt;n&gt;...  22) mm<sup>1125</sup>= [t̥]n mt̥y.t=tn  23) dr=tn [hf̥.t]yw=k<sup>1126</sup> h<sup>cc</sup></p> <p>19) who makes distant the lower heavens and who allow bas  20) to approach the mummified dead: their arms are  21) full of your tow-ropes!  22) You grip your forked staves, and  23) you drive off your (sic) enemies!<sup>1127</sup></p>

<sup>1122</sup> WB 4 p 219-220.



<sup>1123</sup> WB 2 213 The word in WB is nw.t and the corresponding word in Wilson is nn.t, which is how it is spelled here. Wilson also mentions that this word can be a euphemism for the tomb. Wilson, p. 525.

<sup>1124</sup> WB 4 p 345-346.

<sup>1125</sup> In P. Turin 1791, the preposition hr̥ follows :mm̥tn. Backes translates :mm̥ as a noun: "Fist". However, the absence of the preposition is not a problem here since :mm̥ is also a verb. Rainer Hannig, *Großes Handwörterbuch Deutsch-Ägyptische.*, Die Sprache Der Pharaonen/Hanning Lexica; 3 = Kulturgeschichte Der Antiken Welt; 86 (Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 2000), p. 9.

<sup>1126</sup> All previous references to the second person in this passage have been plural, but this one is singular. There is no pronoun after the word hf̥.tyw in P. Turin 1791.

<sup>1127</sup> The spell continues in the next section on the other side of the coffin lid, reading from the head to the foot.

E3 Lines 1-6	Occupant's left side of the lid, reading in 23 columns from the head to the foot.
	<p>1) <math>h^{cc}(w) w\ddot{i} [w\ddot{b}...]</math>  2) <math>n\ddot{t}r \text{ }^c_3 m \dot{h}tp \text{ }^{1128} r\ddot{d}\langle.t\rangle</math>  3) <math>\neq tn \text{ } b\ddot{i}\neq i \dot{h}r [\dot{h}]pd\neq tn m-</math>  4) <math>m \ddot{i}h.t [...] \ddot{i}b.t n.t p.t r \ddot{s}ms</math>  5) <math>r \{bw\} \dot{h}r\neq f n sf m \dot{h}tp sp-sn</math>  6) <math>r \dot{i}mnt.t m\ddot{i}\neq f \dot{h}\ddot{i}.t\neq f \dot{h}tp\neq f</math></p> <p>1) The barque rejoices and the  2) Great God crosses in peace, for  3) you place my ba beneath your end, in  4) the eastern horizon of the sky in order to follow  5) to the (place) where he was yesterday, in peace, in  6) to the West! May he see his corpse, and may he rest</p>
E3 Lines 6-12	
	<p>7) <math>[\dot{h}r] s^c\dot{h}\neq f nn &lt;\dot{h}\dot{h}tmk\{ski\}\neq f^{1129} n\{n\}</math>  8) <math>sksk(w)\neq f^{1130} nn \dot{h}tm n</math>  9) <math>[...] \dot{d}.t\neq \{f\} \dot{d}.t^{1131} \dot{h}r ws\dot{i}r^{1132} i</math>  10) <math>[nb] s\ddot{t}\dot{i} wbn m \ddot{i}h.t</math>  11) <math>\ddot{i}b.t n.t p.t ps[\dot{d}]\neq k m [\dot{h}r] n</math>  12) <math>ws\dot{i}r \dot{h}m-n\ddot{t}r 2 nw n mnw nb \dot{i}pw \text{ }^c n\dot{h}-wnn...</math></p> <p>7) on his mummified body without perishing  8) without being annihilated, and without the destruction of  9)(...) his body, forever! Before Osiris: Oh,  10) lord of illumination, who rises in the  11) eastern horizon of the sky, may you shine on the face of  12) the Osiris of the second <math>\dot{h}m-n\ddot{t}r</math> priest of Min, lord of Akhmim, Ankhwenennefer...</p>

E3 Lines 13-18	
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<sup>1128</sup> The particle "is" seems to have been in this space, though only the remnants of the tall sign on the left are visible. The determinative which follows is not present in P. Turin 1791, and has an unclear meaning in this context. Here, I'm taking is to be a shortened form of  $is\ddot{t}$  which would have marked a subordinate clause. Allen, p. 193.

<sup>1129</sup> This word doesn't appear in parallels and may be a mistaken reduplication of the word  $s^c\dot{h}$  above. The word should be "ski".

<sup>1130</sup> The word  $sksk$  "To destroy" (WB 4 p 319) is not in P. Turin 1791.

<sup>1131</sup> Here ends spell 89, and begins spell 15A of the Book of the Dead, which is repeated on side D of the basin of the inner coffin.

<sup>1132</sup> The spell begins here without the customary  $\dot{q}d md.w$  in "Recitation by" as it had on side D of the basin. This has been dropped, leaving only the prepositional phrase  $\dot{h}r ws\dot{i}r$ , "Before Osiris".

18	17	16	15	14	13	<p>13) ...nfr m<sup>3</sup>c-hrw dw3(n){=f} tw  14) &lt;tw&gt; m dw3w sh<sup>3</sup>tp(n){=f}<sup>1133</sup>  15) tw m [m]šrw pr  16) [b3]≠f hn<sup>c</sup>=k r p.t wđi.t  17) m [m<sup>c</sup>n]d.t mskt.t  18) <sup>c</sup>bh m iḥm.w &lt;n&gt;</p>
						<p>13)...the justified. May he praise you  14) in the morning. May he satisfy  15) you in the evening. May  16) his [ba] come forth with you to the sky, setting out  17) in the m<sup>c</sup>nd.t and mskt.t barques,  18) and mingling with the...</p>

E3 Lines 19-23					
23	22	21	20	19	<p>19) nn wrd(k).w &lt;m&gt;  20) p.t wsir ḥm-nṯr 2 nw n mnw ḥr  21) 3st n ipw ḥnh-wnn-nfr m<sup>3</sup>c-hrw(w)  22) s3 mi-nw &lt;n&gt; wnn-nfr m<sup>3</sup>c-hrw ms(.t)  23) nb(.t) pr t(3)-t3i≠w m<sup>3</sup>c-hrw</p>
					<p>19) untiring stars  20) in the sky. The Osiris of the second ḥm-nṯr priest of Min, Horus, and  21) Isis of Akhmim, Ankhwenennefer, justified  22) son of the like-titled Wenennefer, justified,  23) who the lady of the house, Tatjau, justified, bore.</p>

<sup>1133</sup> It is interesting that the scribe is consistently mistaking I9 for N35 here even though he gets it right in the other copy of the spell on the coffin.

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## Plates

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<sup>1134</sup> Photos of Khui-Ipuy's coffin are by Kea Johnston, with Permission of the Rosicrucian Egyptian Museum, San Jose

<sup>1135</sup> Photos of the coffin of Knumensanapehsu, Photographer: Neil Crawford. Copyright and courtesy of Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin.

<sup>1136</sup> Photos of the coffin of Hory are by Róbert Kecskés, and used courtesy of the Pannonia Reformata Múzeum, Pépa (Hungary)

<sup>1137</sup> Photos of the coffin of Aaefenhor by Georges Poncet, Copyright (c) Musée du Louvre

<sup>1138</sup> Photos of the coffin of an Anonymous Woman by Carl Bento, courtesy of and Copyright the Australian Museum, Sydney

<sup>1139</sup> Photos of the coffin of Sesekhnofru courtesy of and copyright Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Copenhagen. Photo by the Museum.

<sup>1140</sup> Photos of Tayuherit (VM 153) courtesy and of and copyright Gustavianum, University Museum of Uppsala

<sup>1141</sup> Photos of the coffin of Isetnofret are courtesy of and copyright the Putnam Museum, Davenport Iowa

<sup>1142</sup> Photos of the coffin of Asetemkhebit are courtesy of the National Museum, Krakow, where the object is located. The origin of the photo is the "laboratory Stock National Museum in Krakow."

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<sup>1143</sup> Photographs of the coffin of Ankhtashepsit by Kea Johnston, with permission from the Toledo Museum of Art

<sup>1144</sup> Photograph by Soumit Nandi (Flickr user soumit). Copyright Hellenic Ministry of Culture, & Sports /Archaeological Receipts Fund. Credit Line: National Archaeological Museum, Athens.

<sup>1145</sup> Photograph by Andrea Courtway

<sup>1146</sup> Photograph by Heidi Kontkanen (Flickr user Heidi Kontkanen)

<sup>1147</sup> All photographs of Heqaankhu's coffins are Courtesy of the Courtesy of the Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, Leiden, drawings by Kea Johnston

<sup>1148</sup> Photos of the Cartonnage and coffin of Djedhor 90.1S11800, and 90.1S11800.2 courtesy of the Detroit Institute of Arts. The photo of the outer coffin is a photomerge of several photos.

<sup>1149</sup> Photo by Tripadvisor user HenriR524

<sup>1150</sup> Photographs courtesy and Copyright the Musée des Beaux-Arts et d'Histoire Naturelle de Châteaudun.

<sup>1151</sup> Photographs courtesy of Antikenmuseum Basel und Sammlung Ludwig.

<sup>1152</sup> Photograph courtesy of the University of Pennsylvania Museum of Art and Archaeology, Egyptian Cartonnage E884.

<sup>1153</sup> The numbers of the fragments are: EC1055, EC1057, EC1058, EC1955, EC1054, EC1051, EC1056, EC1052 and EC1060-62. They are pictured here courtesy of the Egypt Centre, Swansea University.

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<sup>1154</sup> Photos by Kea Johnston, Used with permission of the University of Nebraska, Lincoln

<sup>1155</sup> Photos courtesy of the Barnum Museum, Bridgeport CT. Photographer: Jerry Domian

<sup>1156</sup> Photos copyright and courtesy of the Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung Staatliche Museen zu Berlin (SMB), by Sandra SteiB.

<sup>1157</sup> Photos courtesy of the New Walk Museum, Leicester

<sup>1158</sup> Plates 59 and 60 are courtesy of photographer Simon Wilkinson (Flickr user simonwilkinson)

<sup>1159</sup> Photos courtesy of the New Walk, Museum, Leicester unless otherwise noted.

<sup>1160</sup> Photo courtesy of Simon Wilkinson, on Flickr, who is also the Photographer.

<sup>1161</sup> This coffin is on long term loan to the BMS from the Buffalo Historical Society. This picture was provided by the museum and represents the coffin as it appeared in an exhibition prior to the reconstruction of the pedestal of the coffin.

<sup>1162</sup> Detailed photographs in Plates 68-71 were taken by Kea Johnston in 2021.

<sup>1163</sup> Photographs courtesy of the Museo Civico Archeologico, Asti.

<sup>1164</sup> All drawings by Kea Johnston from photographs provided by the Museo Civico Archeologico ,Asti.

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<sup>1165</sup> Photo courtesy of the Museum of Fine Arts Budapest and Google Arts and Culture, 'Coffin of Dihoriaut (Anthropoid Coffin)', *Google Arts & Culture* <<https://artsandculture.google.com/asset/anthropoid-coffin/GgEnmW8S0cUZQQ>> [accessed 1 June 2021].

<sup>1166</sup> Photo courtesy of the Museum of Fine Arts, Budapest

<sup>1167</sup> Photos courtesy of the Musées Départementaux de Seine-Maritime

<sup>1168</sup> Photo courtesy of the Conservation Program, Queens University, Ontario. Photograph by Kaoru Yu.

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<sup>1171</sup> Photo used with permission of the Regents of the University of California. Plate taken from the 3D models of the coffins created by the Book of the Dead in 3D Project

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<sup>1174</sup> Photos copyright and courtesy of the Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung Staatliche Museen zu Berlin (SMB), by Sandra SteiB.

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<sup>1176</sup> Photos copyright and courtesy of the Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung Staatliche Museen zu Berlin (SMB), photographer unknown

<sup>1177</sup> Photographs of the coffin of Nespaqaishuty are courtesy of the Penn Museum at the University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia.

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<sup>1179</sup> Photographs by Jonathan Elias, used courtesy of the Milwaukee Public Museum

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<sup>1183</sup> Photos taken when the coffin exhibited at the museum in Kelowna Canada in 1992. Photographer unknown.

<sup>1184</sup> This photo and the next by Kea Johnston

<sup>1185</sup> This picture is also taken from the 3D model of the coffin built for the Book of the Dead in 3D Project.

<sup>1186</sup> This picture and the next are also taken from the 3D model of the coffin built for the Book of the Dead in 3D Project.

<sup>1187</sup> Photos courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum, used under the Creative Commons License from Wikimedia Commons

Proposed Reconstruction of the Coffin of Khui-ipy at the Rosicrucian Museum

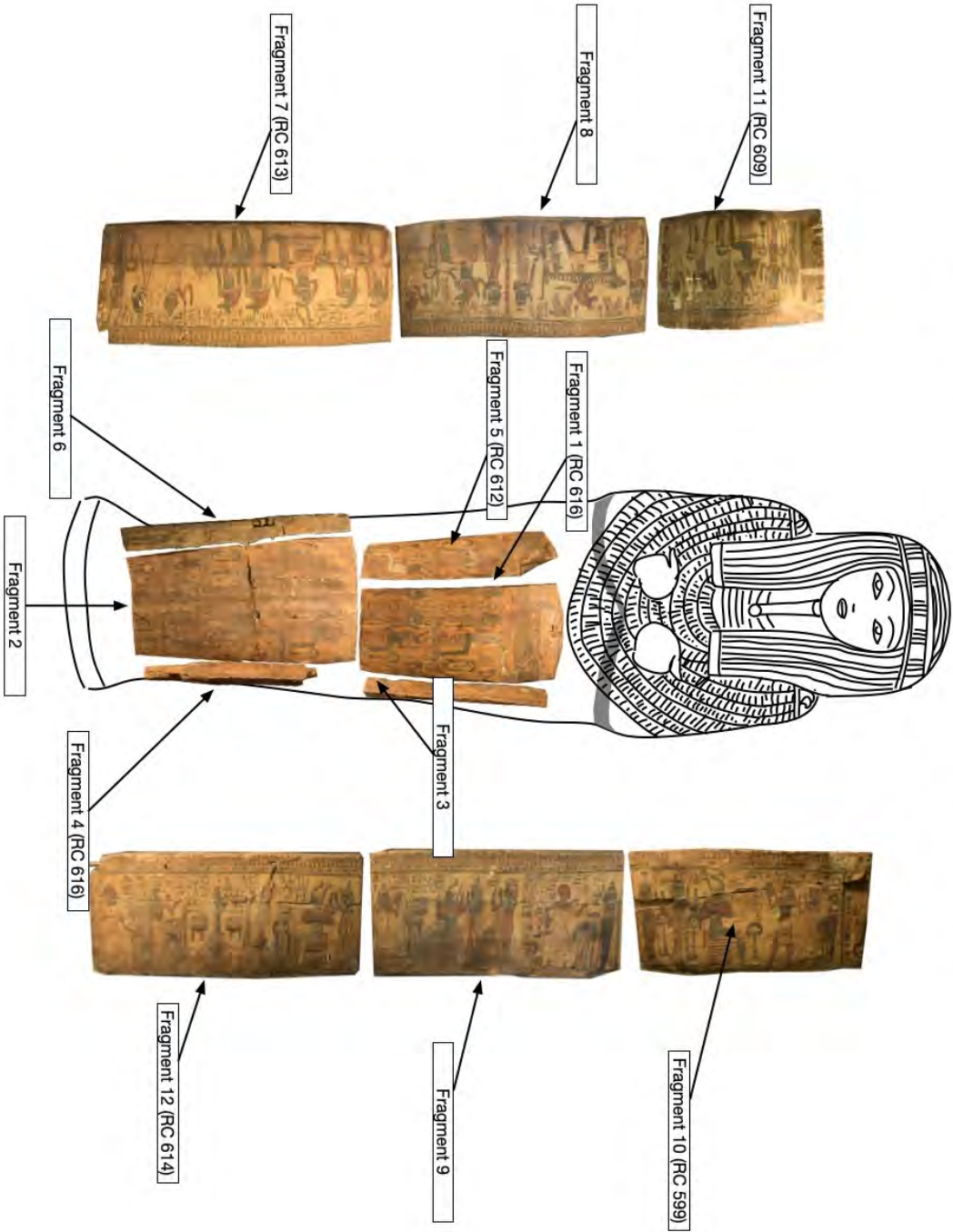


Plate 1



Plate 2





Plate 3



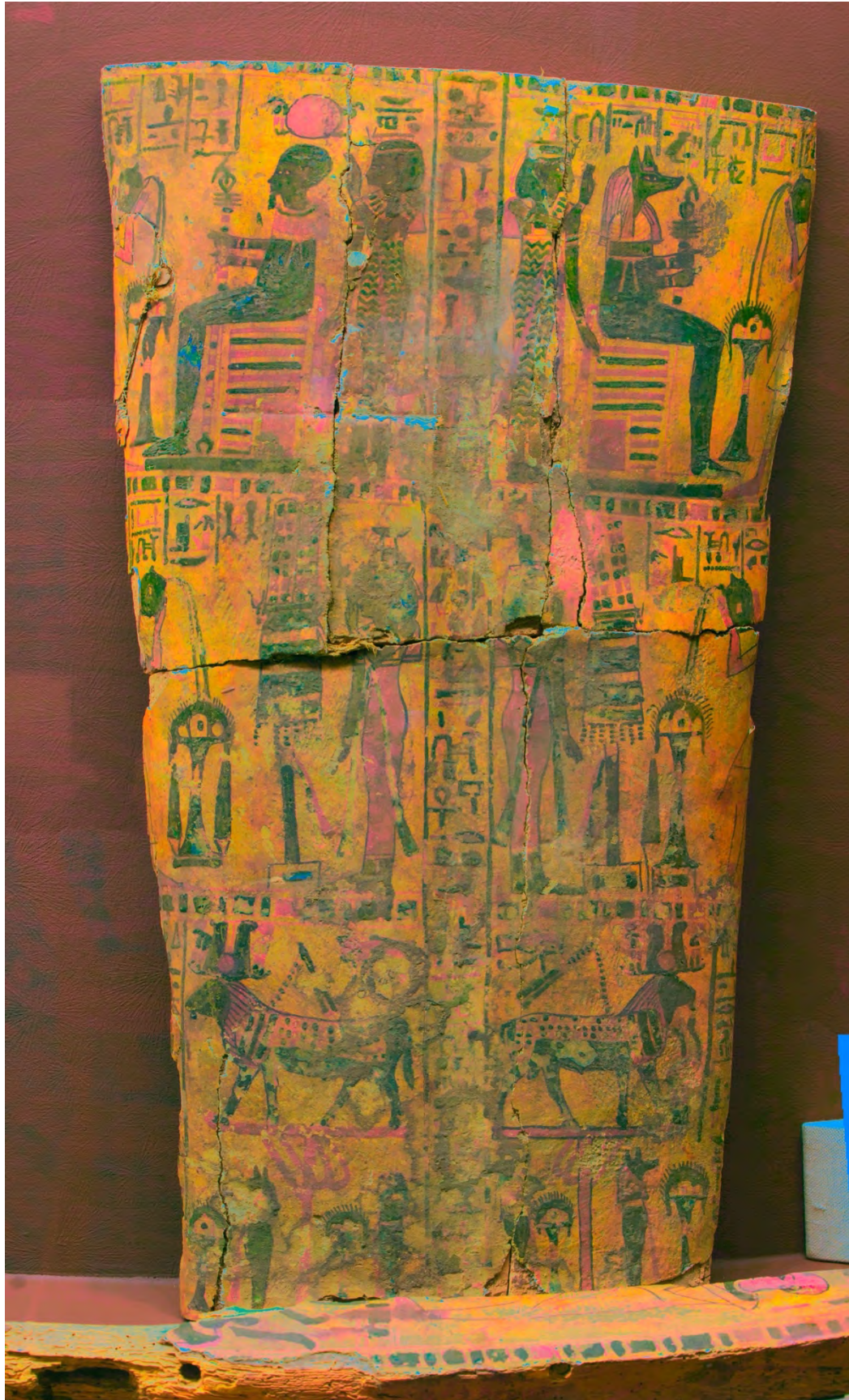


Plate 4





Plate 5



Plate 6





Plate 8



Plate 7





Plate 9



Plate 10





Plate 11



Plate 12





Plate 13



Plate 15



Plate 14





Plate 16



Plate 17



*Plate 18*





Plate 20



Plate 19





Plate 21

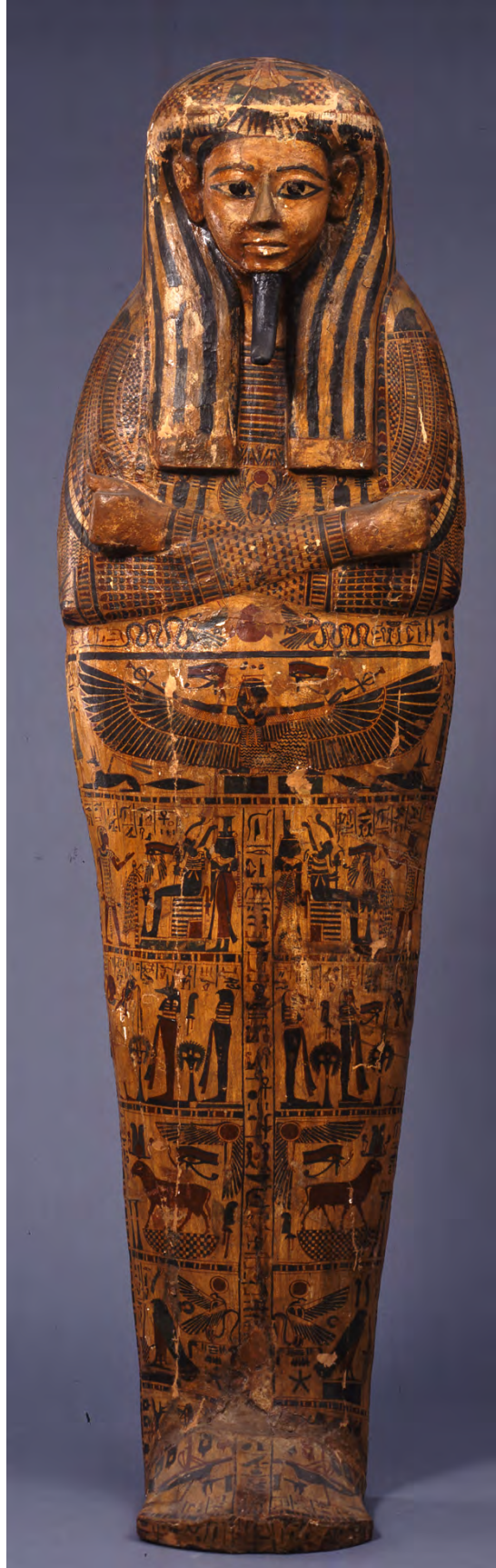


Plate 22





Plate 23



Plate 24





Plate 25



Plate 27



Plate 27





Plate 28



Plate 29



Plate 30





Plate 31

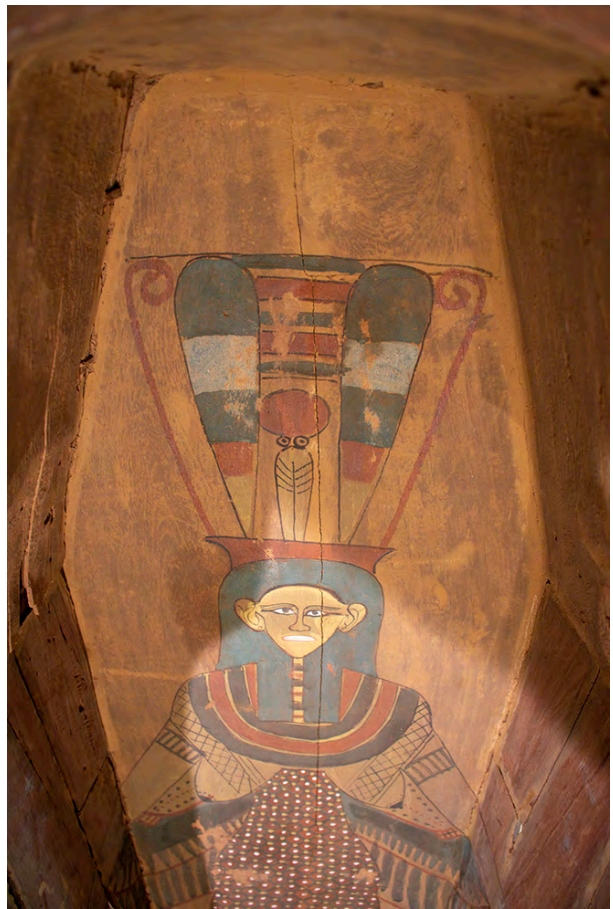


Plate 32



Plate 33





Plate 34





Plate 35





Plate 36



Plate 37





Plate 38



Plate 39



Plate 40



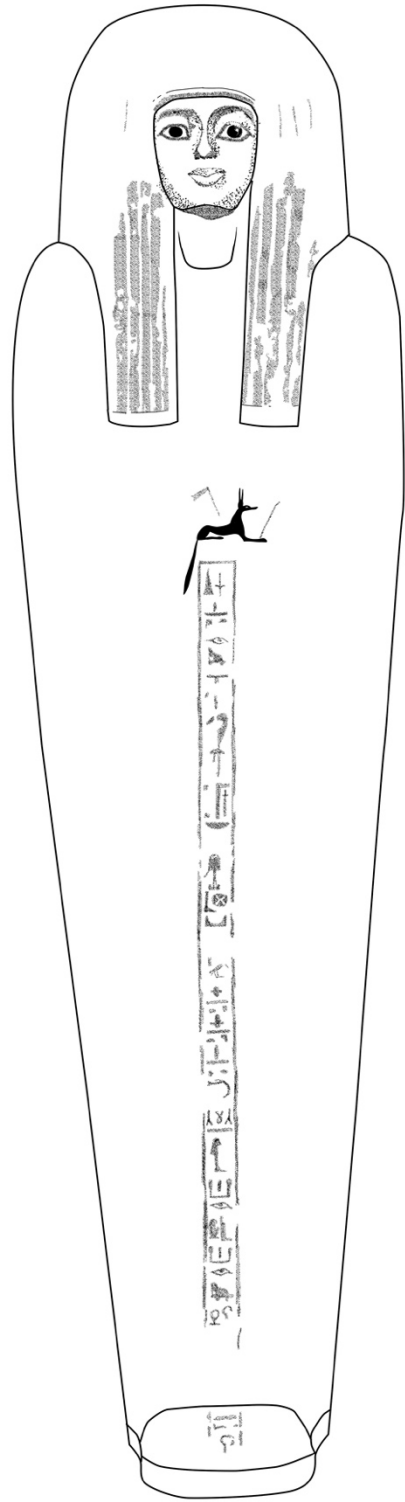


Plate 41



*Plate 42*



*Plate 43*





Plate 44



Plate 45



Plate 47



Plate 46





*Plate 48*



Plate 50



Plate 49





Plate 52



Plate 51





Plate 53



Plate 54





Plate 55





Plate 56





Plate 57



Plate 58





Plate 59





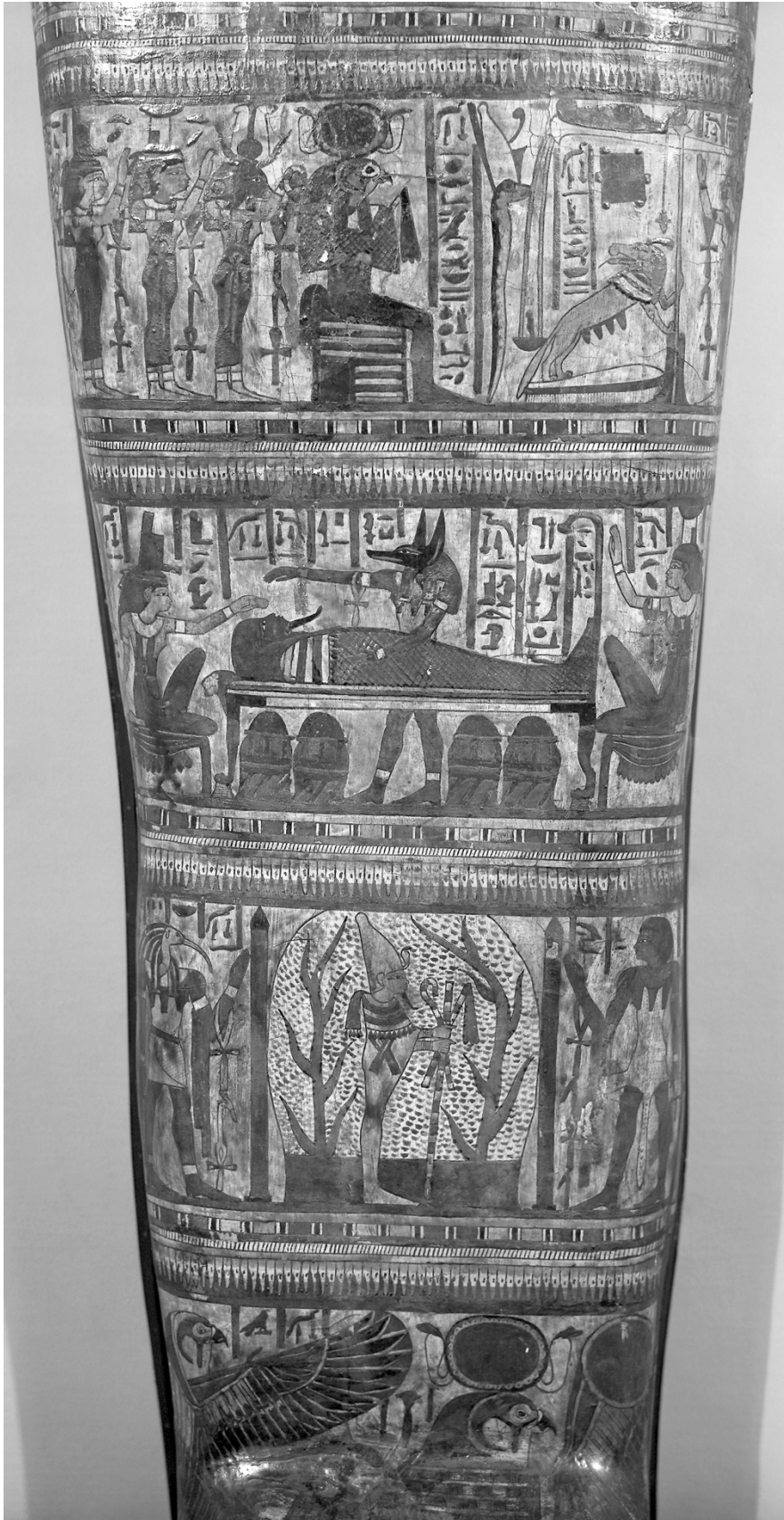
Plate 60





© SMB Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung, Foto: unbekannt

Plate 61



© SMB Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung, Foto: unbekannt





Plate 63



Plate 64



Plate 65





Plate 67



Plate 66





Plate 68



*Plate 70*



*Plate 69*





Plate 71



Plate 72



Plate 73





Plate 74



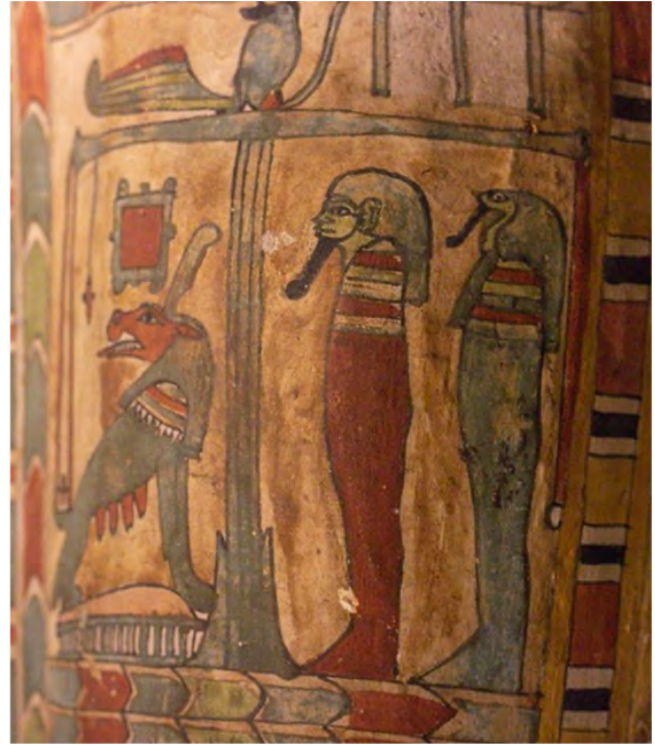


Plate 75



Plate 76



Plate 77







Plate 78



*Plate 79*





Plate 80

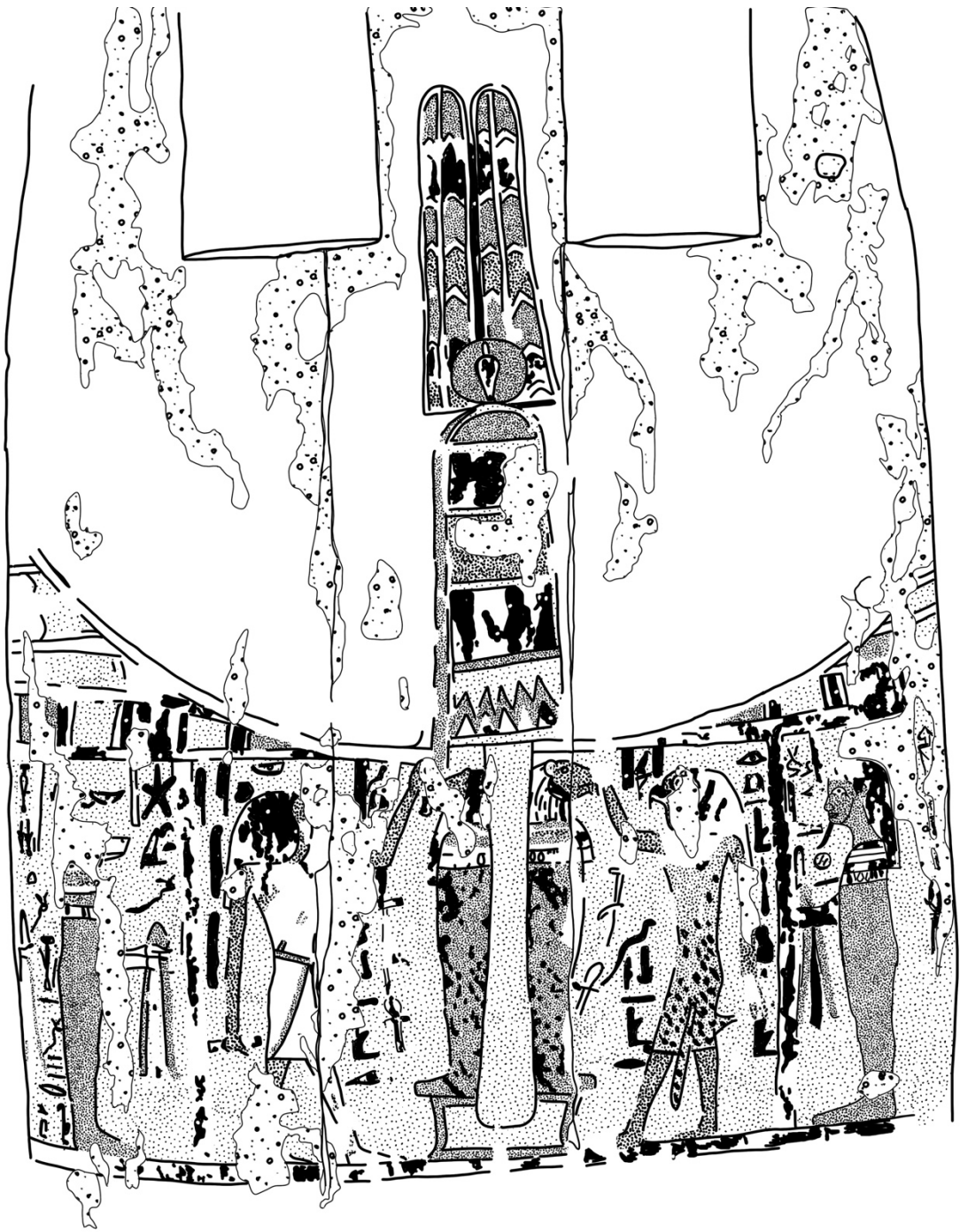


Plate 81



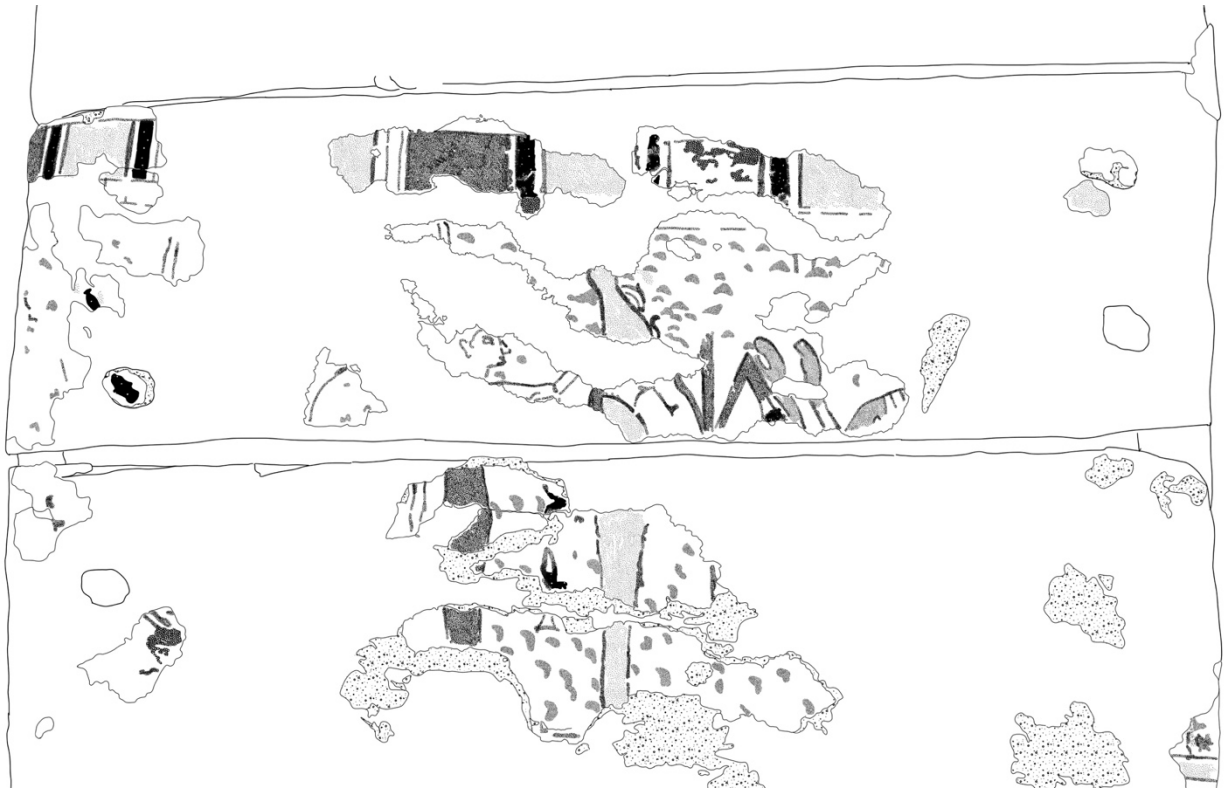


Plate 82

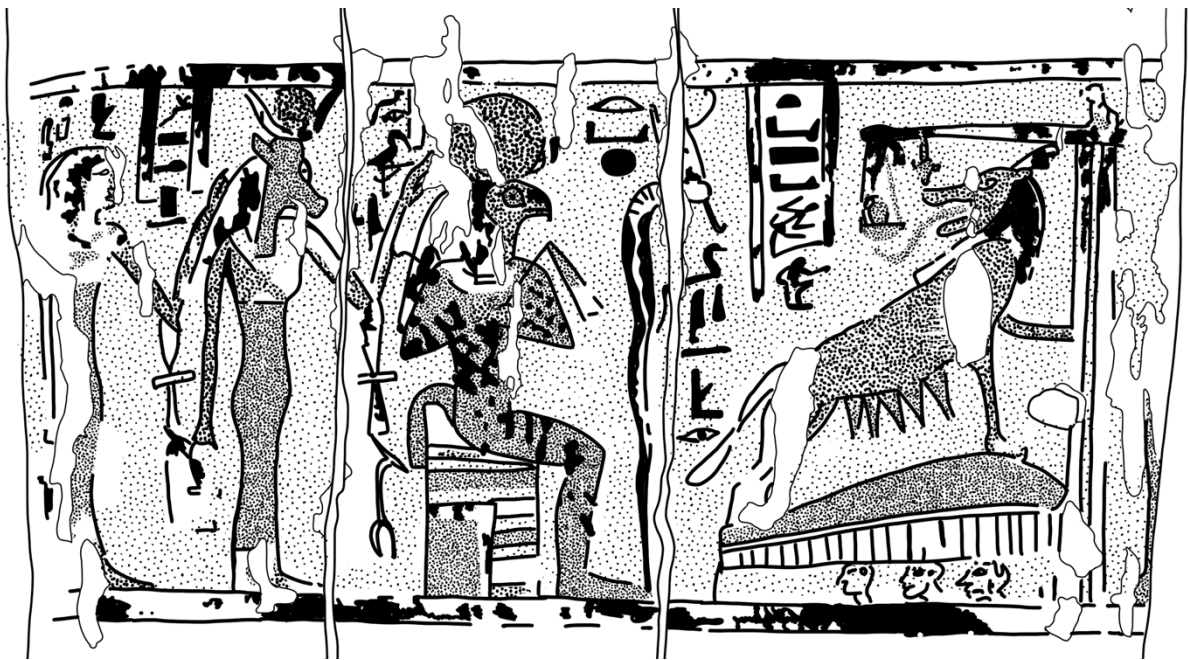


Plate 83





Plate 84



Plate 85





Plate 86



Plate 87





Plate 88



Plate 89





Plate 90





Plate 91



Plate 92



Type de Cercueil en bois d'Akhmim. N° 360.

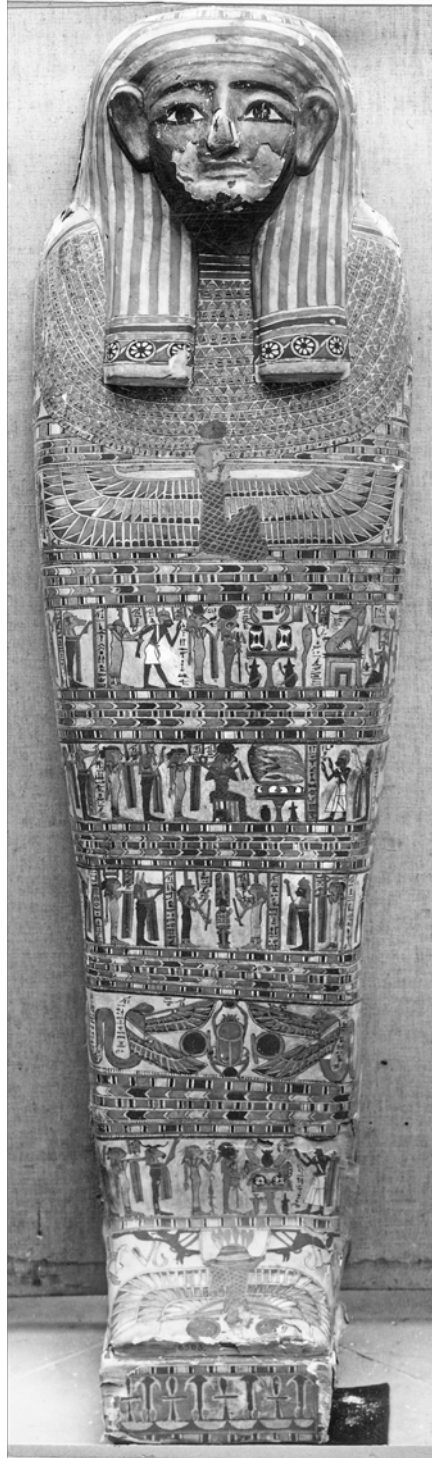
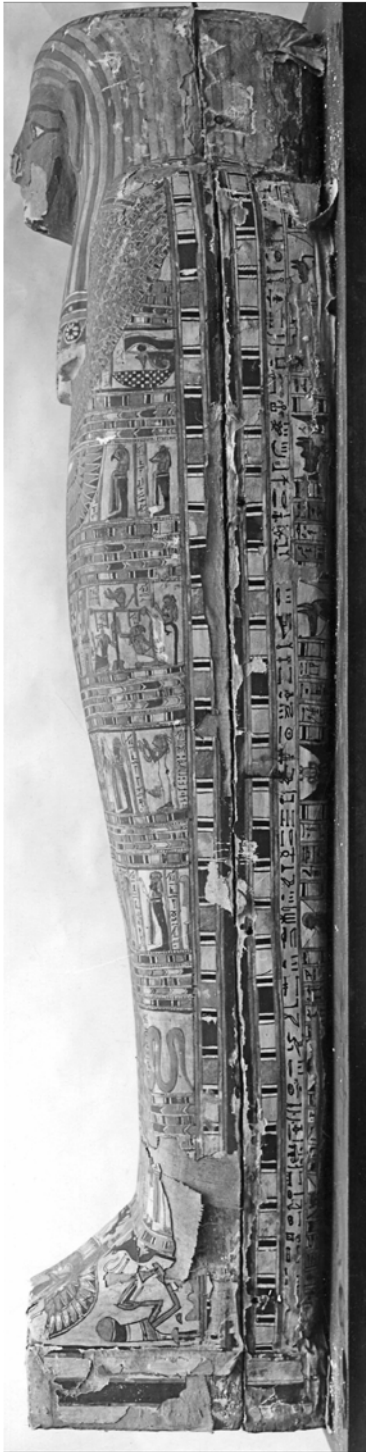
Phot. Art. G. Jequier & Co.

Plate 93





Plate 94



is Museum und Papyrussammlung, Foto: unbekannt

Plate 95





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*Plate 96*



Plate 97





Plate 98





Plate 99





Plate 100





Plate 101

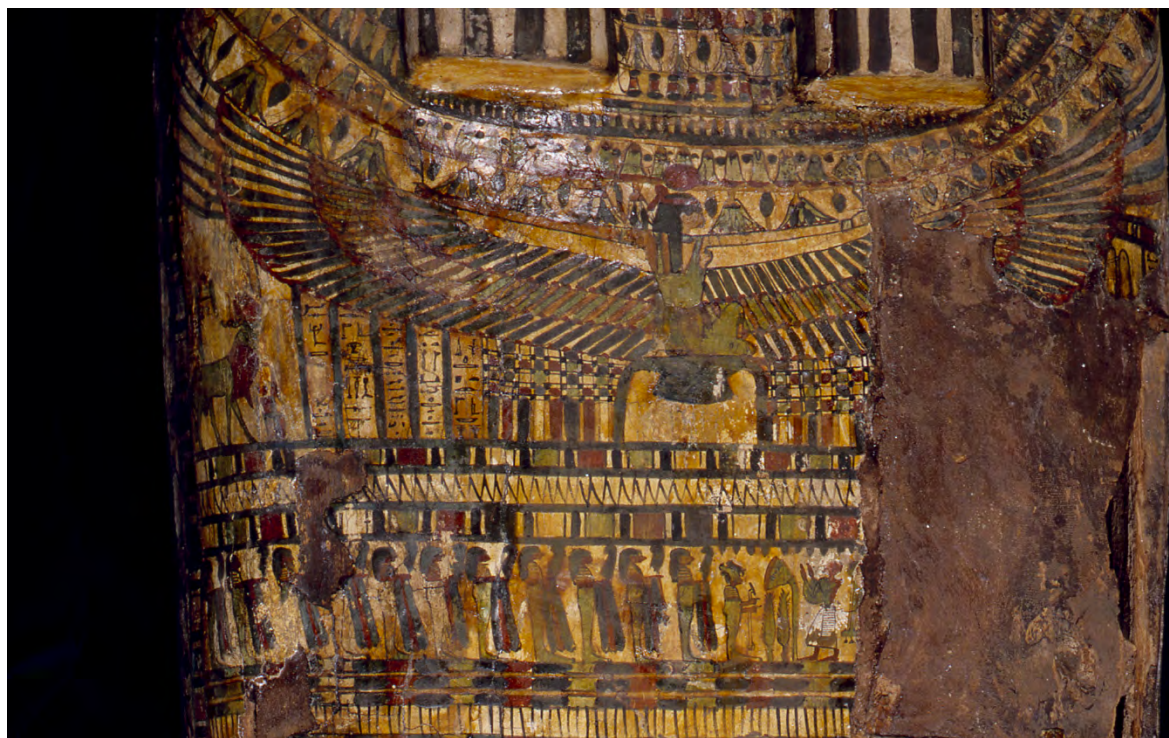


Plate 102





Plate 104



Plate 103



Plate 105







Plate 106





Plate 107





Plate 108





Plate 109



Plate 110





Plate 111





Plate 113



Plate 112



Plate 114



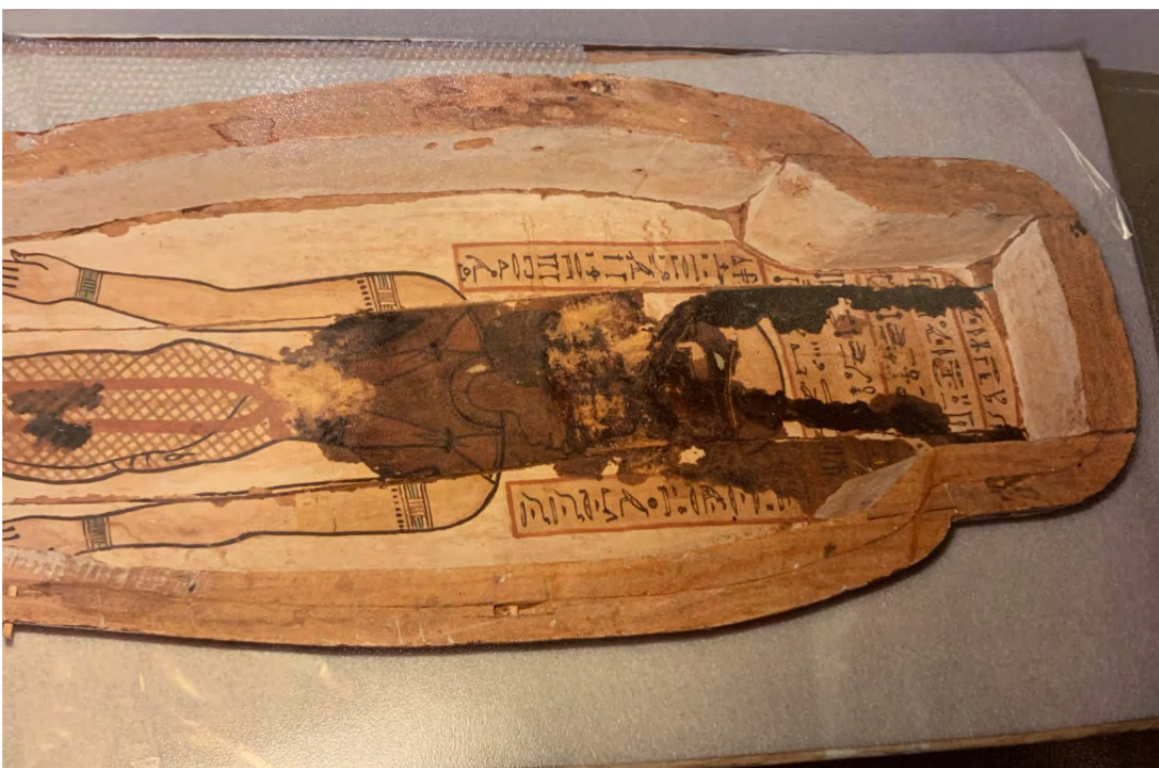


Plate 115





Plate 116





Plate 117



Plate 118



Plate 119





Plate 121



Plate 120



Plate 122





Plate 123